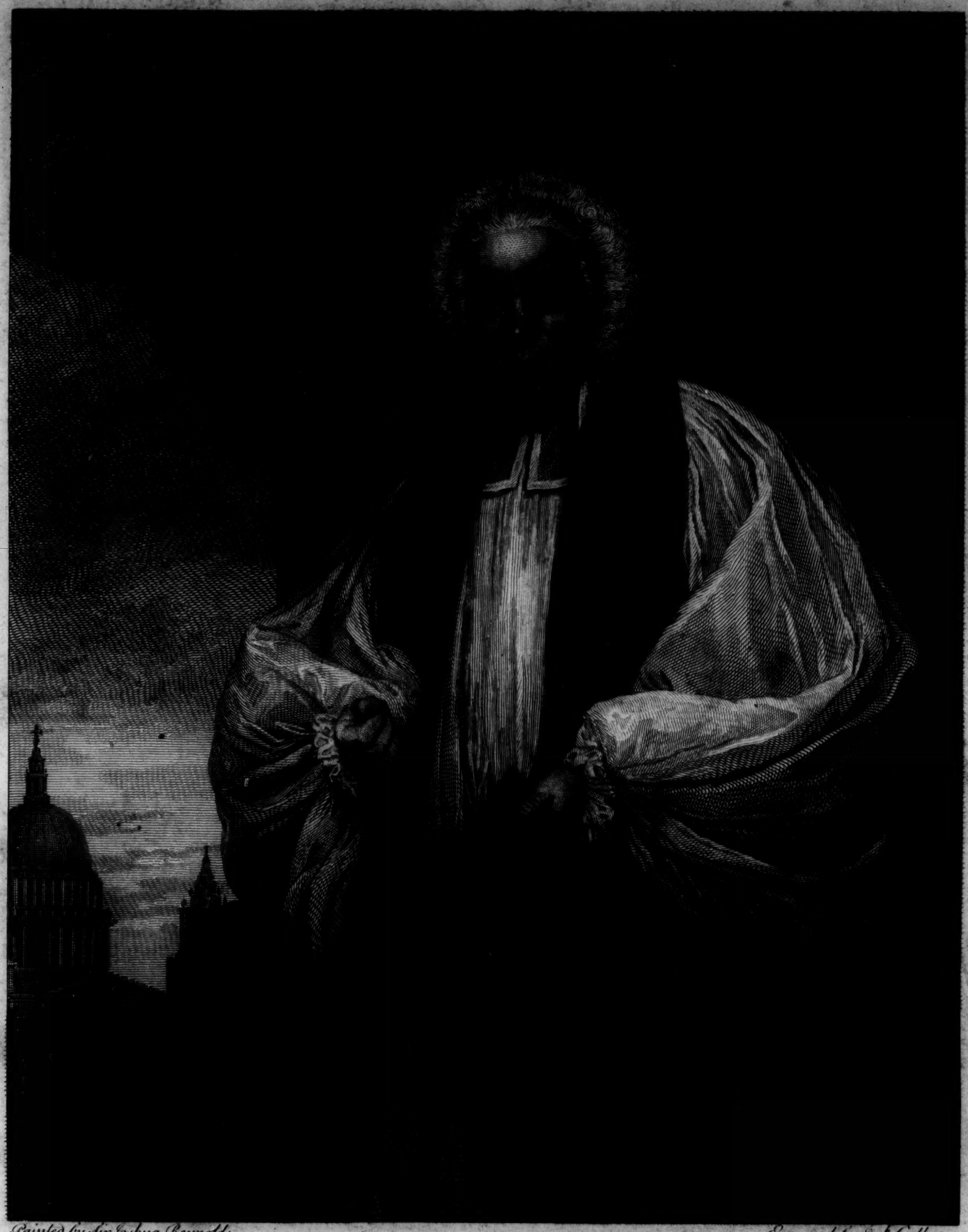

Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds — Engraved by Jos.h Collyer

The Right Reverend THOMAS NEWTON, D.D. *Lord Bishop of* Bristol.

and DEAN of St. PAUL'S.

Publish'd March 25.th 1782 by John Rivington & Sons in St.t Paul's Church Yard, London.

13 - B . 1

THE

WORKS

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

Late LORD BISHOP of BRISTOL,
And DEAN of St. PAUL's, LONDON.

WITH SOME

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

AND

ANECDOTES of ſeveral of his FRIENDS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR JOHN, FRANCIS AND CHARLES RIVINGTON,
No 62, SAINT PAUL's CHURCH-YARD.

MDCCLXXXII.

CONTENTS of VOL. I.

PREFACE to the LIFE.

Some Account of the AUTHOR's LIFE, with ANECDOTES of ſeveral of his FRIENDS, written by HIMSELF.

APPENDIX to the LIFE, containing:

No. I. A SPEECH deſigned for the HOUSE of LORDS, on the Second Reading of the DISSENTERS BILL, May 19, 1772.

No. II. The SENTIMENTS of a MODERATE MAN concerning TOLERATION, 1779.

No. III. A LETTER to the NEW PARLAMENT, with Hints of ſome Regulations which the Nation hopes and expects from them.

Contents of the DISSERTATIONS on the PROPHECIES.

DISSERTATIONS on the PROPHECIES, which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the World. In Three Parts.

PREFACE.

DISABLED as the Biſhop was by ill health from performing his duty in the pulpit, and even from attending the ſervice of the Church, he was yet very unwilling to live and die altogether uſeleſs to the world. Several of the laſt years of his life were therefore employed chiefly in reviſing and correcting and preparing his works for the preſs. They are intitled *Diſſertations*, becauſe many of them were firſt written as ſuch, and were never preached, nor intended to be preached. Others were originally ſermons, but have received additions and alterations; for things may be ſaid in a diſſertation, which cannot with equal propriety be delivered from the pulpit.

Senſible of the diſadvantages which poſthumous works uſually lie under from the careleſneſs and miſtakes of other editors, he judged it moſt adviſable for himſelf to commit his writings to the preſs, and to make himſelf alone anſwerable for them. He was grieved to ſee the works of his friend Biſhop Pearce, ſince his death, not publiſhed in an uniform manner, but ſome in quarto, and ſome in octavo, and in the quarto ſome things omitted which had been printed before, and ſhould have been inſerted to make up the ſecond a juſt volume, as particularly his two Letters to Dr. Middleton; and throughout the whole not that care taken in correcting the preſs which ſhould have been, and which ſuch valuable remains deſerved.

But though for this and other reaſons he cauſed his works to be printed, yet he had no thoughts of publiſhing them in his life-time, being more deſirous to do good than to be a witneſs of the praiſe or cenſure that might attend them. In thus printing his works he compared himſelf to a man erecting

his own monument in his life-time; and whether this monument is of braſs or marble or of mouldring ſtone, the public muſt judge and determin. Whatever may be his ſucceſs, it was his ſincere intention in all his diſcourſes, theological, hiſtorical, or moral, to benefit and inſtruct himſelf and others, to preſs and enforce ſome moral duties, to explain and illuſtrate certain paſſages of ſcripture, to ſearch into the reaſonableneſs of the divine diſpenſations from the creation to the conſummation of all things, and thereby

—aſſert eternal providence,
And juſtify the ways of God to men.

It was a matter of ſurpriſe and grief to him, and what he frequently lamented, that ſeveral of his friends and contemporaries, who were excellently qualified in point of learning and knowlege to write well upon any ſubject, ſhould yet chooſe to bury their talents in a napkin, and to leave no memorial behind them. He had his fears and apprehenſions, that the contrary would be objected to him, and that he might be charged with writing too much. But yet there is ſurely ſome kind of merit in taking pains for the inſtruction and entertainment of others, whether the ſucceſs is anſwerable or not. As no good is owing, ſo no thanks are due to ſupine indolence. Concealed knowlege is like a lamp burning in a ſepulchre. *Let your light ſhine before men*, is a good rule in litterature as well as in morality.

One of the laſt things of his writing was his account of his own life. Not that ever he thought his life of ſuch importance and conſequence as to deſerve an account to be given of it to the public; but as he had opportunities of being privy to ſome intereſting tranſactions, and poſſeſſed ſeveral curious and entertaining anecdotes of Lord Bath and others of his friends and acquaintance, he knew no better method of relating and bringing them together than by weaving them into a narrative of his own life, making the one as it were the vehicle of the other, and writing the life principally for the ſake of the anecdotes. In the general opinion it ſavors ſomething of vanity for a man to write the ſtory of his own life, though ſeveral grave authors have done the ſame. But that rock he has avoided as carefully as he could, and has ſuppreſſed more particulars concerning himſelf than he has related. In many parts

he

he is not mentioned at all. In the parts where he is mentioned, it is in order to bring forward other perſons and other things. In all relating to himſelf there is ſtill ſome reference to the uſe and information of others. He appears only as a gentleman-uſher to introduce better company, or like the chorus in the ancient tragedies, a ſpectator more than an actor, and he would have been *muta perſona*, but for the ſake of doing juſtice to ſome characters. Truth and friendſhip prompted him much more than vanity or ſelf-love. It ſometimes happens that an old man's *chit chat* is very agreeable. This may truly come under that denomination; it was amuſing even in ſickneſs to the writer, and it may be perhaps in an idle hour not unentertaining to the reader.

In ſhort, as all his writings were well intended, he could not but wiſh that they might be well received. If they ſucceeded, he deſired to render unto God the glory, who had given ſtrength in weakneſs. If they failed, he yet hoped that no great harm was done, and that he might be forgiven and forgotten.

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHOR's LIFE,

WITH

ANECDOTES OF SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

——Hoc eſt
Vivere bis, vitâ poſſe priore frui. MARTIAL.

THOMAS NEWTON was born at Lichfield on the 21ſt of December 1703 O. S., or on the 1ſt of January 1704 N. S. He was named Thomas, being born on St. Thomas's day, before the ſtile was altered. His father John Newton was a conſiderable brandy and cider-merchant; and dealt largely in the counties of Stafford, Warwick, Leiceſter, Derby, Nottingham, and the weſtern parts of Yorkſhire. He was remarkable for punctuality and exactneſs in all his dealings; and having by his induſtry and integrity acquired what he thought a competent fortune, left off all trade and buſineſs ſeveral years before he died. He had a good ſound underſtanding, with ſome tincture of reading, was a converſable agreeable old man, lived and acted under a juſt ſenſe of religion as

as well as of virtue, conſtantly attended the daily ſervice of the Church, and died at the age of eighty-three, much regretted and lamented by all his friends and acquaintance. Such was his father; his mother, the daughter of Mr. Rhodes, a clergyman, died young of a conſumption, when this her only child was about a year old, who from her inherited a tender conſtitution.

He received the firſt part of his education in the Free School of Lichfield, which at that time floriſhed greatly under the direction of Mr. Hunter, and at all times has ſent forth ſeveral perſons of note and eminence from Biſhop Smalrige and Mr. Wollaſton, author of *the Religion of Nature delineated*, down to Dr. Johnſon and the Engliſh Roſcius Mr. Garrick. It was obſerved one day in company, What an honor it was to Weſtminſter School, that the three heads of the law, the Lord Chancellor Northington, the Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield, and Sir Thomas Clarke Maſter of the Rolls, ſhould all have been educated there! To which a reply was made, that it was ſtill more extraordinary, that out of the twelve Judges at that time five of them ſhould have come from Lichfield School, the Lord Chief Juſtice Willes, the Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mr. Juſtice Noel, Mr. Juſtice afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice Wilmot, and Sir Richard Lloyd, Baron of the Exchequer.

When he was of an age to be ſent out into the world, and not before, his father married a ſecond wife, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Trebeck of Worceſter, and ſiſter to Dr. Trebeck the firſt rector of St. George Hanover Square: and it was by the advice of Dr. Trebeck, and by the encouragement of Biſhop Smalrige, that the ſon was removed from Lichfield to Weſtminſter School; as Biſhop Smalrige himſelf had been, and alſo Mr. Juſtice Wilmot. He was ſent to Weſtminſter after the Whitſun Holidays in 1717, when he was between thirteen and fourteen years old. He was placed at the lower end of the fourth form, and the year following became a King's Scholar, being admitted into the College by the nomination of Biſhop Smalrige. Weſtminſter School never was in higher eſtimation than at that time under the auſpices of Dr. Freind and Dr. Nicoll, nor ever contained a greater number of ſcholars, there being really not fewer than five hundred, and ſeveral of quality. There was ſomething auguſt and awful too in the Weſtminſter elections, to ſee three ſuch great men preſiding, Biſhop Atterbury as Dean of Weſtminſter, Biſhop Smalrige as Dean

of

of Chriſt Church, and Dr. Bentley as Maſter of Trinity College: and "as iron ſharpeneth iron," ſo theſe three by their wit and learning and liberal converſation whetted and ſharpened one another.

Not long after his admiſſion into Weſtminſter College, he loſt his friend and patron Biſhop Smalrige, who died of an apoplexy at Chriſt Church on the 27th of September 1719. This was truly a worthy prelate, an excellent ſcholar, a ſound divine, an eloquent preacher, a good writer both in Latin and in Engliſh, of great gravity and dignity in his whole deportment, and at the ſame time of as great complacency and ſweetneſs of manners, a character at once both amiable and venerable. Nemo illum amabilem, qui non ſimul venerabilem, diceret. Sen. Epiſt. cxv. He was ſo noted for his good temper, that ſucceeding Dr. Atterbury in the deaneries of Carliſle and Chriſt Church, he was ſaid to carry the bucket wherewith to extinguiſh the fires which the other had kindled. But notwithſtanding his merits he never attained to any very great or lucrative preferments. He had Briſtol the pooreſt biſhopric in the kingdom, and Chriſt Church the moſt expenſive deanery, foreigners and perſons of quality, who viſit the univerſity of Oxford, being uſually recommended to the Dean of Chriſt Church. He was alſo the Preacher at the new chapel in the Broad-Way Weſtminſter, which at that time was frequented by one of the beſt and politeſt congregations in town, ſeveral families of faſhion and diſtinction living then in thoſe parts. He was beſides appointed Lord Almoner by Queen Anne, but was removed by the miniſters of George I. on account of party; though ſurely no man ever exerciſed greater candor and moderation than he did towards all parties and perſons, and is particularly commended for it by Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Addiſon in the Tatler, the latter of whom likewiſe makes very honorable mention of him in a letter to Dr. Swift, dated from Briſtol October 1, 1718. "The "greateſt pleaſure I have met with for ſome months, is in the converſa- "tion of my old friend Dr. Smalrige, who, ſince the death of the excel- "lent man you mention, is to me the moſt candid and agreeable of all "biſhops; I would ſay clergymen, were not deans comprehended under "that title. We have often talked of you; and when I aſſure you he "has an exquiſite taſte of writing, I need not tell you how he talks on "ſuch a ſubject." The authors of the Biographia Britannica from the pretended information of a gentleman well known to the family ſay, that the

the Biſhop left a widow and two children, a ſon and a daughter, the ſon named Henry. But the truth is, he left a widow and three children, a ſon named Philip and two daughters, both ſenſible clever women. Conſidering the nature of the Biſhop's preferments, his hoſpitable manner of living, and his extenſive charities, he cannot be ſuppoſed to have made ſufficient proviſion for his widow and family: but it was happy for him and for them too, that ſome time before his death he grew much into the favor of Caroline Princeſs of Wales, who generouſly procured a penſion of 300 l. a year for the widow, and a prebend of Worceſter for the ſon. The ſon was alſo preſented to the living of Chriſtleton near Cheſter by Sir Roger Moſtyn, and had the chancellorſhip of Worceſter conferred upon him by Biſhop Hough, out of regard to his father's memory. A ſubſcription too was opened, and nobly promoted for the publication of ſixty of the Biſhop's ſermons; ſome of which, it muſt be confeſſed, are unequal to the reſt, having never been deſigned for the preſs, but others are truly excellent, and worthy of him or of any author. The widow very properly took this opportunity of addreſſing the dedication to the Princeſs of Wales with an humble acknowlegement of the many and great obligations which ſhe and her family had received from her Royal Highneſs.

The year 1719 proved fatal to Mr. Addiſon as well as to Biſhop Smalrige. The Biſhop was buried at Chriſt Church, where a monument was erected to him by his widow with a handſome inſcription, drawn up moſt probably by Dr. Freind, the Head Maſter of Weſtminſter School, and alſo his Brother in law, the Biſhop and He having married two ſiſters. Dr. Freind was at that time the celebrated writer of Latin epitaphs; which yet Mr. Pope, who was as great a compoſer of epitaphs in Engliſh verſe, and could not well bear a rival in any way, thought too prolix and too flattering, if Dr. Freind be really intended, as he was generally ſuppoſed to be intended in that epigram.

Friend, for your epitaphs I'm griev'd,
Where ſtill ſo much is ſaid,
One half will never be believ'd,
The other never read.

Mr. Addiſon was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, and the King's Scholars in their ſurplices with their white tapers in their hands attended the fune-

ral, and the ſervice was obſerved to be performed with more than common energy and ſolemnity by Biſhop Atterbury. The friendſhip between Biſhop Smalrige and Mr. Addiſon commenced at Lichfield, where Mr. Addiſon's father was Dean, and increaſed at Oxford, where the one was a ſtudent of Chriſt Church, and the other a fellow of Magdalen College: and they were ſomewhat alike in their diſpoſitions and tempers, ſo that party diſputes, which were then carried on with great vehemence and animoſity on both ſides, did not much divide them. They were both excellent Latin poets, and bore diſtinguiſhed parts in the Muſæ Anglicanæ; but I know not whether the Auctio Daviſiana of the former be not ſuperior to any of the productions of the latter. Mr. Whiſton in the Memoirs of his life would fain repreſent Biſhop Smalrige as an Arian and a friend to him and Dr. Clarke. He was indeed a friend to all mankind, and converſed with thoſe two learned men in the ſpirit of meekneſs, and was for moderating the violent proceedings of the Convocation againſt them: but Whiſton was always too ſanguin and opinionative, whatever he took into his head he firmly believed, and becauſe he wiſhed the Biſhop to be as himſelf, he fondly concluded him to be ſuch an one. However the report ſo far prevailed, that the Biſhop thought proper to diſclaim it, and to aſſert his conſtant belief of the Trinity, in a letter addreſſed but a few days before his death to Sir Jonathan Trelawny Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by him atteſted and made public.

From Biſhop Smalrige the diſcourſe naturally applies to his friend Biſhop Atterbury. The perſon here treated of was captain of Weſtminſter School, when their chief governor, the Dean, in Auguſt 1722, not many days after performing the laſt office at the magnificent funeral of the great Duke of Marlborough, was taken into cuſtody, and carried before a committee of the Privy Council. Where being under examination he made uſe of thoſe words of our Saviour, "If I tell you, ye will not believe; "and if I alſo aſk you, ye will not anſwer me, nor let me go;" and he was committed a priſoner to the tower for treaſonable practices. There is too much reaſon to fear that the Biſhop had been dabbling in this kind of politics, but a full and clear detection of the conſpiracy was never obtained. The miniſtry had got ſome ſcent of his intrigues, but could not follow him through all his turnings and windings, nor with all their ſagacity could trace him directly to his cover. They had little better

evidence than hearſays, conjectures, and innuendoes; and could procure no ſufficient legal proof to convict him by trial at law. Recourſe was had therefore to a bill of pains and penalties, to depriye him of all his preferments, and to baniſh him the kingdom; which after long debate was carried by a conſiderable majority in both houſes. In this debate the Duke of Wharton exerted himſelf greatly, ſummed up the evidence in a maſterly manner, and made one of the beſt and ableſt ſpeeches againſt the bill, which he cauſed to be printed, and entered a larger and more particular proteſt, diſſentient for the ſame reaſons as other Lords, and for other reaſons additional. Hereby he verified in ſome meaſure what his father the old Marquis had in his anger predicted of him, that he would always take wrong courſes, would learn his politics of Atterbury, and be ruined. His brethren the Biſhops were almoſt all unanimous againſt him. The only one who ſpoke in his behalf and proteſted, was Gaſtrell Biſhop of Cheſter, who yet had been at variance with him. Willis Biſhop of Saliſbury made a long and labored ſpeech on the other ſide, which he publiſhed ſoon after, and was rewarded by the biſhopric of Wincheſter, as Biſhop Hoadly was by ſucceeding to Saliſbury. Lord Bathurſt wondring at this unanimity ſaid, that he could not poſſibly account for it, unleſs ſome perſons were poſſeſſed with the notion of the wild Indians, that when they had killed a man, they were not only intitled to his ſpoils, but inherited likewiſe his abilities. Biſhop Hoadly was no ſpeaker in the houſe, but he took another courſe. He had all along purſued Atterbury with unrelenting animoſity, had firſt attacked his ſermon at the funeral of Mr. Bennet, then his ſermon upon charity, afterwards ſet forth an anſwer in Engliſh to his Latin ſermon before the clergy, and ſtill continued the purſuit, and ſtuck in his ſkirts to the laſt, by writing in a weekly journal a refutation of his ſpeech, and a vindication of the judgment paſſed upon him: ſo that a gentleman of wit and learning alluding to Biſhop Hoadly's lameneſs, applied that ſaying in Horace,

Raro antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

The power of Parlament in ſuch matters is indeed not to be queſtioned; it may be as unlimited and omnipotent as you pleaſe: but yet bills of attainder and of pains and penalties are not to be employed upon ſlight occaſions,

occaſions, but only in caſes of great and urgent neceſſity for the preſervation of the king and kingdom. Whether this was an occaſion worthy of ſuch an extraordinary exertion of power, many doubted at that time, and many perhaps will doubt always: for the danger was then all over; the conſpiracy, whatever it was, had above a year before been ſo far diſcovered, as to put the miniſtry upon their guard, and to give them time to prevent the ill effects of it; and nothing ſtrengthens the hands of government more than a plot diſcovered and defeated. It was ſaid that a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy was formed for raiſing an inſurrection and rebellion in the kingdom, for ſeizing the tower and the city of London, and for laying violent hands upon the perſons of the King and the Prince of Wales. But how was all this to have been effected? It did not appear, that there were any meetings or combinations of numbers of men for this purpoſe: no ſums of money were collected, no ſtands of arms provided, no officers appointed, no ſoldiers raiſed and muſtered, not even a ſingle man in arms. So that ſome have ſuſpected that there was more truth than there ſhould have been in (1) that confeſſion of the villain Neynoe, that he knew nothing of the plot, but he knew of two other plots, one of his own to get money from Mr. Walpole, and the other of Mr. Walpole againſt the proteſting Lords, and particularly againſt the Biſhop of Rocheſter the chief of them, to pull down the pride of that haughty prelate. But though it did not appear that the Biſhop had any concern and connexion with Layer and Layer's plot, yet there was a greater intimacy between him and Kelly than either of them would acknowlege; for the young gentleman, who lived at that time in the Biſhop's houſe as his ſon's tutor and companion, has often ſaid that Kelly uſed to come to him frequently, commonly once in a week, on a Thurſday evening, and to ſtay ſhut up with him alone from ſeven o'clock till nine. The Earl of Sunderland too, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been of the ſame way of thinking but died before the diſcovery, though he had no manner of acquaintance with the Biſhop, or rather was at enmity with him in former times, yet in his latter days made him long and frequent viſits, as even the King's Scholars obſerved, who walking and playing much in Dean's Yard had yet curioſity enough to remark who and what paſſed. Some of

(1) See the Speeches of Sir Conſtantine Phipps and Duke Wharton.

his negotiations alſo with the Pretender's agents, after his going abroad, have been publiſhed in the year 1768, with a fac-ſimile or exemplification of his hand-writing, which whoever knew, he cannot well entertain any doubt of their authenticity. At his trial he had produced Mr. Pope as an evidence in his favor, to ſpeak to his manner of life and converſation: and when he took his laſt leave of him, he told him, he would allow him to ſay his ſentence was juſt, if ever he found he had any concerns with the Pretender's family in his exile. But notwithſtanding this, as (2) Biſhop Warburton informs us, Mr. Pope was convinced, before the Biſhop's death, that during his baniſhment he was in the intrigues of the Pretender. It was moſt excellent advice which Mr. Pope gave him in ſome of his parting letters, that he ſhould not envy the world his ſtudies; that it might be, providence had appointed him to ſome great and uſeful work, and called him to it this ſevere way; that now he was cut off from a little ſociety and made a citizen of the world at large, he ſhould bend his talents not to ſerve a party, or a few, but all mankind; that he ſhould think of Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon; that he ſhould remember, the greateſt lights of antiquity dazled and blazed moſt in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death; that he ſhould deſpiſe all little views, all mean retroſpects, and ſhould (as he could) make the world look after him, not with pity, but with eſteem and admiration. And it is much to be lamented, that this advice was no better followed, that ſuch talents and faculties were no better employed, and that he was ſtill dealing in politics, inſtead of writing ſome work of genius and learning, of which he was very capable. He wrote only two or three little pieces, his Eſſay on the character of Iapis in Virgil, his Vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Smalrige, and himſelf from the charge of interpolating Lord Clarendon's hiſtory, and little or nothing beſides but a few criticiſms on ſome French authors. For though he would never venture to talk or converſe in French, yet as Monſ. Rollin and Thiriot, to whom Voltaire addreſſed his letters on the Engliſh nation, have aſſured us, he was as able a critic in the language as any Frenchman. After the Weſtminſter election in 1723 was over, ſome of the King's Scholars thought it a proper piece of reſpect to wait upon their late Dean in the tower, as every body had then free admittance to ſee and to take leave of him: and

(2) See Pope's Letters.

among

among other things which he ſaid to them, he applied to himſelf thoſe lines of Milton, as he did likewiſe in a letter to Mr. Pope;

> The world is all before me, where to chooſe
> My place of reſt, and Providence my guide.

During the time that Newton was in Weſtminſter College, there were perhaps more young men, who made a diſtinguiſhed figure afterwards in the world, than at any other period either before or ſince. There were particularly Walter Titley, a very ingenious man, at firſt ſecretary to the embaſſy at Turin, afterwards for many years His Majeſty's Envoy at the court of Denmark. During the time that he was King's Scholar, he lived in the houſe with Biſhop Atterbury as tutor to his ſon, and his taſte and learning were much improved by the Biſhop's converſation. His plan of life, as laid down by himſelf, was to proſecute his ſtudies at Cambridge till he ſhould be thirty, from thirty to ſixty to be employed in public buſineſs, at ſixty to retire and return to college, for which purpoſe he would keep his fellowſhip. This plan he nearly purſued, he kept his fellowſhip, he reſigned his public employment, but inſtead of returning to college, where in great meaſure there was a new ſociety, and few or none were left of his own age and ſtanding, he remained at Copenhagen, where by his long reſidence he was in a manner naturalized, and there lived and died greatly reſpected and lamented by all ranks of people. Beſides Titley, whom there will not be occaſion to mention again, there was alſo Thomas Clarke, afterwards Sir Thomas Clarke and Maſter of the Rolls; Andrew Stone, afterwards Under Secretary of State, and Sub-governor to the King when Prince of Wales, and Treaſurer to the Queen; William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, the greateſt character of the age; James Johnſon, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter; George Stone, the late Primate of Ireland; and Richard Robinſon, the preſent Primate. One more ſhould not be forgotten, leſs fortunate indeed than the preceding, but not leſs deſerving, Peirſon Lloyd, who was Uſher and Second Maſter of Weſtminſter School for the ſpace of forty-ſeven years; in both ſtations acquitted himſelf with fidelity and honor, and to univerſal ſatisfaction; was beloved, eſteemed, and commended by all the noblemen and gentlemen who had been under him or had ſons under him. But yet not one of them ever made a point of promoting him, though others of leſs merit had

had livings and prebends given them; and in all probability he might have labored on at that oar till his death, if the late Earl of Egremont, who was then Secretary of State, had not, upon the repreſentation of the Biſhop of Briſtol, compaſſionated his caſe, contributed ſomething handſome himſelf, and procured a penſion for him, which was to have been redeemed by ſome dignity in the Church. He would certainly have had good preferment if Lord Egremont had lived; but that Lord dying he obtained nothing more from the Crown than an augmentation of His Majeſty's bounty to 500l. a year paid without deduction. This was no more than he had merited by his long and faithful ſervices to the public; but it would be more for the credit and honor of miniſters, to beſtow the King's preferments on the moſt deſerving men rather than burden the civil liſt with penſions.

It was ſaid before that the Lord Chancellor Northington was educated at Weſtminſter; he was of the School, when Lloyd and Newton were in the College. It happened that he and his Lady were married by Mr. Newton at the Chapel in South Audley Street, at which time they were a very handſome couple. Several years afterwards Mr. Newton went one day into Lincoln's-Inn hall, while the court was ſitting, to ſpeak with Mr. Murray upon ſome buſineſs, Mr. Henley being next to him and reading a brief. When he had diſpatched his buſineſs, and was coming away, What, ſaid Murray to Henley, have you forgotten your old friend Newton, or have you never forgiven the great injury that he did you? Upon which he ſtarted as out of a dream, and was wonderfully gracious to his old ſchool-fellow, acknowleging that he owed all his happineſs in life to him. And indeed he had good reaſon to be happy in his wife and family. While he continued at the bar, he went the weſtern circuit, and being of lively parts and a warm temper, he was like ſome other lawyers, too apt to take indecent liberties in examining witneſſes. An extraordinary incident of this kind happened at Briſtol. In a cauſe of ſome conſequence Mr. Reeve, a conſiderable merchant, and one of the people called Quakers, was croſs-examined by him with much raillery and ridicule. Mr. Reeve complained of it at the time; and when the court had adjourned, and the lawyers were all together at the White Lion, Mr. Reeve ſent one of the waiters to let Mr. Henley know, that a gentleman wanted to ſpeak to him in a room adjoining. As ſoon as Mr. Henley had entered into the room,

Mr.

Mr. Reeve locked the door, and put the key into his pocket. "Friend "Henley, ſaid he, I cannot call thee, for thou haſt uſed me moſt ſcur- "rilouſly? thou mighteſt think perhaps that a quaker might be inſulted "with impunity, but I am a man of ſpirit, and am come to demand, "and will have ſatisfaction. Here are two ſwords, here are two piſtols, "chooſe thy weapons, or fight me at fifty cuffs, if thou hadſt rather; "but fight me thou ſhalt before we leave this room, or beg my pardon." Mr. Henley pleaded in excuſe, that it was nothing more than the uſual language at the bar, that what was ſaid in court ſhould not be queſtioned out of court; lawyers ſometimes advanced things to ſerve their clients perhaps beyond the truth, but ſuch ſpeeches died in ſpeaking; he was ſo far from intending any inſult or injury, that he had really forgotten what he had ſaid, and hoped the other would not remember it; upon his word and honor he never meant to give him the leaſt offence, but if undeſignedly he had offended him, he was ſorry for it, and was ready to beg his pardon, which was a gentleman's ſatisfaction. Well, ſaid Mr. Reeve, as the affront was public, the reparation muſt be ſo too; if thou wilt not fight, but beg my pardon, thou muſt beg my pardon before the company in the next room. Mr. Henley with ſome difficulty and after ſome delay ſubmitted to this condition, and thus this fray ended. No farther notice was taken on either ſide, till after ſome years the Lord Chancellor wrote a letter to Mr. Reeve, informing him that ſuch a ſhip was come or coming into the port of Briſtol with a couple of pipes of Madeira on board conſigned to him. He there- fore begged of Mr. Reeve to pay the freight and the duty, and to cauſe the veſſels to be put into a waggon, and to be ſent to the Grange; and he would take the firſt opportunity of defraying all charges, and ſhould think himſelf infinitely obliged to him. All was done as deſired; and the winter following, when Mr. Reeve was in town, he dined at the Chancellor's with ſeveral of the nobility and gentry. After dinner the Chancellor related the whole ſtory of his firſt acquaintance with his friend Reeve, and of every particular that had paſſed between them with great good humour and pleaſantry, and to the no little diverſion of the company.

Six years Newton continued at Weſtminſter School, five years of which he paſſed in College, having ſtayed one year to be Captain, as Andrew

Stone

Stone had done the year before him, and Johnſon did the year after him. He always thought the mode of education in College, and the taſte which prevailed there, as far ſuperior to that of the School, as that of the School to any Country School; and well it might be, when there were ſo many ingenious ſpirits to provoke one another to emulation. If Biſhop Smalrige had been living at the election in May 1723, his townſman would undoubtedly have been elected to Chriſt Church in Oxford; and perhaps it would have been better for him if it had ſo happened, as the moſt conſiderable of his ſchool fellows went thither who might have been of ſervice to him in future life. But he preferred going to Cambridge, thinking the ſtudies there rather more manly, and knowing the fellowſhips of Trinity College to be much more valuable than the ſtudentſhips of Chriſt Church; and accordingly made intereſt to Dr. Bentley to be by him elected firſt to Cambridge. The Doctor was not diſpleaſed, but wondered at the ſtrangeneſs of this application, the Weſtminſter Scholars, if ever they applied to him, applying more uſually that he would not, than that he would elect them to Cambridge. For they ſuppoſed him to have no friendly diſpoſition towards them ever ſince his famous diſpute with the Chriſt Church men concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris; and he had ſometimes been heard to ſay that the School had produced only one good ſcholar, old Prideaux; but after his ſon had married a niece of Dr. Freind, and he had lived and converſed more among them, he conceived a better opinion of them, and declared that Freind had more good learning in him than he had ever imagined. The truth is, there were faults on both ſides. They were apt to be pert and ſaucy to him, and he was rough and ſupercilious to them. They often ſided with the party in College which was againſt the Maſter, and no wonder he preferred his Wakefield lads as often as he had opportunity: but yet there are inſtances of his chooſing out of three or four Weſtminſter Scholars two or three fellows; and he ſeldom or never ſet aſide the Senior Weſtminſter, unleſs he had been guilty of ſome great miſdemeanor. He was indeed an arbitrary Maſter, attended little to the duties of his ſtation, very rarely was ſeen in the Chapel, and ſet no good example but that of hard ſtudy. In his latter days he loved his bottle of old Port, and uſed to ſay that Claret would be Port if it could. However he muſt be allowed to have been a moſt excellent Scholar, a moſt acute and able Critic, and had withal

withall a great deal of wit and pleaſantry. His edition of the Paradiſe Loſt may be ſaid to be his moſt puny child, and his edition of the Greek Teſtament (to the regret of the learned world) proved an abortion. His name was as much celebrated abroad as at home through his Latin writings, and his editions and remarks upon various authors. It was ſaid that a deſign was formed for bringing over Le Clerc from Holland, and for conſtituting him the Royal Librarian, which place was then poſſeſſed by Dr. Bentley, who for this reaſon was ſuppoſed to publiſh his edition of the fragments of Menander and Philemon, which Le Clerc had publiſhed before, in order to expoſe the futility of Le Clerc's criticiſms, and thereby to diſconcert the ſcheme for his intended promotion. His edition of Terence engaged him in a controverſy with Dr. Hare another editor of Terence, which was the more extraordinary as they had been good friends before, and drew a ſevere reflection upon them from Sir Iſaac Newton, that two ſuch Divines inſtead of minding the duties of their function ſhould be ſquabbling about an old play-book. His Engliſh writings are not ſo numerous as his Latin; his Sermons at Boyle's lectures, being the firſt that were preached upon that foundation; his Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, and Æſop's fables, annexed to Wotton's Reflections upon ancient and modern learning; his Remarks upon Collins's diſcourſe of free-thinking, for which he received the thanks of the Clergy; and his chief work, his Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Phalaris with his anſwer to the objections of Mr. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery. This work paſſed under the name of Mr. Boyle, but it was generally known that he was aſſiſted in it by Atterbury who had been his tutor, and by other learned and ingenious men of Chriſt Church; inſomuch that Swift in his Battle of the books ſays, that Boyle's ſuit of armour was given him by all the gods. The wits of that time generally gave the preference to Mr. Boyle, as Swift did in the ſaid Battle of the books; for Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation having been firſt publiſhed at the end of Wotton's Reflections upon learning, Swift repreſents Boyle with his lance, thruſting them thro' both together, and ſpitting them like a couple of woodcocks. Dr. Garth likewiſe has theſe memorable lines in his Diſpenſary,

So diamonds take a luſtre from their foyle,
And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle.

But all men of letters are now agreed, that Dr. Bentley has greatly the advantage in point of argument as well as learning. It is a controverſy very well worth reading for the uncommon erudition diſplayed therein; and the genteel ſatir and irony on one ſide, and the rough wit and humour on the other render it very entertaining. Some of theſe Engliſh pieces are become ſcarce; and out of juſtice to the memory of ſuch a man, his Son, or his Nephew, or ſome of his family and friends, ſhould collect them together, and cauſe them to be printed in an uniform handſome manner.

One of Dr. Bentley's moſt formidable enemies was Dr. Middleton, as appears from ſeveral parts of his works, and particularly from his remarks upon Dr. Bentley's projected edition of the New Teſtament, which remarks are ſuppoſed to have been one principal obſtacle to the publication of that work. But length of time having overcome all prejudices, it is much wiſhed, that the perſon who poſſeſſes the M. S. would oblige the learned world by ſetting forth ſo curious a performance. By the death of Dr. King there was a vacancy of the Maſterſhip of the Charter Houſe, a place which ſome conſiderable perſons at different periods have deſired to fill. Biſhop Benſon and Dr. Jortin uſed to ſay, that there was a certain time in their lives, when of all preferments they wiſhed for it the moſt. And now the competitors to ſucceed Dr. King were Dr. Middleton and Mr. Mann. When Dr. Middleton applied to Sir Robert Walpole for his vote and intereſt, Sir Robert honeſtly told him, that talking with Biſhop Sherlock he found the Biſhops were generally againſt his being choſen Maſter. Mr. Mann had been tutor to the Marquis of Blandford, and when the Marquis was diſpoſed to be diſſipated and idle, he would ſay to him, that he ſhould apply more to his books and to learning, or he would never make a figure in the world like the Duke of Marlborough. The boy replied, that he was already a better ſcholar and knew more of Greek and Latin than the Duke ever did, and why then ſhould he not make as good a figure? The Duke of Marlborough was ſaid to be rather illiterate, and to ſpell very ill, though in other reſpects he was one of the moſt illuſtrious characters, as great a ſtateſman as a general, excelled equally in the cabinet and in the field, and never fought a battle, but he won it, nor beſieged a town, but he took it. It was thro' the intereſt of that family, that Mr. Mann gained the aſcendent over Dr. Middleton, and when he waited upon

the

the Governors at their reſpective houſes to return his thanks, he ſaid very needleſly and impertinently to Archbiſhop Potter, "I ſuppoſe your Grace "knows that you have made choice of an Arian." The Archbiſhop was ſtartled, but ſoon recollecting himſelf made anſwer, "An Arian perhaps "may be better than a Deiſt." Dr. Middleton, it is to be hoped, was not a Deiſt, for late in life he accepted a ſmall living in Surry, and of courſe took the uſual oaths, and made the regular ſubſcriptions. It is not eaſy to ſay what his religious principles were, they ſeem to have been various at various times. He was certainly a very unfair controvertiſt, and his quotations cannot be depended upon without particular examination. He was ſometimes guilty of litterary forgery by additions or omiſſions as beſt ſuited his purpoſe. His firſt connections were among the High Church party as they were called, but he plainly appeared to have been warped and drawn aſide to heterodoxy by pique and reſentment for not being preferred according to his merits and expectations. He was much hurt and provoked at this diſappointment; and thinking Biſhop Sherlock to be the primary cauſe of it, he wreaked his malice in his ill-natured and ill-timed animadverſions upon the Biſhop's diſcourſes on prophecy, pretending that he had never ſeen them before, though they had been publiſhed ſeveral years, and had gone through ſeveral editions. Nor did he afterwards ſpare the Archbiſhop and his chaplains, but took every opportunity of making Lambeth Houſe the ſubject of his wit and ſatir. It is alſo well known that he wrote a treatiſe of the inutility and inefficacy of prayer, which was communicated to Lord Bolingbroke, who much approved it, and adviſed the publication of it. Mrs. Middleton however never thought proper to publiſh it in her life time, and the Biſhop has heard that Dr. Heberden, a particular friend of Dr. Middleton, and to whom his widow left all his papers, has ſince committed it to the flames. An act worthy of ſo good a man, and the fitteſt end of ſuch a work.

At the ſame time that Newton was elected firſt to Cambridge, Murray was elected firſt to Oxford, who during the time of his being at ſchool gave early proofs of his uncommon abilities, not ſo much in his poetry, as in his other exerciſes, and particularly in his declamations, which were ſure tokens and prognoſtics of that eloquence, which grew up to ſuch maturity and perfection at the Bar and in both Houſes of Parlament. As the former had made Cambridge his choice, he conſtantly

ſtantly reſided there eight months at leaſt in every year, till he had taken his Bachelor of Arts degree. During the long vacation he was with his father and friends at Lichfield, and likewiſe after he had taken his degree; till he returned to Cambridge to ſpeak the ſpeech on the 29th of May, in order to his being choſen fellow in the October following. In his ſpeech he took occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt eminent Maſters of the college, Pearſonum, Barrovium, Bentleium, homines non tam ſibi quam reipublicæ litterariæ natos, Muſarum cultores et Muſis ſemper colendos. A compliment to the Maſter was not unacceptable, at a time when there was a ſtrong party in oppoſition to him. At Cambridge his chief friends and companions were Clarke and Lloyd before mentioned; Hawkins Browne, who was his countryman and ſchoolfellow both at Lichfield and Weſtminſter, an extraordinary genius, well known afterwards in the litterary world; Hugh Robinſon of Appleby, who was elected from Weſtminſter the year before him, a ſound good ſcholar, preferred by the late Lord Lonſdale in his own country, but deſerving of better preferment; and Philip Byerley, who was of the ſame election, had a good eſtate at Goldeſborough in Yorkſhire, and was a very pretty gentleman, but retiring into the country, and indulging there in the lower pleaſures, did not make the figure that he might otherwiſe have done. It was cuſtomary in thoſe days, I know not whether it is in theſe, for the ſcholars and ſtudents to make an entertainment at their own expenſe for the reception of their ſchoolfellows elected to the univerſity. At the meeting upon Newton's and thoſe of his year coming to Cambridge, Hawkins Browne was ſo pleaſant and in ſuch high ſpirits, that one ſaid unto him, Hawkins, you are mad. He replied inſtantly out of Horace,

——— recepto
Dulce mihi furere eſt amico.

At Lichfield there was better ſociety than in moſt country places, and at that time there were ſo many remarkably pretty women, that Hawkins Browne uſed to call it the Paphos of England. His chief friends and companions there were Charles Howard, who was a Proctor of the court, a moſt facetious and pleaſant companion, of fine natural parts, and if he had

received

received the advantages of a liberal education, and had practiſed at the Commons, would have been at the head of his profeſſion; Theophilus Lowe, who was alſo a native of the place, and a fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, afterwards became a tutor in Lord Townſhend's family, and was made a Canon of Windſor, a man of ſtrong underſtanding improved by reading, a moſt ready and excellent writer of letters, happy in a perpetual flow of ſpirits, of an amiable benevolent generous temper, and without any fault but that of being too warm and poſitive in politics; and John Green, who was likewiſe a fellow of St. John's College, and at that time was an aſſiſtant to Mr. Hunter in his ſchool, afterwards was chaplain to Charles Duke of Somerſet, then Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, then Dean of Lincoln, and at laſt the worthy Biſhop of that ſee, which he filled with more ability and dignity than any of his predeceſſors ſince Biſhop Gibſon. Theſe were his principal companions, for he was always deſirous of a few ſelect friends rather than of a large and numerous acquaintance. Theſe were friendſhips which laſted through life, and could be ſeparated only by death.

Soon after he was choſen Fellow of Trinity College, he came to ſettle in London. As it had been his inclination from a child, and he was always deſigned for holy orders, he had ſufficient time to prepare himſelf, and compoſed about twenty ſermons, which by the advice of a good old clergyman he took care to write in a large legible character, that he might never have occaſion to copy them; and having ſome ſtock in hand, he was not under the neceſſity of making ſermons in a hurry, but might proceed more at his leiſure, and employ more time and conſideration. In all his compoſitions at ſchool at the univerſity and every where his method was, to finiſh the whole before he wrote down any part of it; and to ſome of his friends he repeated ſeveral of his ſermons word for word, before he had committed a tittle to writing; ſo that he ſaved abundance of paper without blotting or interlining, and could eaſily have preached without notes if he had pleaſed. His title for orders was his fellowſhip; and he was ordained Deacon on December 21, 1729, when he was twenty-ſix years old; and Prieſt in the February following, by that great and worthy Prelate Biſhop Gibſon. At his firſt ſetting out in the world, he for a little time officiated as Curate at St. George's Church Hanover Square, and continued for ſeveral years aſſiſtant preacher to Dr. Trebeck, whoſe ill

health diſabled him from performing his duty. His firſt preferment was that of Reader and Afternoon Preacher at Groſvenor Chapel in South Audly Street. By theſe means he became well known in the pariſh, and was ſoon taken into Lord Carpenter's family to be tutor to his ſon, who was afterwards created Earl of Tyrconnel, and who, though he was not a very bright, yet was (what is much better) a very good man. His ſiſter, who had a better capacity, was alſo very beautiful, and had more and better and greater offers than perhaps any young woman ever had: but ſhe preferred the Earl of Egremont, who was her conſtant lover, and had more than once offered his ſervices: and Dr. Newton had the honor of concluding the match between them with Lord Bolingbroke, and afterwards of joining their hands in marriage. In this family he lived ſeveral years very much at his eaſe, and in the friendſhip and intimacy of Lord and Lady Carpenter, with not ſo much as an unkind word, nor even a cool look ever intervening: and living at no kind of expenſe he was tempted to gratify and indulge his taſte in the purchaſe of books, prints, and pictures, and made the beginnings of a collection which was continually receiving conſiderable additions and improvements.

Here he ſtuck ſome time without any promotion. He might have preached the turns of ſeveral of the Prebendaries at Weſtminſter Abbey. His old maſter Dr. Freind came himſelf to requeſt it of him, and him he could not well refuſe. He did the like ſervice alſo for his other maſter Dr. Nicol. At that time too he had the honor of converſing a good deal with Biſhop Chandler, who had been an old acquaintance of his father's from the time of his being Chaplain to Biſhop Lloyd and Canon of Lichfield; and he was therefore the kinder and more gracious to the ſon, inviting and encouraging his coming to him. Lord Carpenter and the Biſhop of Durham living both in Groſvenor Square, it was but a little ſtep from one houſe to the other; and he waited often upon the Biſhop and ſat with him an hour or two in an evening, and often dined with him on a Sunday, the Biſhop dining on that day at an earlier hour, which was very convenient for his afternoon duty. He found the Biſhop eaſy and communicative in all his converſation, and conſulted him ſometimes upon matters of learning, and received his inſtructions. One day he aſked him his opinion of the demoniacs in the goſpel. The Biſhop did not return a direct anſwer, but reached down Biſhop Smalbroke's book againſt Woolſton,

ſton, and read here and there what he had ſaid upon the ſubject. When he came to that part which has been ludicrouſly called *the ſplitting of the devil*, he burſt out a laughing, and ſaid "This book was put into Biſhop "Gibſon's and my hands, before it went to the preſs, and we would fain "have perſuaded the author to leave out this part, we begged and en- "treated him, but to no purpoſe; all the world could not have prevailed "with him." Though the Biſhop continued Biſhop of Durham about twenty years, yet in all that time he beſtowed no preferment upon this young man, of whoſe company he ſeemed ſo deſirous, that when he ſtayed away any time, he ſent for him and would kindly reprove him. He did indeed recommend him in ſtrong terms to Sir Joſeph Jekyll to be preacher at the Rolls, but could not ſucceed: and once he made him an offer of a living of no great value in the biſhopric of Durham, but at the ſame time rather diſſuaded him from accepting it, telling him with a compliment that he would be more likely to make his fortune by remaining in London. Beſide the Biſhop himſelf there were ſome other agreeable perſons in his family, eſpecially his two Chaplains, Dr. Knatchbull and Dr. Stillingfleet; the former of whom was of a weak delicate conſtitution of body, but of a pleaſing elegant turn of mind. Some young ladies, relations of the family, went one day into his apartment, and not finding him there they laid a great folio book between his ſheets, which he did not diſcover till he ſtept into bed, and the next morning he ſent them the following billet,

Pray tell me you who deal in quaint conceits,
How a book bound can be a book in ſheets?

In the year 1738 Mr. Newton became firſt acquainted with Dr. Pearce, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter. He did not know that Dr. Pearce had ſo much as heard of his name, when the Doctor who was then Vicar of St. Martin's ſent a meſſage to him, deſiring that he would give him a ſermon on ſuch a Sunday at the Chapel in Spring Garden. After hearing him he invited him to his houſe, and without ſollicitation or recommendation, freely, of his own accord, and in the moſt handſome manner offered to appoint him morning-preacher at the ſaid Chapel; which appointment was the more agreeable to Mr. Southwell the proprietor of the Chapel, as they had been ſchoolfellows at Weſtminſter. The afternoon-preacher was

Dr.

Dr. Thomas Church, Vicar of Batterſea, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, well known for his controverſial writings. Mr. Southwell had built the chapel for the convenience of his tenants in Spring Garden, and he very generouſly gave all the profits ariſing from the rents of the pews to be divided in certain proportions between the officiating miniſters; as his worthy ſon, Lord Clifford, did likewiſe. At that time there was a full and a polite congregation, conſiſting principally of a few noble families from Whitehall, and of thoſe of the Lords of the Admiralty, and other good families in the neighbourhood, ſo that the whole profits to the miniſters were not inconſiderable. This piece of preferment was the more agreeable too, as it was the beginning of an uſeful and valuable connection with a very learned and a very worthy good man. For ſuch indeed was Dr. Pearce, whoſe cuſtom it was on a Sunday evening, after the duty of the day, to have an early ſupper, at which ſome of the Clergy of his pariſh and a few others were uſually preſent; and the converſation was ſuch as became the day, and became the company, upon matters of religion and learning, wherein Dr. Pearce was excellently qualified to take the lead. They ſupped at eight, and parted at ten. Mr. Newton often made one of the company; and many of his Sundays paſſed agreeably enough, the burden and fatigue of the day were lightened, his mind feaſted as well as his body refreſhed, by dining at the Biſhop of Durham's, and ſupping with Dr. Pearce. His connection too with Dr. Pearce, which began in this manner, was afterwards greatly improved, not only by viſiting him frequently, but alſo by meeting him often and dining with him at Lord Bath's.

Another acquaintance of his deſerves to be particularly mentioned, as proving of the greateſt conſequence to him. Mrs. Anne Deanes Deveniſh, of a very good family in Dorſetſhire, was firſt married to Mr. Rowe the poet, by whom ſhe was left in not abounding circumſtances, was afterwards married to Colonel Deanes, by whom alſo ſhe was left a widow, and upon the family eſtate which was a good one coming to her by the death of a near relation, ſhe reſumed the family name of Deveniſh. She was a clever ſenſible agreeable woman, had ſeen a great deal of the world, had kept much good company, and was diſtinguiſhed by a happy mixture of elegance and eaſe in every thing ſhe ſaid or did. She was honored with the particular regard and friendſhip of the Prince and

Princeſs

Princeſs of Wales, was often with them in their privacies and retirements; and as the Prince was then inſtructing his children to repeat fine moral ſpeeches out of plays, and particularly out of Mr. Rowe's which are the moſt chaſte and moral, he deſired her to have a more correct edition printed of Mr. Rowe's works, and recommended Mr. Mallet to her for that ſervice. She rather choſe to employ a friend of her own, and engaged Mr. Newton to undertake it, who ſuperviſed and corrected the preſs, and wrote the dedication in her name to the Prince of Wales. By theſe means his name came firſt to be known to the Prince and Princeſs of Wales; and Mrs. Deveniſh like a true friend took every opportunity of commending him to them, and leaving a good impreſſion of his character, which long after was of great ſervice to him, and may be ſaid to be the groundwork of his beſt preferment. Nor was this the only obligation which he owed to this lady; for ſhe firſt introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Bath, as well as to the knowlege of the Prince and Princeſs of Wales; and theſe two introductions he ever eſteemed as two of the moſt fortunate circumſtances, the moſt happy incidents in all his life.

Before Mr. Newton had the honor of being known at all to Mr. Pulteney, he had the higheſt veneration for his character, and remembred his being with his friend and ſchoolfellow, the firſt Lord Chetwynd, at Ingeſtree in Staffordſhire, where he lay a long time moſt dangerouſly ill of a violent pleuretic fever; and he could never forget the conſternation all the country were in for his danger, and the concern and anxiety they expreſſed for his health and recovery. That illneſs coſt him about 750 Guineas in phyſicians, and his cure was effected at laſt by ſome ſmall beer. Dr. Hope, Dr. Swynfen, and other phyſicians from Stafford, Lichfield and Derby were called in, and had about 250 Guineas of the money. Dr. Freind came down poſt from London with Mrs. Pulteney, and received 300 Guineas for his journey. Dr. Broxholme came from Oxford, and received 200 Guineas. When theſe phyſicians, who were his particular friends, arrived, they found the caſe quite deſperate, and gave him entirely over. They ſaid every thing had been done, that could be done. They preſcribed ſome few medicines but without the leaſt effect. He was ſtill alive, and was heard to mutter in a low voice, Small beer, Small beer. They ſaid, Give him ſmall beer or any thing. Accordingly a great ſilver cup was brought, which contained two quarts of ſmall beer. They

ordered an orange to be ſqueezed into it, and gave it him. He drank the whole at a draught, and called for another. Another was given him, and ſoon after drinking that, he fell into a moſt profound ſleep and a moſt profuſe ſweat for near twenty-four hours. In him the ſaying was verified, *If he ſleep, he ſhall do well.* From that time he recovered marvelouſly, inſomuch that in very few days, the phyſicians took their leave, ſaying that now he had no want of any thing, but of a horſe for his doctor, and of an aſs for his apothecary. The joy for his recovery was diffuſed all over the country, for he was then in the highth of his popularity. How unworthily he came to be deprived of it, will appear in the ſequel.

When the ſtrongeſt and beſt concerted oppoſition that ever was had prevailed againſt Sir Robert Walpole, and Mr. Pulteney was created Earl of Bath, Mr. Newton was appointed his firſt chaplain: and as a particular account was then written of the principal tranſactions at that important period, the curious reader may perhaps be pleaſed to have the ſum and ſubſtance of it laid before him.

" At the beginning of the new parlament in 1741, when it appeared " by the choice of a chairman for the committee of elections, and by the " Weſtminſter election and ſome other points carried againſt the Court, " that Sir Robert Walpole could no longer maintain his power in the " Houſe of Commons, the Duke of Newcaſtle requeſted of Mr. Pulteney " to give him and the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke the meeting privately " one evening at Mr. Stone's houſe at Whitehall. Though he had all " due reſpect for thoſe two great perſons, yet he prudently declined to " give them a private meeting, as in that critical ſituation of affairs it " might give advantage to his enemies, and occaſion jealouſy in his " friends: but he was willing to receive them publicly at his own " houſe, and only deſired that as they were two, one other might be " joined with him, naming Lord Carteret, to which they readily con- " ſented. Accordingly they met at Mr. Pulteney's houſe that evening; " and His Grace began by ſaying that they came deputed from His Ma- " jeſty, that His Majeſty was ſenſible Sir Robert Walpole could not any " longer carry on the buſineſs of the Houſe, and therefore His Majeſty " was willing to throw all his affairs into Mr. Pulteney's hands; but upon " this expreſs condition, that Sir Robert Walpole ſhould not be proſe-

" cuted;

" cuted; for the King could not conſiſtently with his honor give him up " to the people. Mr. Pulteney replied, that if *that* condition was to be " made the foundation of the treaty, the treaty muſt be at an end before " it had begun; for that was a condition that he never would comply " with: but even ſuppoſing it was his inclination, yet it might never be " in his power to fulfil ſuch an engagement, for the heads of parties were " ſomewhat like the heads of ſnakes which were urged on by the tail. " He therefore neither could, nor ever would accept of ſuch a condition. " For his part he would be no *ſcreen*; but if His Majeſty pleaſed to have " any farther treaty or diſcourſe with him, he was very ready to pay his " duty at St. James's, though he had not been there for ſo many years; " but he would not come privately, but publicly and openly at noon-day, " to prevent all jealouſy and ſuſpicion. And ſo they broke up, and the " meeting ended without effect. Before they parted, ſome Champagne " was called for, and the Duke of Newcaſtle drank " Here's to a hap- " pier meeting." Mr. Pulteney immediately replied out of Shakeſpear's " Julius Ceſar,

If we do meet again, why, we ſhall ſmile;
If not, why, then this parting was well made.

" A day or two paſſed, and nothing farther was tranſacted; but then " another meeting was deſired at the ſame place of the ſame company, " and they met accordingly. The noble Duke ſaid that he was now com- " miſſioned by His Majeſty to give up every thing into the honorable Gen- " tleman's hands, and without the condition that was mentioned before: " but only His Majeſty begged and entreated of him, if any proſecution " ſhould be commenced againſt Sir Robert Walpole, though he might " not chooſe to oppoſe it, yet that he would not inflame it; the thing " was not inſiſted upon, but was left to his generoſity and good nature. " He made anſwer that he was by no means *a man of blood*; what might " be done, or might be proper to be done, he could not undertake to ſay; " he muſt take the opinion and advice of his friends; but he thought that " ſome parlamentary cenſure at leaſt ought to be inflicted for ſo many " years of mal-adminiſtration. The noble Duke ſaid farther by authority " from His Majeſty, that he hoped the honorable Gentleman would n t " be for diſtreſſing the government, or making too many alterations now

" in the midſt of a ſeſſion of parlament, but that he and his friends would " be content for the preſent with the removal of Sir Robert Walpole and " a few others. The honorable Gentleman was ſo far from ever intending " to diſtreſs His Majeſty's government, that he had always the moſt duti- " ful thoughts and affections towards him; and he was ſenſible enough " that to make all the changes now in the midſt of the ſeſſion would put " too great a ſtop to the public buſineſs, and throw every thing into con- " fuſion. For upon new changes there muſt of courſe be new writs and " new elections: and if the parlament ſhould be adjourned till all the " members could be rechoſen, the buſineſs of the nation could not go on, " nor the neceſſary ſupplies be raiſed in due time; and if the parlament " ſhould not be adjourned, then thoſe who ſhould be *turned out* would " during the vacancies be too ſtrong for thoſe who ſhould *come in*, and " might undo all that was doing, and ſet every thing aflote again, ſo that " there would be little leſs than a civil war in the parlament and in the " nation. His moderation therefore was as great and conſpicuous as his " prudence. He did not inſiſt upon a total change of every perſon belong- " ing to the court; he acknowleged that he had no particular objection " (for inſtance) to the noble Duke or the Lord Chancellor: but he ſaid " that there muſt be an alteration of men as well as of meaſures; and for " the preſent he inſiſted only upon the main forts of government being " delivered into their hands as their ſecurity for the reſt, that is upon a " majority in the Cabinet Council, upon a Secretary of State for Scotland, " upon a board of Treaſury and of Admiralty, and upon turning out ſome " other perſons who were moſt obnoxious. Some of theſe points were " controverted; but Mr. Pulteney inſiſting abſolutely upon them, they " were at laſt yielded to him. It was not without ſome reluctance that " his Grace aſſented; and he ſaid that he ſuppoſed the honorable Gentle- " man would chooſe to be himſelf at the head of the Treaſury; it was His " Majeſty's earneſt and repeated deſire that he would be ſo. No, ſaid the " honorable Gentleman; as the diſpoſition of places is put into my hands, " I will accept of none myſelf; I have often declared againſt accepting " any place, and will be conſtant to myſelf; and named Lord Carteret for " to be at the head of the Treaſury, who bowed, and was very thankful " to him for the honor he had done him, and readily accepted it. He " named likewiſe Mr. Sandys to be Chancellor of the Exchequer under

" the

" the Lord Carteret, and Sir John Ruſhout, and Mr. Gybbon, and Mr. " Waller for the other commiſſioners. A new board of Admiralty was " alſo named, and Sir John Hind Cotton was one of them. The Marquis " of Tweedale was likewiſe appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. " Theſe and ſome other matters were agreed and adjuſted at this meeting; " and before they parted, the honorable Gentleman declared, that he was " under ſuch engagements with the Duke of Argyle, that he muſt ac- " quaint him with all that had paſſed, and neither ſhould he oblige him " to ſecrecy, but leave him at liberty to tell Lord Cheſterfield, or Lord " Cobham, or any of his friends, as he ſaw proper or not. The Duke " of Newcaſtle with ſome unwillingneſs conſented to it; and ſo this meet- " ing ended with better effect than the former.

" But during this time Lord Cobham and ſeveral others were forming " a party among themſelves. For they were offended at Lord Carteret's " being called to theſe meetings, whom they by no means loved or eſteem- " ed; they reſented and took it ill that he ſhould be ſo much more con- " ſidered and truſted than any of them. And this *unſeaſonable* and I may " ſay *unreaſonable* jealouſy aroſe to ſuch a highth, that when Mr. Pulteney " came to talk with his friends, and particularly to Mr. Waller of what " he deſigned for him, Mr. Waller heſitated whether he ſhould accept it, " and was doubtful and ſcrupulous of coming in, unleſs the party were to " come in one and all together. Mr. Pulteney demonſtrated the impract- " icability of ſuch a ſcheme at preſent, ſhowed him that they ſhould have " power enough in their hands to ſecure all the reſt in future, conjured " him not to begin a ſchiſm and diviſion among themſelves, entreated him " not to give their enemies ſuch an advantage over them; for though they " were too ſtrong for the court party now they were united, yet the court " party would be too ſtrong for them if they ſhould be divided. Sir John " Hind Cotton likewiſe raiſed ſome difficulties, which there is no need " particularly to mention. And thus diviſions were growing up apace " among thoſe, whoſe greateſt ſtrength conſiſted in their union.

" The ſame party likewiſe got about the Prince, and infuſed their notions " into him, inſomuch that his Royal Highneſs deſired Mr. Pulteney to " meet ſeveral Lords in order to conſider and diſcourſe upon the matter in " his preſence. There were to be the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of " Cheſterfield, Lord Cobham, Lord Gower, Lord Bathurſt, and ſome

" others.

" others. It was unequal for one alone to engage ſo many great men, but " however he was ſecure of the goodneſs of his cauſe, and only deſired " that the Earl of Scarborough might alſo be preſent. They made their " objections ſeverally, and he anſwered one and anſwered another. The " main of what they urged was, that there ought to be a total change of " adminiſtration, that the alterations intended were not ſufficient, that too " many of Sir Robert Walpole's friends would be left about the King, and " things would ſtill continue under his influence; he would direct and " manage all behind the curtain. The honorable Gentleman argued, that " he could ſee no reaſon for theſe fears and apprehenſions. He could not " anſwer indeed but Sir Robert Walpole might continue a greater perſonal " favorite with the King than any of them or than all of them together: " but it could not be in Sir Robert Walpole's power to hurt them, if they " kept united among themſelves; nothing could hurt them but their own " diviſions. They had nothing elſe to fear; for they ſhould have the ſtaff " in their own hands, and by the changes which were now to be made " they ſhould have power enough to make any other changes which they " might think proper at the end of the ſeſſion. For he had ſtipulated for " his Grace, and Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower, the Marquis of Twee- " dale, Earl of Winchelſea, Lord Carteret and himſelf to be of the Cabinet " Council (Lord Cheſterfield was omitted for particular reaſons) and they " ſeven would make ſo very great a majority, that they ſhould have the " direction of every thing there. And then too they ſhould have all the " power of the Treaſury in their hands, they ſhould have all the power of " the Admiralty, and ſeveral other conſiderable places. What had they " then to fear? If they were to make a thorough change at this time, " there would be nothing but diſorder and confuſion: but by theſe pledges " in their hands at preſent, they ſhould have ſecurity enough for the " future; all the reſt would follow of courſe, and they might command " them whenever they pleaſed. In ſhort his Royal Highneſs declared him- " ſelf ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and it was unanimouſly agreed that they " ſhould all go to court.

" We have leſs occaſion to be particular in relating what paſſed at the " Fountain tavern, as it was more public, and is more generally known, " how there was a meeting there of Lords and Commons: how much " the ſame objections were made, and much the ſame anſwers returned:

" how ſome indecent reflections were caſt upon the honorable Gentle-
" man, and particularly by the Duke of Argyle, who ſaid that a grain of
" honeſty was worth a cart-load of gold: how the honorable Gentleman
" thought it very hard (as he might well think it very hard) for ſuch
" reflections to be caſt upon him, who had done every thing for them,
" and nothing for himſelf: how he thought it ſtill harder for ſuch reflec-
" tions to proceed from *One*, who had enjoyed ſo many lucrative poſts
" under Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, who had concurred in all
" his meaſures for ſo many years together, and conſequently had leſs
" merit in the oppoſition, having joined in it ſo very lately, after almoſt
" all the heat and burden of the day: how he aſſured them however of
" his zeal for the common cauſe, and begged of them to beware of
" jealouſies as the only thing that could ruin them: how he preſſed
" unanimity at home, and the ſupport of the war abroad: how he in-
" ſiſted that all things would be ſettled to their ſatisfaction, if they did
" not prevent it by their diviſions: and how the greateſt part were ſatiſ-
" fied, or ſeemed at leaſt to be ſatisfied, with his arguments and decla-
" rations.

" Here were fine advantages given to the adverſe party; and no won-
" der that at Court they remembred the old maxim Divide et impera,
" and reſolved to make uſe of it. For ſeeing and hearing of theſe things
" they began now to recover their ſpirits, ſneered at the honorable Gen-
" tleman, and ſaid ſcoffingly and inſultingly enough, that he could not
" ſo much as command his own party, that he could not be ſure of his
" own friends, that his friends were falling off from him, and the like.
" It was intimated now, that His Majeſty did not approve of Lord Carteret
" for the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, but was content that he
" ſhould be Secretary of State. His Majeſty would very willingly have
" placed the honorable Gentleman himſelf at the head of the Treaſury;
" but ſince he had declined it, His Majeſty was deſirous that Lord Wil-
" mington might ſucceed to it; His Majeſty had engaged his royal word
" to him that he ſhould ſucceed; he was his old and faithful ſervant, and
" the honorable Gentleman and his friends could have no objection
" to him. His Majeſty alſo himſelf requeſted of Mr. Pulteney to prevail
" with his friend Lord Carteret to deſiſt from his purpoſe, which requeſt
" he the rather complied with, as he was ſatisfied that Lord Wilmington

" neither

" neither could nor would obſtruct their meaſures in the Treaſury, and " as he knew very well that his friend Lord Carteret would excel ſo much " more in one capacity than in the other, being more converſant in " foreign affairs than in matters relating to the finances. A little after- " wards ſome objections were made to the honorable Gentleman's liſt of " the Lords of the Admiralty; His Majeſty could by no means agree to " make them all; and it was inſiſted that ſome of the *King's friends* (as " they were called) ſhould be of the number. A demurrer was likewiſe " made to ſome other alterations, which had been ſtipulated and agreed. " And thus was the Court beginning to reap conſiderable advantages from " the diviſions of the Country party.

" However the Duke of Argyle was reſtored to his places, Lord Cob- " ham was reſtored to a regiment, and ſeveral other alterations were " made which need not be here enumerated. But at the ſame time the " honorable Gentleman was ſenſible of that noble Duke's warmth of " temper, and was afraid that ſome perſons might take advantage of it, " and inflame him and hurry him beyond the bounds of moderation. " He was likewiſe apprehenſive, that the noble Duke might not be looked " upon at Court with ſo gracious an eye as he might expect; and though " he was reſtored to all his places, yet he might not find himſelf reſtored " to favor. He conjured him therefore to take no notice of it, as His " Grace knew the temper there well enough; in a little time he might be " received more graciouſly; and he inſiſted upon his Grace's word and " honor, that he would not reſign his places without firſt acquainting " him. His Grace promiſed accordingly upon his word and honor. But " Mr. Pulteney tired and almoſt wearied out went only for a day or two " into the country for a little freſh air; and when he came to town again, " the firſt thing he heard was, that the Duke of Argyle had been at Court " that morning, and had reſigned all his places. He was heartily vexed, as " a more fatal ſtep could not have been taken to undo all that he was doing; " and while he was laboring all he could to reconcile the King to the " Country party, this he was certain would provoke and exaſperate him " more againſt it.

" And then during that unhappy period when he was confined by the " ſickneſs and death of his dearly beloved and only daughter, the Oppo- " ſition had a mind to ſhow that they could be ſtill a formidable Oppoſition,

" and carry things without him; and therefore they determined to " move for a ſecret committee to be appointed for inquiring into Lord " Orford's adminiſtration. Here we are ſorry to ſay, that the Lords Win- " chelſea and Carteret did not act the fair and candid part in making uſe " of his name without his authority, by intimating to his friends that it " would be agreeable to him, if they would not attend any ſuch motion. " Accordingly the motion was made, while he was confined at home, and " while Mr. Sandys was gone down to Worceſter to be re-elected; and as " it is very well known, was loſt by a conſiderable majority againſt it. " But as ſoon as ever he could with decency appear again in public, to " clear himſelf from all imputations of being the *ſcreen* that he was un- " juſtly ſuppoſed to be; he made the motion himſelf for a ſecret com- " mittee to examin into Lord Orford's conduct for ten years laſt paſt, " and he carried it: but at the ſame time deſired to be excuſed from " being one of the committee, on account of ſome expreſſions which he " had thrown out in the heat of oppoſition. No man was more deſirous " than he that the nation ſhould have juſtice; but then he would not have " that juſtice ſullied by any thing that might look like perſonal pique and " private revenge. If this inquiry terminated in nothing more effectual " than it did, the defect muſt be attributed partly to the cold water which " had already been thrown upon it, and partly to the want of a bill to in- " demnify thoſe perſons who ſhould confeſs any corrupt practices, which " bill was chiefly by his means carried through the Houſe of Commons, " but was thrown out of the Houſe of Lords; and yet from the report of " the ſecret committee enough appeared to ſhow that ſomething worſe lay " at the bottom.

" But ſtill jealouſies and diviſions prevailed more and more in the Coun- " try party, and the Court party not only recovered courage, but regained " ſtrength. And the honorable Gentleman between both, as it were be- " tween two fires, was really in a very unhappy ſituation; for as on one " ſide the Country ſuſpected him and were falling off from him; becauſe " the Court did not fulfil their engagements to him; ſo on the other ſide the " Court did not fulfil their engagements to him, becauſe they ſaw the " Country were falling off from him. The *broad-bottom* (as it was called) " were now become the ſubject of deriſion, and His Majeſty would ſuffer " no more of them to be placed about him. The Tories were treated

" as little better than Jacobites, and as altogether unfit for His Majeſty's " ſervice. Inſomuch that the honorable Gentleman at ſeveral audiences, " and upon ſeveral occaſions, preſſed and urged again and again, that the " Tories were by no means Jacobites, but to uſe them as Jacobites was the " ready way to make them ſo; that two thirds of the nation were Tories, " and ſeveral of them were men of great eſtates and fortunes; and why " would His Majeſty make himſelf only the Head of a party, when he " might be King of the whole nation? He was himſelf a Whig, and his " moſt intimate friends and companions were Whigs; and he would have " the main body of the tree in his Majeſty's government to conſiſt of Whigs, " but then he wiſhed to have ſome Tories inoculated and ingraffed upon it. " The Tories were not many of them maſters of numbers or of languages, " and conſequently could not, and did not expect the firſt poſts in the " government: but His Majeſty by giving a few places at Court to ſome " of the moſt conſiderable, and by making others Lord Lieutenants of " counties, and by ſome other marks of his royal favor taking off the " heads and leaders of them, might draw the teeth of all the reſt, and " they could never more unite in oppoſition to his government. His Ma- " jeſty by theſe means might aboliſh all diſtinction of parties, and would " enjoy a peaceable and glorious reign ever after.

" Theſe things the honorable Gentleman inlarged and inſiſted upon at " ſeveral audiences; and he was determined not to go up into the Houſe " of Lords, till he could prevail at leaſt in ſome inſtances. That there " were not more ſuch inſtances the Oppoſition muſt thank themſelves; for " indeed they had uſed him moſt hardly, had not only teaſed and worried " him with their private jealouſies and ſuſpicions, but had ſlandered and " reviled him in the moſt public and outrageous manner. It is no wonder " therefore, after ſo many provocations, if he grew more indifferent to the " party in general, and labored principally to ſerve ſome particular men, " for whom he had more perſonal regard, and who had more perſonal re- " gard for him. Lord Gower and Lord Bathurſt he conſidered as men " of very great figure and intereſt in their reſpective countries; but it was " with the utmoſt difficulty that he could carry his point for them and a " few others of his friends. Lord Hervey ſtuck like a burr, and there " was no bruſhing him off. Lord Hervey in his younger days had a very " ſcanty allowance from his father, but being a youth of promiſing parts,

" he

" he was in good meaſure ſupported by Mr. Pulteney, was long entertained " in his houſe, and cheriſhed in his boſom, till like a ſerpent he ſtung " him, wrote againſt him, and challenged and fought with him, but was " vanquiſhed at both weapons, the pen as well as the ſword, by the one " made the general object of ridicule, by the other wounded and diſabled " in the ſword arm. He was ſuch a wicked engin at Court, that it was an " arduous taſk to get him removed and other changes made in favor of " Lord Gower and Lord Bathurſt. The honorable Gentleman was forced " to ſtruggle hard, and to gain ground as we may ſay by inches. He was " determined however not to accept of a peerage, till he had ſucceeded in " theſe inſtances at leaſt; and they all kiſſed hands together.

" His heart was alſo ſet upon promoting and carrying as far as lay in " his power thoſe popular laws, for which he contended when he was at " the head of the Oppoſition, and which the nation in a manner demanded " and expected. One of theſe popular laws was the *Place bill*, by which " were excluded from the Houſe of Commons the ſeven commiſſioners of " the revenue in Ireland, the ſeven commiſſioners of the navy and victu- " alling offices, the clerks of the treaſury, exchequer, admiralty, &c. &c. " in all above two hundred officers and placemen of different kinds. If " more had been attempted, the whole would have miſcarried: but this " was more than the people had ever gained before at any one time, or " by any one law of the ſame nature. Another of his popular laws was " leveled againſt *bribery in elections*, and ſubjects every offender in this " kind to a penalty of 500l.: and this law he himſelf enforced " in the firſt inſtance by a proſecution for bribery at the Heddon election, " and there have been other inſtances ſince of the like exemplary puniſh- " ment. Amongſt other popular laws one was much inſiſted upon for " *the better regulation of elections*, as ſeveral notorious abuſes had been " committed by returning officers and others at the late general elections. " A bill for this purpoſe was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and " he ſupported it with all his eloquence; but it was found to be of too " complicated a nature, and the rights of election were ſo various, that " they could not all be compriſed and adjuſted in one bill, and therefore " it was laid aſide for that time. The next ſeſſion it was thought proper " to be divided into three bills, one for Scotland, another for the cities and " boroughs in England, and a third for the counties. That for Scotland

" was paſſed into a law. The other for the cities and boroughs in Eng-
" land paſſed the Houſe of Commons, but was thrown out by the Houſe
" of Lords. He ſupported it in the Houſe of Lords, as he had done before
" in the Houſe of Commons; but he could not command a majority, and
" he complained upon this, as he had done upon other occaſions, that the
" government would not do popular things, and then wondered that they
" were unpopular. No man was ever a truer friend to the Britiſh con-
" ſtitution, or wiſhed more ardently than he, that thoſe deficiencies,
" which were left in it at the Revolution, were ſupplied, and that it was
" carried to the utmoſt perfection, which any human ſyſtem is capable of
" receiving. And it was extremely unjuſt, that he ſhould be cenſured by
" one ſide as if he had power to do every thing, and at the ſame time not
" be ſuffered by the other to do even thoſe popular things, which had
" been particularly ſtipulated and agreed between them. If he had bar-
" gained for himſelf, it would have been another thing; but his bargains
" were all for the public, for the honor of the King, and for the benefit
" of the Kingdom. He took nothing for himſelf, but what was preſſed
" upon him again and again, and he certainly obliged them much more by
" accepting it, than they intended to oblige him by giving it.

" A peerage, tho' no doubt very deſireable in itſelf for any man of fa-
" mily and fortune, yet could be no particular bribe or temptation to him;
" for it is what he might have had almoſt at any time, was offered to
" him at ſeveral times, and particularly by Queen Caroline. Her Majeſty
" was one day lamenting, that he was ſuch an enemy to Sir Robert Wal-
" pole, and deſired by all means to reconcile and to make them friends.
" Mr. Pulteney replied, that he had no quarrel with Sir Robert Walpole
" but upon a public account; he was not an enemy to his perſon, but
" only to his adminiſtration, as he thought that he adviſed their Majeſties
" to meaſures, which were neither for the intereſt of their family, nor
" for the good of the kingdom. Her Majeſty ſtill expreſſed her deſire to
" make them friends, and aſked him, Why he would not go up into the
" Houſe of Lords; he ſhould have any title that he thought proper. He
" humbly thanked Her Majeſty, and ſaid that the Houſe of Commons was
" the field of action, and there he ſhould deſire to continue as long as he
" was well able to ſerve his country: but when he found that he could no
" longer do the good that he would, or when he ſhould be more advanced

" in

" in years, he might then perhaps be willing enough to end his days in " that Hoſpital of Invalides. The time was now come that he could no " longer do the good that he would, thro' the violence of one party, the " artifices of the other, and the falſehood and treachery of both. Both " had uſed him extremely ill, and he was glad perhaps to quit both by " going into that honorable retirement. We may therefore blame the " Oppoſition, we may blame the Court, but no one can juſtly blame him, " unleſs it be for not taking the poſt of prime miniſter: And yet perhaps " he choſe the better part. For when there cannot be, as the Roman " orator ſays, *negotium ſine periculo*, the next thing to be conſidered is " certainly *otium cum dignitate*."

The foregoing account was written at the time of theſe tranſactions, and ſeveral years afterwards was communicated to the late Lord Sandys, who ſaid it contained ſome particulars which he did not know before, but he could atteſt the truth of the greater part of the relation.

What Lord Bath's own reflections upon theſe matters were ſome years afterwards, may appear from a letter ſtill extant in his own hand-writing, dated Aug. 15. 1745, wherein are the following words. " In every thing " I did, when the change was made, I know I acted honeſtly, I am ſure " I acted diſtintereſtedly, and if I did not do what the world may call " wiſely, it was the fault of a few friends who betrayed me, of the court " that meant to weaken me, and of many others who too haſtily miſtruſted " me, and turned their backs upon me. But time (as I always thought " it would) has cleared up all theſe points; and I have the ſatisfaction to " imagin that the King now wiſhes he had given more into my ſchemes; " the friends who betrayed me are ſenſible of and ſorry for their folly; " and they who oppoſed me, tho' ſome of them have ſince got power into " their own hands, are ſenſible how mean a figure they make with it, " and how unequal they are to the poſts they have. Certain it is, that " no one can be ſo capable of writing hiſtory, as he who has been prin- " cipally concerned in the great tranſactions; and if ever it ſhould be " neceſſary to inform the world (which I believe it will not) of the hiſtory " of the late change, no one to be ſure can do it, or at leaſt furniſh ma- " terials for doing it, ſo well as myſelf, for I may truly ſay *Pars magna* " *fui*, and I do not apprehend, nor can recollect one ſingle fact, no not " one circumſtance in the whole affair, that it can be neceſſary to ſuppreſs

" or

" or diſguiſe. If avarice, ambition, or the deſire of power had influenced " me, why did I not take (and no one can deny but I might have had) " the greateſt poſt in the kingdom? But I contented myſelf with the honeſt " pride of having ſubdued the great author of corruption, retired with a " peerage, which I had three times at different periods of my life refuſed; " and left the government to be conducted by thoſe who had more in- " clination than I had to be concerned in it. I ſhould have been happy, " if I could have united an adminiſtration capable of carrying on the go- " vernment with ability œconomy and honor."

Biſhop Pearce had alſo ſome knowlege of theſe tranſactions, and thus delivers his ſentiments concerning them in the ſhort account which he has left us of his own life. " In the year 1741, Mr. Pulteney, with thoſe " of his party, had ſo far prevailed in the Houſe of Commons, that Sir " Robert (Walpole) frankly declared to his Majeſty, that he could no " longer be of ſufficient ſervice to his Majeſty in that Houſe, and there- " fore deſired a diſmiſſion from all his ſtate employments. In conſequence " of this, a meſſage was brought to Mr. Pulteney by the late Duke of " Newcaſtle and the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke from the King, ſignify- " ing that he was willing to place all Sir Robert's employments and powers " in his hands; but with this conſideration, that Sir Robert ſhould be " ſcreened from all future reſentments on account of the ſhare which he " had in the public affairs. This condition Mr. Pulteney utterly rejected, " and in two or three days the ſame noble perſons came to Mr. Pulteney " again with a ſecond meſſage from the King, ſignifying that the offer " made to him, as mentioned before, ſhould be made good without that " condition. He conſulted his friends, and by their advice accepted of " what his Majeſty had ſo graciouſly offered to him, declaring at the ſame " time, that he was determined to fill no poſt himſelf, but to ſerve his " friends in recommending to His Majeſty ſuch of them as he thought " proper to be placed in the great departments of the adminiſtration, only " he deſired to have the honor of being one of the cabinet council. Ac- " cordingly Sir Robert reſigned all, and ſome of Mr. Pulteney's friends " were nominated to the chief of the great employments in government, " he himſelf being contented to be one of the cabinet council. It is well " known how he loſt all his weight as a miniſter of ſtate within a few " months." Afterwards ſpeaking of Lord's Bath's deceaſe he expreſſes

himſelf

himſelf thus. " Thus died that great and worthy man, William Pulteney " Earl of Bath, deſcended from a very ancient family (the *De Pulteneys*, " who, I think came to England with the Norman Duke William.) He was " by inheritance and prudent œconomy poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, " out of which he yearly beſtowed, contrary to the opinion of thoſe who " were leſs acquainted with him, in charities and benefactions more than " a tenth part of his whole income. He was a firm friend to the eſtabliſh- " ed religion of his country, and free from all the vices of the age even in " his youth. He conſtantly attended the public worſhip of God, and all " the offices of it in his pariſh church, while his health permitted it; and " when his great age and infirmities prevented him from ſo doing, he " ſupplied that defect by daily reading over the morning ſervice of the " church before he came out of his bed-chamber. That he had quick " and lively parts, a fine head and ſound judgment, the many things, " which he publiſhed occaſionally, ſufficiently teſtify. He had twice " chiefly by his own perſonal weight, overturned the miniſtry, viz. 1741 " and 1745, though he kept not in power long at each of thoſe great " events, which was occaſioned by his adhering to his reſolution of not " filling any place of profit or honor in the adminiſtration, and by ſome " other means leſs creditable to his aſſociates than to himſelf; which the " Writer of this account is well acquainted with."

As Biſhop Pearce had ſome knowlege of theſe and other tranſactions, ſo Dr. Douglas, by converſing ſeveral years almoſt daily with Lord Bath, had frequent opportunities of informing himſelf of many particulars, and having collected ſufficient materials for the purpoſe, is well qualified to draw the juſt character, and to complete the true hiſtory of his noble patron, a debt which he owes to his memory, and it is hoped will one time or other fully diſcharge, ſo that conformably to the rule *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word may be eſtabliſhed.*

But to return from this long, but it is hoped not unuſeful nor unentertaining digreſſion. In the ſpring of 1744 Mr. Newton through the intereſt of the Earl of Bath was preferred to the rectory of St. Mary le Bow in Cheapſide, ſo that he was 40 years old before he obtained any living. This living is properly three rectories united, St. Mary le-Bow, St. Pancras Soaper Lane, and Allhallows Honey Lane, the firſt and the laſt of which are in the patronage of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the ſecond in

that of the Grocer's company, and in turn they preſent once, and the Archbiſhop collates twice; but this turn was in the King's preſentation upon the promotion of Dr. Liſle the former incumbent to a biſhopric. It is a church of note and eminence, being the principal of the Archbiſhop's peculiars, and the court of the Dean of the Arches, and the church where the Archbiſhop and all the Biſhops in the province of Canterbury are confirmed. It was likewiſe eſteemed a fortunate living, the two former rectors Dr. Liſle and Dr. Bradford having been made Biſhops, and it did not fail to the third in ſucceſſion. Upon this preferment he quitted the chapel in Spring Garden. His fellowſhip alſo became vacant, and at the commencement in 1745 he took his degree of Doctor in divinity. The rebellion breaking out ſoon after, he was in all his ſermons and diſcourſes ſo ſtrenuous in the cauſe of his King and country, that he received ſome threatning letters, which Lord Bath adviſed him to lay before the Secretary of State. One or two of his ſermons upon this occaſion by deſire he publiſhed, as well as that which was preached on the 18th of December in the ſame year before the Houſe of Commons.

In the beginning of the following ſpring 1746 he was honored with freſh proofs of the friendſhip and confidence of the Earl of Bath, being intruſted by that Lord with the relation of ſome ſecret tranſactions at Court. Whether the King had reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity of any of his miniſters, or whether any thing at that time had particularly offended him, or who were moſt diſagreeable and obnoxious to him, we cannot ſay: but he took an opportunity of complaining to Lord Bath of the uneaſineſs of his ſituation, that he was held under the dominion of an ariſtocracy; that they hemmed him in on all ſides, and he could not have thoſe about him whom he liked; that they in a manner ingroſſed all power, and in effect he could do little or nothing. He therefore aſked Lord Bath whether he could not give him ſome aſſiſtance, whether he could not any way extricate him out of his preſent difficulties; and if he poſſibly could, conjured him by all means to break the combination, and to ſet him at liberty. Lord Bath replied, that it would be burning his own fingers, but however to oblige His Majeſty he would try what could be done; it was poſſible he might be able to ſucceed, but his ſucceſs muſt in great meaſure depend upon His Majeſty himſelf; His Majeſty muſt be ſure to ſtand ſteddy, and be true to his own intereſt, or otherwiſe as the attempt was hazardous, it would alſo

prove

prove vain and ineffectual. One of the firſt ſteps he took was to ſend for Gideon and the money'd men, to know whether they would confirm the agreement which they had made with Mr. Pelham for raiſing the ſupplies of the current year. They readily anſwered, that they would abide by their bargain with Mr. Pelham, for they had not made it for his ſake only. But Lord Bath convinced them that in one article they had exacted more from Mr. Pelham than they ſhould have done, and therefore inſiſted upon an abatement, to which after ſome debate they conſented. At the ſame time Earl Granville, who was a greater perſonal favorite with the King than any of the miniſters, was declared Secretary of State, and the Earl of Carliſle was ſent for to be the Lord Privy Seal. The miniſters ſoon took the alarm, and had a meeting all together at Lord Harrington's, where they agreed upon the meaſures they would purſue, and the next day they all went to Court and one after another reſigned their reſpective places. Such was their fidelity to their old Maſter, when a rebellion was raging in the midſt of the kingdom; they would rather all deſert him in the hour of diſtreſs and danger, than any of them ſhould be deprived of the profits of their places. This was more than the King had expected, he was by no means prepared for ſuch an event, he was with all his courage really intimidated by ſo many reſignations, and may be ſaid in a manner to have reſigned himſelf; for his whole ſcheme was ſuddenly diſconcerted, Lord Granville was diſmiſſed within a few days, and the old miniſters were all reſtored to their places with fuller power than before. The King was as much chagrined and vexed as he was provoked and angry at his diſappointment, and begged and entreated of Lord Bath to avenge his cauſe by writing a full account of the whole tranſaction. One of his expreſſions was "Rub "it in their noſes, and if it be poſſible, make them aſhamed." Such an account was accordingly written, which was copied fair by Lord Bath himſelf with ſome additions and alterations, and was conveyed in ſafety to the King. In little more than a week it was returned by a faithful friend with the King's approbation in his own hand-writing, and a verbal deſire that at a convenient ſeaſon it might be publiſhed. But it is not known what is become of theſe papers. Lord Bath himſelf had occaſion to look for them ſome time before his death, being deſirous to communicate them to Biſhop Pearce, but could not find them. After his death diligent ſearch was made for them every where, but all to no purpoſe, they could no

where be found. It is well known that after Lord Pulteney's death he burnt abundance of papers. It is to be feared, that in his diſturbance and confuſion of mind, not knowing well what he did at that ſad juncture, he committed theſe with the reſt to the flames; and by theſe means moſt probably this curious piece of hiſtory was deſtroyed and loſt.

In the ſpring of 1747 Dr. Newton was choſen lecturer of St. George's Hanover Square in the room of Dr. Savage deceaſed. Dr. Savage in his younger days had traveled with an Earl of Saliſbury, to whom he was indebted for a conſiderable living in Hertfordſhire; and in his more advanced years was a lively pleaſant facetious old man. One day at the levee George I. aſked him, How long he had ſtayed at Rome with Lord Saliſbury? Upon his anſwering How long, Why, ſaid the King, you ſtayed long enough, why did not you convert the Pope? Becauſe, Sir, replied he, I had nothing better to offer him. Having been bred at Weſtminſter, he had always a great fondneſs for the School, attended at all their plays and elections, aſſiſted in all their public exerciſes, there grew young again, and among boys was a great boy himſelf. The King's Scholars had ſo great a regard for him, that after his deceaſe they made a collection among themſelves, and at their own charges erected a monument to his memory in the cloiſters. Upon his death Dr. Newton immediately declared himſelf a candidate for the lectureſhip. Dr. Gregory Sharp had ſome thoughts of oppoſing him; but finding him to have many friends in the pariſh, and to be particularly ſupported by the Lords Bath and Carpenter, he very ſoon deſiſted, and was glad to ſucceed to the lectureſhip upon Dr. Newton's quitting it. When the election was made of Dr. Newton, the veſtry book was ſigned by the following Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Andrew Trebeck Rector
Samuel Tufnell Churchwarden

Roxburghe	Rich. Whitworth	Edw. Hody
Carpenter	J. Trevor	Bath
John Willis	Cha. A. Powlett	Edw. Shepherd
Henry Talbot	John Upton	John Lee
Galway	Wm. Chetwynd	Coventry
Rob. Vyner	James Daſhwood	G. Venables
H. Fox	Granville	Chetwynd

Benj.

Benj. Timbrell	Blundell	G. Wright
Francis Burton	Henry Furneſe	N. Curzon
W. Mabbott	Foley	James Spilman
H. Smithſon	Charles Edwin	R. Rich
Tyrconnel	C. Ogle	Shafteſbury
John Norris	Vernon	F. Daſhwood
Tho. Rea	Cadogan	Northampton
Charles Hedges	W. Powlett	Tho. Clarges
Ranelagh	Cha. Compton	Cl. Cotterel Dormer
D. St. Hippolite	A. Duncombe	Char. Montagu
Weſtmorland	Rich. Shelly	Rob. Andrews
Rich. Ingoldeſby	Roger Morris	P. Delme
Windſor	Alex. Murray	Beaufort

In the month of Auguſt following he married his firſt wife Jane the eldeſt daughter of the Rev. Dr. Trebeck, an unaffected modeſt decent young woman, with whom he lived very happy in mutual love and harmony near ſeven years. As they had no children, they continued to board in the parſonage houſe with Dr. Trebeck, having the beſt apartment for his pictures, and being freed by the prudent good management of Mrs. Trebeck from all care and trouble of houſekeeping; which he thought no inconſiderable advantage, being much of the mind of the famous Mr. Boyle, who would never have his ſtudies interrupted by any houſehold affairs, and was certainly maſter of more time and leiſure by being only a boarder in the houſe of his ſiſter the Counteſs of Ranelagh.

In this ſame year 1747 he had alſo the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his friend Dr. Pearce advanced to a biſhopric, which he had long deſerved. The biſhopric, which of all others he moſt deſired was Peterborough; and he had at ſeveral times declared to his friends, and likewiſe intimated to the miniſters, that if he could but obtain that biſhopric, he would readily relinquiſh all his other preferments without wiſhing to retain any thing in commendam. But Providence ſaw fit to diſpoſe of matters otherwiſe, and ſent him farther to a better biſhopric, to Bangor upon the promotion of Biſhop Hutton to the ſee of York. His partiality for Peterborough was owing to his connections with Dr. Lockyer the Dean, with whom he generally paſſed ſome time in every ſummer; and finding his health and ſpirits

rather better there than uſual, he contracted ſuch a fondneſs for the place, that he wiſhed for nothing more than there to fix his ſtaff and end his days. Dr. Lockyer was a man of ingenuity and learning, had ſeen a great deal of the world and was a moſt pleaſant and agreeable companion, was one of Dr. Pearce's moſt intimate friends, and at his death bequeathed to him his library which was a good one. As Dr. Lockyer was himſelf an excellent ſtory-teller, ſo he had written in a large quarto book every good ſtory that ever he had heard in company: and this book uſed to lie in his parlour for his viſitors to turn over and amuſe themſelves till he could come to them. It contained a fund of entertainment, and it is a ſign that it was conceived to do ſo, becauſe ſome one or other thought it worth while to ſteal it; it never came to Dr. Pearce's hands, and he often regretted the loſs of it. Dr. Lockyer in the former part of his life was chaplain to the factory at Hamburgh, from whence he went every year to viſit the Court of Hanover; whereby he became very well known to the King George I. who knew how to temper the cares of royalty with the pleaſures of private life, and commonly invited ſix or eight of his friends to paſs the evening with him. His Majeſty, ſeeing Dr. Lockyer one day at Court, ſpoke to the Ducheſs of Ancaſter, who was almoſt always of the party, that ſhe ſhould aſk Dr. Lockyer to come that evening. When the company met in the evening, Dr. Lockyer was not there, and the King aſked the Ducheſs if ſhe had ſpoken to him as he deſired. Yes, ſhe ſaid, but the Dr. preſents his humble duty to your Majeſty, and hopes your Majeſty will have the goodneſs to excuſe him at preſent, for he is ſolliciting ſome preferment from your miniſters, and he fears it might be ſome obſtacle to him, if it ſhould be known that he had the honor of keeping ſuch good company. The King laughed very heartily, and ſaid he believed he was in the right. Not many weeks afterwards Dr. Lockyer kiſſed the King's hand for the deanery of Peterborough; and as he was raiſing himſelf from kneeling, the King inclined forwards, and with great good nature whiſpered in his ear, Well now, Doctor, you will not be afraid to come in an evening, I would have you come this eveving.

Dr. Thomas, who died Biſhop of Saliſbury, I ſo deſcribe him, for it was not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh the two Dr. Thomas's. Some body was ſpeaking of Dr. Thomas. It was aſked, Which Dr. Thomas do you mean? Dr. John Thomas. They are both named John. Dr. Thomas who has a

living

living in the city. They have both livings in the city. Dr. Thomas who is chaplain to the King. They are both chaplains to the King. Dr. Thomas who is a very good preacher. They are both very good preachers. Dr. Thomas who ſquints. They both ſquint. For Dr. Thomas who died Biſhop of Wincheſter, handſome as he was, yet had a little caſt with one of his eyes. The Dr. Thomas, who died Biſhop of Saliſbury, having ſucceeded Dr. Lockyer both in the chaplainſhip at Hamburgh and in the deanery of Peterborough, it is not an improper ſequel to relate the manner of his riſe and preferment, as he has himſelf been heard more than once to relate it. Dr. Thomas was accuſtomed, as well as Dr. Lockyer, to go from Hamburgh to pay his duty at Hanover every year that the King came over. After ſome time the King (George II.) aſked him, Whether if he could obtain any preferment from the crown, he would not gladly leave Hamburgh to ſettle in England? He replied, that His Majeſty's father had made him the like gracious offer, and he had declined it, becauſe then there were ſeveral eminent merchants and factors who were very kind and liberal to him, and he lived among them much to his eaſe and ſatisfaction: but now the caſe was altered, moſt of his old friends had died or were removed, a new race was ſpringing up, and he ſhould think himſelf very happy to return to England under His Majeſty's patronage and protection. Well, ſaid the King, conſider with yourſelf, and conſult with my Lord Harrington, (who was the Secretary then attending upon the King) and he will let me know your wants and wiſhes. The next time the King ſaw him he ſaid, My Lord Harrington informs me, that you deſire to have one of the royal prebends; but it is not in my power to get you any ſuch thing, my miniſters lay their hands upon them all, as neceſſary for my ſervice; but I will tell you what I will do for you, they do not much mind livings, and I will give you the firſt living that falls, and then I will make you one of my chaplains, and then the next time I come to Hanover, you ſhall come over with me as my chaplain, and then if a prebend or deanery ſhould happen to fall, you would have a good chance of ſucceeding to it, and this is the only way wherein I can procure any ſuch thing for you. Agreeably to this plan, Dr. Thomas returned to England, had the living of St. Vedaſt Foſter Lane, was appointed one of the King's chaplains, and the ſpring enſuing when the King was making preparations for Hanover, he ſent word privately to Dr. Thomas to prepare himſelf and to

have

have every thing in readineſs to be put on board ſuch a day. Before he went, he thought it proper to wait upon Biſhop Gibſon, who was then the eccleſiaſtical miniſter, and to acquaint him with the King's order. You go to Hanover? ſaid the Biſhop, it cannot be: Dr. Clagget is to go to Hanover: it was fixed and ſettled ſome time ago. Dr. Thomas anſwered, that he had received His Majeſty's expreſs command, and ſhould certainly obey it: and accordingly Dr. Thomas attended the King to Hanover, and not Dr. Clagget. It happened in the courſe of the ſummer that the deanery of Peterborough became vacant, and Dr. Thomas had the honor to kiſs His Majeſty's hand for it. At the ſame time the Duke of Newcaſtle wrote to him from England, that he had in a manner engaged that deanery to Dr. Newcome the Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, and ſhould be greatly obliged to Dr. Thomas if he would be ſo good as to wave his turn; the Duke would certainly procure for him a better deanery, or the firſt reſidentiariſhip of St. Pauls that ſhould become vacant. Dr. Thomas wrote in anſwer, that as the King had been graciouſly pleaſed to give him the deanery, he could not with any decency or good manners decline His Majeſty's favor, but His Grace might vacate the deanery by giving him a better thing as ſoon as ever he pleaſed. He uſed alſo to relate another remarkable inſtance of the King's friendſhip and regard for him. While he was holding his viſitation in Buckinghamſhire, and confirming the young gentlemen at Eton, he received an invitation from the Prince and Princeſs of Wales to dine with them at Cliefdon; and he ſaid that nothing was ever more pleaſing than their eaſe and condeſcenſion, they dined quite in a family way, and after dinner the children were called in to the deſert, and were made to repeat ſeveral beautiful paſſages out of plays and poems; and upon the whole he never paſſed a more agreeable day in all his life. This was reported to the King with a view to prejudice him in the King's opinion for his familiarity with the Prince. What had he to do at Cliefdon? ſaid the King. What brought him into thoſe parts? When it was anſwered, that he was there upon his viſitation, O, ſaid the King, I find it was no private affair; as he was there in a public capacity, if he had failed in proper reſpect to any part of my family, I ſhould have had reaſon to be angry indeed. The truth is, Lord Granville was his friend, and had recommended him; and he was upon that account more favored by the King, and leſs acceptable to the other miniſters.

Old age is narrative, and one ſtory commonly produces another, eſpecially if there be ſomething ſingular and ſimilar in their nature or circumſtances. The following is rather a more extraordinary ſtory than the foregoing, but it is not ſo well known and atteſted. It muſt reſt upon the credit of the ſaid Biſhop Thomas of Saliſbury, who conſtantly affirmed that he had received it from undoubted authority. When Dr. Younger was abroad upon his travels, he paſſed ſome time at the Court of Hanover, where he was well received and eſteemed by the Princeſs Sophia and her family before ever they came into England. When George I. ſucceeded to the throne, Dr. Younger was Dean of Saliſbury, Reſidentiary of St. Pauls, and Deputy Clerk of the Cloſet, in which ſtation he had ſerved under Queen Anne, and was continued under George I. The King was very glad to renew his acquaintance with him, and in the cloſet, as he ſtood waiting behind his chair, turned often and talked with him, and the more as Dr. Younger did, what few could do, converſe with the King in High Dutch. The King uſed to call him *his little Dean*, and was ſo condeſcending and gracious to him, that he was looked upon in ſome meaſure as a favorite, and likely to riſe to higher preferment. This was by no means agreeable to the miniſters, for Dr. Younger was reputed to be what they called a Tory; and a letter of office was ſent to diſmiſs him, the King having no farther occaſion for his ſervice. It was not long before the King miſſed him, and aſked What was became of his little Dean that now he never ſaw him? It was anſwered, that he was dead. Dead, ſaid the King, I am ſorry for it, for I meant to do ſomething for him. This the miniſters underſtood well enough, and therefore had removed him out of the way. Such an impoſition, one would think, could hardly have been put upon any prince. It was a bold ſtroke, even when the King was a ſtranger to our people and a ſtranger to our language; but even then it did not eſcape detection. For ſome time after the King went a progreſs into the weſt of England, and among other places was at Saliſbury, and in the cathedral there ſeeing the Dean he called him eagerly up to him, and ſaid My little Dean, I am glad to ſee you alive, they told me you were dead; but where have you been all this while, and what has prevented my ſeeing you as uſual? He mentioned the letter of diſmiſſion which he had received, and ſaid He thought it would ill become him after that to give His Majeſty any farther trouble. Oh, ſaid the King warmly, I perceive how this matter is; but

but --- with an oath --- you ſhall be the firſt Biſhop that I will make. But it happened, that Dr. Younger being advanced in years died before any Biſhop, ſo that he never obtained the good effect of the King's gracious intentions.

In 1749 was publiſhed Dr. Newton's edition of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, which it is hoped has not been ill received by the public, having in 1775 gone through eight editions. So full and particular an account has been given of this work in the Dedication, Preface, &c. that any repetition would be ſuperfluous and needleſs. Whether the Duke of Newcaſtle had heard or ſuſpected, that ſomething might be ſaid in the Dedication which might have ſome reference and give ſome umbrage to him, or whatever elſe was the motive, he ſent a little before publication to the editor his old friend and ſchool fellow Dr. Johnſon, who was then Reſidentiary of St. Pauls, to deſire that a copy of the Dedication might be communicated to His Grace. The editor anſwered, that he would willingly wait upon His Grace with a copy of the Dedication if he pleaſed: but it would be to little or no purpoſe, for it was already printed, and in a week or two would be publiſhed; he had alſo ſent a copy of it to Lord Bath who was then at Paris, and after that he could not upon any account conſent to make the leaſt alteration in it. Dr. Johnſon "hoped that there would be nothing "in the Dedication which might undo all that had been done," alluding to the preferment which Lord Bath had been for ſome time ſolliciting for him from the Duke of Newcaſtle. It is ſuppoſed that the Duke was curious to ſee whether any thing or what was ſaid concerning papers in Lord Bath's hands relative to former tranſactions: but no farther mention was made of them, than that it was in his Lordſhip's power to ſet all theſe tranſactions in a clear light, and he had ſufficient materials by him for this purpoſe. Another paſſage in the Dedication, to be fully underſtood, may require ſome explication. When Mr. Pulteney had refuſed to accept of any public employment, even thoſe of firſt Lord of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Vice-treaſurerſhip of Ireland, which is uſually divided into three places, and three very good places they are, and held by three conſiderable perſons, was offered to him ſingly, and with a patent for life, but he refuſed this alſo: and it was in alluſion to theſe particular tranſactions that it was ſaid in general terms, that He was even courted to accept the place of the greateſt power and confidence, or if he had

had foreſeen any difficulty of maintaining himſelf in power, as that is a ſlippery and uncertain ſituation, he might have ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of any of the moſt lucrative employments, and might have enjoyed it with a patent for life. Whatever it might be thought, the Dedication was not written in the uſual ſtile of dedications, but in the words of ſoberneſs and truth. The writer has aſſerted nothing, but what either he knew to be true, or believed to be true upon the beſt grounds and reaſons; and could now after ſo many years as well as then ſubſcribe every clauſe and ſentence with hand and heart.

The Prince and Princeſs of Wales having done him the honor of being two of his ſubſcribers, he was very much at a loſs how to preſent his books to them, it being an aukward and diſagreeable ceremony to preſent two ſuch large volumes in a public drawing room. But Dr. Ayſcough, who was then in great favor, very obligingly ſaved him this trouble by contriving the means of introducing him to their Royal Highneſſes ſeparately, when each of them received him with great goodneſs and condeſcenſion, and held a very long and particular converſation with him, which he could aſcribe to nothing but to the favorable impreſſions which had been given of him by his good friends the Earl of Bath and Mrs. Deanes Deveniſh, the former of whom was then abroad, and the latter was dead. Lord Bath wrote to him from Paris in a letter dated Jan. 2. N. S. 1750. "There "are many perſons here great admirers of Milton, and it is very well "tranſlated into French proſe by one Monſieur Duprè; it is a kind of "harmonious proſe like that of Telemachus. I have lent him your edition, "and he is extremely pleaſed with it, and particularly with the notes." In another letter from Paris dated Mar. 28. 1750. N. S. he writes, "Your "Milton has been much admired here, the edition and the notes greatly "commended. Great numbers of ladies as well as gentlemen underſtand "Engliſh enough to read it with great pleaſure, and the Milton you ſent "me has traveled already through twenty different hands; at laſt it is gone "into exile with Monſieur de Maurepas, and will remain with him at "Bourges (for he is prodigiouſly pleaſed with it) till ſuch time as the "King of France pleaſes to ſend for them both back again."

While Lord Bath continued at Paris, he wrote alſo ſome not unentertaining anecdotes in other letters. Knowing the Doctor to be a lover of pictures, he wrote in a letter dated Febr. 21. 1750: "A little while ago, at

" the ſolemnization of a marriage in the Duke de St. Simon's houſe, a pro-
" digious fine picture of Raphael's was cut out of a frame and carried off.
" The next day when it was perceived, all poſſible endevors were uſed to
" diſcover the thief, and a reward of 300 l. was offered for reſtoring the
" picture, but hitherto they have made no diſcovery, though I think they
" have ſtrong ſuſpicions that the robber is ſome ſervant of the houſe." In the ſame letter, " Monſieur Puyſieux the Secretary of State here for foreign
" affairs has been robbed in the ſame way, that is by a ſervant, who has
" been taken up and confeſſed the fact. He ſtole the trunk in which all
" the ſtate papers were locked up, but the ſilly dog took nothing out but
" money. I ſuppoſe, had he taken the French cypher, or other ſtate pa-
" pers, he might have ſold them for more money than he took away." In another letter dated Mar. 28. 1750. " A mad Engliſhman, whoſe
" name they ſay was Kellard, came laſt week to ſee the houſe and gardens
" at Marli, where having a piſtol in his pocket he choſe to ſhoot him-
" ſelf thro' the head, after he had ſeen every thing that was to be ſeen;
" but firſt he drew a ridiculous bill of exchange upon one *Nobody* a banker
" in Lombard Street, and ſigned it *Immortal*, deſiring his creditors may
" be firſt paid, and the remainder of the bill given to his brother. By
" theſe circumſtances as well as by his death, you may conclude that he was
" ſtark mad; however the horror of the action has much affected the King,
" who is extremely good natur'd, and is the more diſturbed, as the mur-
" der was committed in one of his own palaces."

After the Paradiſe Loſt it was thought proper that Dr. Newton ſhould alſo publiſh the Paradiſe Regained and other poems of Milton: but theſe things, he thought, detained him too long from other more material ſtudies, though he had the good fortune to gain more by them than Milton did by all his works together. But his greateſt gain, in his own eſteem, was their firſt bringing him into the friendſhip and intimacy of two ſuch men, as Biſhop Warburton and Dr. Jortin, whoſe works will ſpeak for them, better than any private commendation. They were really two very extraordinary men; and tho' their characters were much alike in ſome reſpects, yet they were very different in others. They were both men of great parts and abilities, both men of uncommon learning and erudition, both able critics, both copious writers. But the one was the more univerſal, the other perhaps the better Greek and Latin ſcholar: the one had the larger comprehenſion

of

of things, the other the more exact knowlege of words: the one had his learning more like caſh ready at hand, the other had his more like bills in his common place book: the one was the more rapid and flowing, the other the more terſe and correct writer: the one was more capable of forming the plan and ſyſtem of a large work, the other excelled more in little looſe detached pieces: the ſermons of the one are not the moſt valuable, thoſe of the other are the moſt valuable, of all their writings: And in themſelves the one was more open and communicative, more inviting and engaging in his manner; the other was more cloſe and reſerved, more ſhy and forbidding in his appearance: the one was warmer in his commendation, a more zealous friend, and a more generous enemy; the other was more ſparing of his praiſe, cooler both in friendſhip and enmity, and rather carping and undermining than freely judging and cenſuring. But their little failings will die with them, their ſuperior excellences will live in the mouths and memories of men.

In March 1751 died Frederic Prince of Wales, and upon this melancholy occaſion Dr. Newton preached a ſermon at St. George's Hanover Square, which he was deſired by ſome of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Veſtry to publiſh, but he excuſed himſelf as it was an haſty compoſition, unfit for the public eye. However the report of it reached the ear of the Princeſs of Wales; and Lady Charlotte Edwin (who was always a friend to the author) was employed by her Royal Highneſs to convey her deſire, that ſhe might be favored with a copy of the ſermon to peruſe it. Such a requeſt could not be refuſed, but it was complied with upon condition, that after Her Highneſs at her leiſure had peruſed the ſermon it ſhould be returned: and Lady Charlotte moſt obligingly undertook to carry it and bring it again. The part in queſtion, that is the part relating to the Prince of Wales, was as follows. " If ever there was an occaſion that might " juſtify an exceſs of grief, it is the death of our well-beloved Prince, with " whom ſo many hopes, ſo many expectations are cut off, and blaſted in " their fulleſt bloom. It is the moſt fatal blow that this nation has felt " for many many years; and the more we conſider it, the more reaſon " we find to lament it; indeed it is but juſtice to grieve, it would be " ſtupidity or ſomething worſe not to do it. We cannot ſurely help " grieving for his widowed conſort, whoſe loſs is unſpeakable as it is ir- " reparable, the loſs not only of greatneſs, but what is more of happi-

" neſs; for I believe there ſcarce ever was in private life a greater in-
" ſtance of conjugal affection and domeſtic felicity: and every humane heart
" muſt bleed to ſee *ſuch virtue* in ſuch diſtreſs, and the more on account
" of her preſent tender condition. Who likewiſe can think of ſo many
" fine children left without a father, and not bewail their loſs? for as he
" was the moſt affectionate of huſbands, ſo he was the moſt indulgent of
" parents; and his care and inſpection and authority were now wanted
" more and more to form their minds and manners: ſuch a calamity in
" any private family would be very affecting, but it muſt needs affect us
" much more ſenſibly, as they are the children of the public, and the
" hopes of the riſing generation. His ſervants too have loſt a moſt kind
" and gracious maſter, whom they not only honored but loved, and ſerved
" out of affection as much as duty, for he was a friend, a father as it
" were to all his family; and it is a grievous misfortune not only to be
" deprived of preſent comforts, but alſo to be defeated of future expecta-
" tions. Beſides the diſtreſs which this heavy ſtroke has brought upon
" individuals, upon private perſons and private families, it is impoſſible to
" think without horror of the infinite loſs to the public. Religion hath
" loſt a defender, liberty hath loſt a guardian, trade hath loſt a protector,
" the arts have loſt a patron, all mankind have loſt a friend: for never
" was there in a perſon of ſuch eminence more humanity and condeſcen-
" ſion to the loweſt, more pleaſing courteſy and engaging addreſs to the
" higheſt, more beneficence to all within his ſphere or more benevolence to
" all without it. We might have reſted under his ſhadow, whenever
" God for our ſins ſhould have deprived us of His Majeſty's mild and
" gracious government: but now we have a dark and gloomy proſpect
" before us; minorities have always been unhappy to this kingdom; and
" as it is our duty at all times to pray " for Kings and for all that are
" in authority," we ſhould now more ardently than ever pray for the life
" of our moſt excellent Sovran, that God would confirm his health, pro-
" long his days, direct his counſels, unite his friends, and defeat the de-
" ſigns of his enemies, that ſo this fatal loſs may in ſome meaſure be
" repaired to us, and that we and our children and our children's children
" may continue to enjoy our religion and liberties under his and his royal
" family's auſpices till time ſhall be no more." The ſermon was detained
about a week, and then Lady Charlotte Edwin was again commiſſioned by

Her

Her Royal Highneſs to reſtore it with her thanks, and at the ſame time with her deſire that ſhe might appoint him one of her chaplains, and the warrant was made out accordingly and ſent him: And ever afterwards, both privately in his times of waiting, and publicly in her drawing rooms, ſhe was particularly gracious to him.

In June 1754 he loſt his father at the age of 83 by a gradual gentle decline, and within a few days his wife at the age of 38 by a ſudden violent inflammation of the bowels. Either of theſe blows would have affected him much; but both together were the ſevereſt trial he ever underwent, and almoſt overwhelmed him with affliction. He had uſed to viſit his father every year at Lichfield, and he and his wife were preparing to go thither when theſe fatal events took place. All his friends were remarkably kind in their condolence, and Lord and Lady Egremont particularly, whoſe hands he had joined in marriage, preſſed him much to change the ſcene, and to come and paſs ſome time at Petworth; but he choſe rather to remain, and thought he could ſooner recollect himſelf by himſelf, in the little rural retirement where he then was at Shelly in Eſſex.

At that time he was engaged in writing his Diſſertations on the Prophecies; and happy it was for him, for in any affliction he never found a better or more effectual remedy than plunging deep into ſtudy, and fixing his thoughts as intenſely as he poſſibly could upon other ſubjects. The firſt volume was publiſhed the following winter, but the other two did not appear till three years afterwards, as for the encouragement of his work he was appointed in the mean time to preach the Boyle's lecture. Some authors of note and eminence print no more than 500 or at moſt 750 copies at a time, that there may be the ſpeedier demand for a new edition: but of the Diſſertations 1250 copies were taken at the firſt impreſſion, and a thouſand at every other edition; and tho' ſome things have been publiſhed ſince upon the ſame ſubjects, yet they ſtill hold up their head above water, and having gone thro' five editions are ready prepared for another. Abroad too their reception has not been unfavorable, if accounts from thence may be depended upon. The famous Count Bernſtorf, who was ſo many years the great miniſter in Denmark, in a letter to M. Schrader one of the preceptors and German ſecretary to Frederic Prince of Wales, wrote as follows Mar. 29. 1760. "Je ſuis enchanté des Diſſertations du Dr. "Newton. Il faut avouer que les Anglois penſent et ecrivent ſuperieurement."

" eurement." In another letter from the ſame dated April 29. 1760. are the following words. " Newton me plait et me perſuade tous les jours " d'avantage. C'eſt ſans doute ainſi qu'il faut écrire ſur les Prophecies. " Je ne croi pas que jamais rien n'ait ête écrit de plus victorieux contre le " Siége de Rome, et je ne prevois pas ce que ſes adhérents feront. " L'ouvrage ſe traduit en Allemand. Le 1^er^. tome a dejà paru, et j'eſpere " que les autres ſuivront de près. Cet ouvrage ne ſauroit être aſſez connû " au monde." In a letter to the ſame perſon from Brunſwick, dated July 2. 1762. it is ſaid, " Mr. Middelſtett preceptor to the young Princes of " Wolfenbuttel has tranſlated the Diſſertations on the Prophecies; two " volumes are publiſhed, and the third will be ſoon. The tranſlation is " commended. The ſtile flowing and eaſy. I don't pretend to judge, " but what I know is, that I read the book with uſe and with pleaſure." The following is extracted from another letter, " The German tranſlation " of the Diſſertations on the Prophecies printed at Leipſig for Carl. Lu- " dewig Jacobi. Vol. 1. 1757. Vol. 2. 1761. Vol. 3. 1762." They were likewiſe tranſlated into the Daniſh language by Commodore Eſſura, and were recommended to the peruſal of the Counts Struenſee and Brandt during their impriſonment to convince them of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and were not without effect, as we may learn from the narratives of their preparations for death by the two Divines D. Munter and D. Hec, who were appointed to attend them in their laſt moments. If his writings have ever done any good in the world, he deſired always to give God the glory.

Lord Bath had long ſollicited the Duke of Newcaſtle for a prebend for him, particularly of Weſtminſter; and the Duke often promiſed, and as often failed. So long ago as in the year 1749 were theſe words in a letter from the Duke to the noble Lord, " Dr. Newton from the regard you " have for him, and from his own merit, is intitled to any favor I can do " for him, and you may be aſſured I will be as good as my word:" but he was not ſo good as his word for more than ſeven years afterwards; and in the mean time there paſſed ſome ſhuffling excuſes on one ſide, and ſome ſmart remonſtrances on the other. One day the Duke ſaid in excuſe that he was but one of many, and Lord Bath replied, you would take it extremely ill, if I could really think or believe that you were but one of many. Such reproaches commonly produced freſh aſſurances and promiſes,

miſes, which were no better kept than the former; and ſo they went round as it were in a circle from year to year. The truth is, the Duke was a good-natured man, he had not the courage to ſay No to any one, he was willing to oblige every one, at the time perhaps ſeriouſly intended it, and conſequently promiſed more than he was ever able to perform. His Brother was ſaid to be more firm and ſteddy, and more to be depended upon; was more ſlow to promiſe, but if he promiſed, was more ſure to perform; if he could not ſerve a man, he would aſſign the reaſons why he could not, or why not at that time and in that manner; and many went away almoſt as well ſatisfied with a refuſal from one brother, as with a promiſe from the other. At length in the ſpring of 1756 Dr. Newton received the following letter from Mr. Stone, which was ſent from Newcaſtle houſe, and ſealed with the Duke's ſeal: and the meſſenger was handſomely rewarded. "Dear Sir, My Lord Duke of Newcaſtle allows "me to acquaint you (which I do with the greateſt pleaſure) that you "are a Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and to congratulate you upon it in "his name. Your warrant (I conclude) will be ſigned to morrow. I am "ever moſt truly and ſincerely yours Andrew Stone. Friday Apr. 25." One would have thought that now there could have been no farther delay or evaſion; but a man cannot be ſure of any thing, till he is ſafe in poſſeſſion. This letter was received in the morning, and in the evening of the ſame day came Biſhop Johnſon, it was ſuppoſed to congratulate his old friend, but he was ſent upon quite another errand. He ſeemed willing and yet unwilling to ſpeak, but after ſome time it came out, that there was an unhappy miſtake, the Duke thought that two prebends had been vacant but there was only one, and *that one* he was under a neceſſity of giving to Mr. Oſwald: but His Grace deſired that he would be with Mr. Stone the next morning by 8 o'clock, and Mr. Stone would conduct him to Newcaſtle houſe. Accordingly they went together, and the Duke perhaps never looked more ſimple and confounded, he made the Doctor come and ſit down by him, he held and preſſed his hand all the time he was talking to him, he begged a thouſand and a thouſand pardons, the Houſe of Commons was a ſad unruly place, he was often forced to make ſacrifices to it contrary to his own inclinations, Mr. Oſwald made a point of it and he could not put him off without breaking all connection with him, he hoped therefore that he (the Doctor) would have the goodneſs to forgive him,

he

he ſhould ever eſteem it a very great obligation, he would make him ample amends for his diſappointment, and concluded with the warmeſt profeſſions of the higheſt regard for him, and with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the moſt determined reſolution to ſerve him. In the courſe of the ſummer a meſſage was brought him from the Lord Chamberlain's office, that his warrant for King's chaplain had lain for ſome time ready for him, and they wondered that he neglected to come and take it up. This was the firſt he ever heard of it, and to whom he was indebted for this honor he never fully underſtood, but ſuppoſed it was of the Duke of Newcaſtle's procuring for him by way of palliation, and to make him ſome amends. But before he went to take up his warrant, he thought it proper to make application to the Princeſs of Wales to know her pleaſure, whether ſhe would permit him to be made King's chaplain, and at the ſame time to continue her own, which was readily granted tho' ſome time after it was refuſed to another: and he ſerved the reſt of that reign and the beginning of the next in both thoſe ſtations. At laſt in the ſpring of 1757 he was made Prebendary of Weſtminſter in the room of Dr. Green promoted to be Dean of Saliſbury. Biſhop Gilbert, who was at that time Biſhop of Saliſbury, expreſſed his concern, that the deanery did not rather fall to Dr. Newton's ſhare.

It was not only in this inſtance that Biſhop Gilbert expreſſed his kindneſs; he ſoon manifeſted it in a more effectual manner. For upon Archbiſhop Hutton's tranſlation to Canterbury, Biſhop Gilbert ſucceeded him in the ſee of York, and likewiſe in the office of Lord Almoner, which for ſome years paſt has been added to that archbiſhopric. There have been Almoners, who have not been Biſhops; and ſeveral who have not been Archbiſhops of York. Smalrige Biſhop of Briſtol was Lord Almoner, Sherlock Biſhop of Saliſbury was ſo likewiſe, till he was made Biſhop of London and Dean of the royal Chapels; and from that time, I think, the Archbiſhops of York have conſtantly been the Lord Almoners. Archbiſhop Gilbert, ſoon after his promotion, honored Dr. Newton with a viſit, as he had done ſeveral times before; and in the kindeſt and moſt obliging manner aſked his conſent, that he might propoſe him to the King for Subalmoner; he thought it a proper piece of reſpect firſt to acquaint the King with his deſign, and then, if the King approved, and he doubted not of his approbation, he would appoint him Subalmoner. This was a very agreeable

agreeable ſurpriſe, and the obligation was the greater, becauſe it was not ſollicited by himſelf or any of his friends, but proceeded entirely from the Archbiſhop's own grace and favor. Not long after the Archbiſhop wrote to him at Randalls, where he then was with Lord Carpenter, near Leatherhead in Surry, 15 Oct. 1757, that that morning he had had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing His Majeſty not well only but chearful too; and now without an *If* he could wiſh him joy of the Subalmonry; his patent ſhould be ſealed that evening, but he muſt take the trouble of coming as far as Kew for it. When he waited upon the Archbiſhop at Kew, His Grace farther informed him, that among other things the King had ſaid, that though he had no reaſon to find fault with the length of Dr. Newton's ſermons, yet as he would now preach oftener before him, he muſt deſire that he would be particularly ſhort eſpecially on the great feſtivals; for he was an old man, and if the ſermon was long, he was in danger of falling aſleep and catching cold, and it would fatigue him too much, eſpecially on thoſe days when he was afterwards to come down into the Chapel to receive the Sacrament. The Doctor had before taken care in his ſermons at Court to come within the compaſs of twenty minutes, but after this eſpecially on the great feſtivals he never exceeded fifteen; ſo that the King ſometimes ſaid to the Clerk of the Cloſet "A ſhort good ſermon." But Archbiſhop Gilbert's favors did not ſtop here. The Archbiſhop of York is not a very good patron, but he gave him one of the moſt valuable pieces of preferment in the Church of York, the Precentorſhip which he held till he was promoted to a biſhopric: And whenever he attended the Archbiſhop to his dioceſe or to Tunbridge Wells, every thing was made as agreeable to him as poſſible in the family, and He who had ſome appearance of haughtineſs to others, was to him all civility and courteſy, a kind friend and a generous patron. There is a method of confirmation which was firſt introduced by Archbiſhop Gilbert; he firſt propoſed it to the clergy of Nottingham at his primary viſitation and upon their unanimous approbation he put it in practice. This was inſtead of going round the rail of the Communion table, and laying his hands upon the heads of two or four perſons held cloſe together, and in a low voice repeating the form of prayer over them, he went round the whole rail at once, laid his hand upon the head of every perſon ſeverally, and when he had gone thro' the whole, then he drew back to the Communion table, and in as audible and ſolemn

a manner as he could pronounced the prayer over them all. This had a wonderful effect. The Clergy and the people were ſtruck with the decency as much as with the novelty of the ceremony. The confirmations were performed in leſs time and with leſs trouble, with more ſilence and ſolemnity, and with more regularity and order. It commanded attention, it raiſed devotion, inſomuch that ſeveral Biſhops ſince have adopted the ſame method.

When Dr. Warburton was made Biſhop of Gloceſter, he deſired his friend Dr. Newton to preach his Conſecration ſermon, which ſervice was performed at Lambeth on Jan. 20. 1760. and the ſermon, as uſual, was printed by Archbiſhop Secker's order. It was ſomewhat extraordinary, that He who had Lord Hardwick and Lord Mansfield for his friends ſhould be made a Biſhop by the means of Mr. Pitt; but Mr. Pitt at that time repreſented the city of Bath, where he was brought in by the intereſt of Mr. Allen, whoſe niece Dr. Warburton had married. He was promoted to the biſhopric of Gloceſter from the deanery of Briſtol, where Mr. Allen had laid out a good deal of money in repairing and new-fronting the deanery houſe, and had not quite completed it when the Dean was made Biſhop. However ſuch was Mr. Allen's generoſity, that he was willing to finiſh what he had begun; but inquired firſt Who was likely to ſucceed to the deanery. It was ſuppoſed to lie between Dr. Squire and Dr. Tucker, and Mr. Allen aſked the Biſhop What ſort of men they were, and the Biſhop anſwered in his lively manner, that the one made religion his trade, and the other trade his religion. Dr. Squire ſucceeded to the deanery of Briſtol, where Mr. Allen completed his intended alterations, and Dr. Tucker was ſoon after made Dean of Gloceſter. It was true that Dr. Tucker had written upon trade and commerce with more knowlege and intelligence than any clergyman, and with as much perhaps as Sir Joſiah Child or any merchant: but he has alſo written very well upon other ſubjects more properly belonging to his profeſſion. He had the pen of a ready writer, but it was apt ſometimes to run away with him, and wanted judgment to curb and reſtrain it. He had ſtrong and lively parts, and with many of the excellences it is no wonder that he had alſo ſome of the failings of every great genius. He was too an excellent pariſh-prieſt, and an exemplary dean in keeping his reſidence and performing his duty, in managing the Chapter eſtates, in living hoſpitably, in repairing and improving his houſe, and in adorning

adorning and beautifying the Church and the Church yard. In theſe things he merited well, and had many good qualities: but it is to be lamented, that he had not the reſpect for the Biſhop, which was really due to his perſonal character as well as to his higher ſtation, ſo that there was not that friendſhip and harmony between them, which ought always to ſubſiſt between the Biſhop and Dean of the ſame Cathedral. They were both men of great virtues, but they were both alſo men of ſtrong paſſions. Both were iraſcible, but the Biſhop was more placable and forgiving, the Dean longer bore reſentment.

There was alſo ſome miſunderſtanding between Dr. Warburton, and another friend of Dr. Newton, Hawkins Browne, who was ſuſpected of having aſſiſted Mr. Edwards in his *Canons of Criticiſm*, which was the ſmarteſt pamphlet that ever was written againſt Dr. Warburton. This produced a coolneſs between them, but proceeded no farther. Hawkins Browne was then in a decline, and died ſoon after the time that the other was made Biſhop; ſo that Dr. Newton's joy for the promotion of one friend was damped by his concern for the death of another. He was a man of great capacity, of extenſive reading, and of a moſt retentive memory. His Grandfather Hawkins who left him his eſtate having been a lawyer, he was alſo bred to the law at Lincolns Inn, and very well underſtood the theory of it; but had too good an eſtate, and was of too indolent a temper, to ſubmit to the profeſſion and practice of it. He had beſides too much of a poetical genius, and delighted more in the flowry paths of Parnaſſus, than in the thorny walks of the law. He was a very good Engliſh, but a better Latin poet, as appears from his poem *De Animi Immortalitate*, which obtained the honor of two different tranſlations by two different Members of Parlament, Mr. Hay and Mr. Soame Jenyns. In ſome things he very much reſembled Mr. Addiſon. Like him he had a fine underſtanding with a happy mixture of the ſublime and comic genius. Like him he never had a good conſtitution, but was ſubject to great flatulencies and lowneſſes of ſpirits. They both attempted to ſpeak in parlament, but with ſuch ill ſucceſs, that neither of them attempted it a ſecond time. They were both excellent companions, but neither of them could open well without firſt having a glaſs of wine, and then the vein flowed to admiration. It was a very apt and ſtriking ſimilitude, by which he once deſcribed himſelf. After one of the Weſtminſter plays Lord Lyttelton,

Mr. Browne, and ſeveral others ſupped with Dr. Markham, then the Head-maſter, and now the worthy Archbiſhop of York. The converſation was lively and ingenious among ſo many ingenious perſons, but lay chiefly between Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Browne; others now and then threw in ſomething, but were more delighted in hearing. At length Lord Lyttelton got up upon ſome occaſion, and Mr. Browne ſaid eagerly, I hope your Lordſhip is not going. No, no, replied he, you are ſo entertaining, that it is impoſſible to leave you: You are like the nightingale, that ſings ſweeteſt at midnight. I thank you, my Lord, ſaid he, for your compariſon, but there is another ſimile that ſuits me much better; I am like the flying fiſh, and while my wings are wet, can ſoar above my native element; but as ſoon as they grow dry, I drop into it again. He left only one ſon behind him, of the ſame name with himſelf, Iſaac Hawkins Browne, a very worthy good young man, poſſeſſed of many of his father's excellencies without his failings.

As long as Dr. Trebeck lived, Dr. Newton continued to board in the family, from his old principle of avoiding as much as poſſible the trouble of houſekeeping: but upon the death of Dr. Trebeck, which happened in 1759 while he was attending the Archbiſhop in Yorkſhire, and upon the breaking up of the family, he was under the neceſſity of looking out for a houſe, and for the preſent took one ready furniſhed in Mount Street. This naturally engaged him to think ſeriouſly again of matrimony; for he found his time and attention much divided even by the cares of his little family; the ſtudy of ſacred and claſſic authors ill agreed with accounts of butcher's and baker's bills, and by daily experience he was convinced more and more that it was not good for man to live alone without an help meet for him. And eſpecially when he had ſome proſpect of a biſhopric, freſh difficulties and troubles opened to his view, there would be two houſes at leaſt to be furniſhed, there would be a greater number of ſervants to be taken, there would be a better table and public days to be kept; and he plainly foreſaw that he muſt either fall a prey to ſervants, or muſt look out for ſome clever ſenſible woman to be his wife, who had ſome knowlege and experience of the world; who was capable of ſuperintending and directing his affairs; who was a prudent manager and œconomiſt, and could lay out his money to the beſt advantage; who though ſhe brought no fortune, yet might ſave one, and be a fortune in herſelf; who could ſupply his table handſomely

handſomely yet not expenſively, and do the honors of it in a becoming manner; who had no more taſte and love of pleaſure than a reaſonable woman ſhould have; who would be happier in ſtaying with her huſband at home than in perpetually gadding abroad; who would be careful and tender of his health, and in ſhort be a friend and companion of all hours. It was happy for him that ſuch a woman he had in his view, Elizabeth daughter of John Lord Viſcount Liſburne by a fine young woman whom he had married and much injured. She was the widow of the Rev. Mr. Hand, and he had known her from a little child in a white frock, had obſerved her through all the parts of her life, and had a friendſhip and intimacy with her, and her mother before her, through the means of Lady Biddulph aunt to the firſt Lord Lyttelton who partly brought her up; and his opinion and eſteem of her were ſuch and ſo well founded, that he had long entertained thoughts of a cloſer union with her. They were married in Norfolk by his friend and her friend Mr. Lowe Canon of Windſor on the 5th of Sept. 1761, and on the 18th day of the ſame month he kiſſed His Majeſty's hand for his biſhopric. A Lady of quality, a friend of his, ſaid upon his marriage, that it was the wiſeſt thing he ever did in his life, ſhe was the moſt proper wife for him in the world: and indeed ſhe more than anſwered his warmeſt wiſhes and expectations.

In the firſt year of the King's reign, there was a remarkable mortality among the great biſhops, Hoadly of Wincheſter who died April 17, Sherlock of London who died July 18, and Gilbert of York who died Auguſt 9, all in the year 1761. Dr. Newton had the honor of being in ſome meaſure known to the Earl of Bute, having baptized one or two of his children, and having ſometimes met him at Leiceſter Houſe when as Chaplain he has been in attendence upon the Princeſs of Wales. He had alſo preſented to him the three volumes of his Diſſertations on the Prophecies, having before obtained the favor of his Lordſhip to preſent them to the Prince of Wales. Upon the death of Biſhop Sherlock Lord Bute told a noble Lord, a particular friend of Dr. Newton's, that he would certainly be the new Biſhop, and would be obliged to no miniſter for his promotion; it was entirely the doing of the King himſelf and the Princeſs of Wales. When Archbiſhop Gilbert died, he was with him in the houſe at Twickenham, and wrote immediately to inform the Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Bute of that event. The Duke among other things ſaid in anſwer "I can with great truth ſay, that

"I hope

" I hope you will fill one of the vacant ſees, and I can with as much truth " tell you that I have not the leaſt doubt of it. For I have very good " reaſon to think that His Majeſty had thoughts of you upon the vacancy " which would be occaſioned by that of London. In that I don't pretend " to have any merit: but I did, and always ſhall expreſs my approbation " of His Majeſty's choice, if it ſhould fall upon you." The Duke had been ſo long uſed to ſhuffle and cut the cards, that he well knew how to pack them in ſuch a manner as to have the honors dealt to his particular friends: And on the day when they were all appointed to kiſs the King's hand, Drummond for York, Hayter for London, Thomas for Saliſbury, Yonge for Norwich, and Green for Lincoln, Newton who was to ſucceed Yonge in the biſhopric of Briſtol and reſidentiariſhip of St. Pauls had no notice ſent him from the office as the reſt had; ſo much leſs regard was paid to the King's nomination than to the miniſter's. He was in ſome doubt therefore whether he ought to go to Court; but being perſuaded to go, he met the Duke of Newcaſtle upon the great ſtairs, and aſked him Whether he was in the right, whether he was come for any good purpoſe. Aye, Aye, ſaid the Duke, you are right, go on and proſper: and the ſame was confirmed to him above ſtairs by Mr. Jenkinſon, who was then Lord Bute's Secretary. They kiſſed hands a few days before the coronation, and at the coronation he walked and officiated as Prebendary of Weſtminſter. The King's whole behaviour at the coronation was juſtly admired and commended by every one, and particularly his manner of aſcending and ſeating himſelf on his throne after his coronation. No actor in the character of Pyrrhus in the Diſtreſt Mother, not even Booth himſelf who was celebrated for it in the Spectator, ever aſcended the throne with ſo much grace and dignity. There was another particular, which thoſe only could obſerve who ſat near the Communion table, as did the Prebendaries of Weſtminſter. When the King approached the Communion table in order to receive the ſacrament, he inquired of the Archbiſhop Whether he ſhould not lay aſide his crown? The Archbiſhop aſked the Biſhop of Rocheſter. but neither of them knew or could ſay what had been the uſual form. The King determined within himſelf that humility beſt became ſuch a ſolemn act of devotion, and took off his crown, and laid it down during the adminiſtration. So much time was taken up by ſo many Biſhops paſſing thro' their different forms, that the Biſhop of Briſtol was not conſecrated

till

till the Chriſtmas holidays, and then he was conſecrated with his old friend the Biſhop of Lincoln, and another old friend Dr. Lloyd preached the ſermon upon the occaſion. The Biſhop of Briſtol was no great gainer by his preferment; for he was obliged to give up the prebend of Weſtminſter, the precentorſhip of York, the lectureſhip of St. George's Hanover Square, and the genteel office of ſub-almoner: but however he was rather better pleaſed with his little biſhopric and the reſidentiariſhip of St. Pauls, than he would have been with the large and extenſive and laborious dioceſe of Lincoln, for which his friend was in all reſpects much better qualified. St. Pauls had always been the object of his wiſh, and he uſed to ſay that if he could get into Amen Corner, he ſhould arrive at the end of his prayers. Hoc erat in votis --- but Dii melius fecere.

As the Noblemen and Gentlemen of St. George's pariſh were kind and generous to him, making his lectureſhip worth better than 200 l. a year; ſo they took a handſome leave of him by the following order of Veſtry, which they ſent to him by the hands of their Veſtry-clerk Mr. Parry.

At a meeting of the Veſtry held the 26th day of Jan. 1762.

Preſent.

The Rev. Dr. Charles Moſs Rector.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cornwallis Churchwarden.

Earl of Shafteſbury.	Earl of Lichfield.	Earl of Bath.
Earl of Tyrconnel.	Lord Berkeley.	Lord Foley.
Lord Cadogan.	Lord Scarſdale.	Lord Boſton.
Sir Wm. Bunbury, Bart.	Sir Fr. Daſhwood.	Sir N. Baily.
Sir John Cotton.	Sir John Chapman.	Sir C. Cotterel Dormer, Barts.
John Willis, Eſq.	Samuel Threſher.	Wm. Burch.
Brudenel Rooke.	Robert Watts.	G. Venables Vernon.
Dr. Ambroſe Dawſon.	Rich. Long, Eſq.	Edw. Bacon.
Peter Burrell.	Edw. Baynton.	Henry Talbot.
David Brodie.	James Spilman.	Thomas Bladen.
George Jennings.	Ch. Whitworth Eſqrs.	

Ordered "That the thanks of this Board be given (by Mr. Parry) to "the Rt. Rev. the Biſhop of Briſtol for his good ſervices to the Pariſh by "his diligence and ability in diſcharging the duty of Lecturer.

"S. Parry."

But

But lectureſhips in general are precarious and diſagreeable preferments, being ſubject to ſo many various humours, and depending altogether upon the good will and pleaſure of ſo many different perſons; and eſpecially when the choice is not in a ſelect veſtry as at St. George's, but in the pariſh at large, which of all elections of lecturers and miniſters is the worſt, and for the moſt part terminates accordingly. Even in St. George's pariſh the lecturer was not exempt from ſome ill-humour and caprice. Two of his firſt friends, Sir Thomas Clarges and Lord Windſor, were greatly offended, the former, becauſe he gave a vote at Lichfield in favor of the Court, and the latter, becauſe at the time of the noiſe and clamor about the famous Jew-bill he preached what may be read in the concluſion of the 8th Diſſertation on the Prophecies: and they not only withdrew their annual contributions, but would not even vouchſafe to ſpeak to him afterwards.

In 1761, as we have ſeen, he loſt his friend Archbiſhop Gilbert, and he loſt another friend the Earl of Tyrconnel in 1762, and another the Earl of Bath in 1764. Every year almoſt was diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of ſome friend or other, that being the common but grievous tax upon long life. George the third Lord Carpenter was created Earl of Tyrconnel and Viſcount Carlingford in Auguſt 1761, and enjoyed his honors only a ſhort time, for he died of an ulcerated ſore throat Mar. 9. 1762. To a man in his full ſtrength and vigor, eaſy in his circumſtances, happy in his family and connections, bleſſed with a conſtitution that promiſed a longer life, death uſually comes an unwelcome gueſt; but to him it proved otherwiſe, for being free from every vice he was under no fears or terrors, and ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke not only with patience but even with courage and chearfulneſs. Senſible of his approaching end, he ſettled his affairs, made his will, gave orders about ſeveral things, received the ſacrament, recommended his children to the protection of Lord Egremont, and took leave of his friends and domeſtics with as much equanimity and compoſure of mind as if he had been only going upon a journey into ſome diſtant country. He was calm and undiſturbed himſelf, while all around him were overwhelmed with ſorrow, and bathed in tears. Never was ſeen more unaffected piety and devotion, or more entire reſignation to the will of God: and Lord Egremont who was a ſpectator of this laſt ſcene ſaid, that he had often heard of ſuch an eaſy happy death, but had never ſeen an inſtance of it before, and could not have believed it now if he had not

ſeen

ſeen it. This laſt act was indeed the moſt glorious of all his life; he was always a good man, but never appeared greater than in his dying moments: and nothing could have raiſed and animated him in this manner, but the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the near proſpect of a bleſſed immortality. By his laſt will and teſtament he conſtituted his Lady, and his Mother Lady Carpenter, and the Biſhop of Briſtol his executors and truſtees: but the principal truſt and buſineſs devolved upon Lady Carpenter, who was always upon the ſpot while the others were ill or abſent; and never was there a more faithful and better guardian, truſtee and ſteward than ſhe was to her grandſon.

Within leſs than a year and half after the death of Lord Tyrconnel died his brother-in-law the Earl of Egremont, elder ſon of the famous Sir William Wyndham. A curious anecdote is related of this great man, that in his younger years when he was abroad upon his travels, and was at Venice, there was a noted fortune-teller, to whom great numbers reſorted, and he among the reſt; and the fortune-teller ſaid to him, that he muſt beware of a white horſe. After his return to England, as he was walking one day by Charing-Croſs, he ſaw a crowd of people coming out and going in to an houſe, and inquiring what was the meaning of it, was informed that Duncan Campbell the dumb fortune-teller lived there. His curioſity alſo led him in, and Duncan Campbell likewiſe told him, that he muſt beware of a white horſe. It was ſomewhat extraordinary, that two fortune-tellers, one at Venice, and the other at London, without any communication, and at ſome diſtance of time, ſhould both happen to hit upon the ſame thing, and to give the very ſame warning. Some years afterwards, when he was taken up in 1715, and committed to the tower upon ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices which never appeared, his friends ſaid to him that his fortune was now fulfilled, the Hanover horſe was the white horſe whereof he was admoniſhed to beware. But ſome time after this he had a fall from a white horſe, and received a blow by which he loſt the ſight of one of his eyes. He was univerſally eſteemed one of the beſt and ableſt ſpeakers in parlament, and deſervedly gained the character

Of Wyndham juſt to freedom and the throne,
The maſter of our paſſions and his own.

He died about the age of 52 or 53, as likewiſe did his ſon, and what

made it more remarkable, was their both dying ſuddenly at the ſame age. If his ſon had entered earlier into buſineſs, he might have made as conſiderable a figure as his father. He had ſeldom occaſion to ſpeak in parlament, but whenever he did ſpeak, it was with great clearneſs, force and energy, and he was thought very much to reſemble his father in manner as well as in good matter, having a little catch and impediment in his voice, as Sir William Wyndham likewiſe had. He died by a ſtroke of an apoplexy Auguſt 21, 1763. Not long before the King and Queen had done him the honor to ſtand in perſon at the baptiſm of his youngeſt ſon, which ceremony was performed by the Biſhop of Briſtol: and the name of George having been given to the eldeſt ſon, Lady Egremont propoſed that this ſhould be called Auguſtus after his Majeſty's other name, and William after Sir William Wyndham; but the King would have him named William Auguſtus, that Sir William Wyndham's name might take place of his own. All the power too of adminiſtration was juſt then given into his hands, and thoſe of his friend Lord Halifax, and of his brother-in-law Mr. Grenville, the two former being the Secretarys of State, and the latter at the head of the treaſury. As he had great reaſon to be pleaſed, ſo he was obſerved to be remarkably chearful ſeveral days before and the very morning he died: and it was while he was ſitting at breakfaſt with his Lady, and reading a letter, that the fatal ſtroke was ſtruck. He called for a glaſs of water, but before it could be given him he was inſenſible, and ſo continued till he died. By his death the Biſhop of Briſtol loſt a very good friend, who had both power and inclination to ſerve him; but his loſs was in ſome meaſure ſupplied by Mr. Grenville, who was ever after very friendly to him for Lord Egremont's ſake.

Some months before Lord Egremont died Lord Pulteney; and ſome time before Lord Pulteney died his mother Lady Bath, who was a wonderfully agreeable woman when ſhe was pleaſed and in good humour, but was oftner clouded and overcaſt. Soon after they were married, her huſband gave her 10,000l. as a neſt-egg, to employ and improve as ſhe pleaſed; and in a courſe of years, having good intelligence in the Alley with Gideon and the ſtock-brokers, inſomuch that her brother Col. Gumley uſed to call her dreſſing-room the Jews ſynagogue, ſhe improved and advanced her 10 thouſand to 60 thouſand; and when ſhe was dying, Lord Bath deſired her to make her will, ſuppoſing (as every one ſuppoſed) that ſhe would

would leave her money to Lord Pulteney; but ſhe refuſed to make any will, ſaying to her Lord, that what ſhe had was owing all to him, and to him it ſhould all return. Lord Pulteney having ſerved the campaigns in Portugal, was after the peace deſirous of ſeeing alſo Spain; and as he was paſſing through that country on his return to England, he fell ill of a violent fever, which he caught in paſſing through the Spaniſh camp, and died at Madrid, there being no better help to be had than an ignorant Iriſh phyſician. When the expreſs with the account of Lord Pulteney's death arrived in Piccadilly, Lord Bath happened to be at the Houſe of Lords, where he reproved the Biſhop of Briſtol for not having dined with him of late, and aſked him whether he would dine with him that day, when he would meet the Biſhop of Rocheſter and Mrs. Pearce. The Biſhop agreed to wait upon him, and if his Lordſhip would be ſo good as to carry him in his chariot, he would ſend his own coach back again. When the Houſe broke up, the Biſhop ſaid that he would juſt go and unrobe, and be with his Lordſhip preſently. When he returned into the Houſe, Lord Bath was not there, and it ſeems was ſitting in his chariot, and waiting for the Biſhop at what is called the Biſhop's door: but the Biſhop ſuppoſing him to be gone, deſired Lord Sandys in his way home to ſet him down at Bath Houſe. By theſe means he luckily arrived before Lord Bath, and was immediately informed of the ſad news by the Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dr. Douglas, who were the only perſons preſent, Mrs. Pearce having gone home again that ſhe might avoid ſo mournful a ſcene. They were all three deeply concerned both for the father and the ſon, and agreed not to diſcloſe the matter to Lord Bath till after dinner. It was ſurely the moſt conſtrained dinner that ever was, they ſcarce knowing how to look or what to ſay, and Lord Bath almoſt all the time talking of Lord Pulteney, how ſoon he expected him, and how happy he ſhould be with his return. He was the more eager and impatient for his arrival, as the young Lord in his laſt letter had declared that he had now ſeen enough of the world, and intimated his intention of marrying and ſettling for life, than which nothing could be more pleaſing to ſo fond a father, with ſuch a title and eſtate, and with only this one ſon to inherit them. After dinner, when the ſervants were all withdrawn, Lord Bath drank to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who ſat next him, "Lord Pulteney's good health." The Biſhop of Rocheſter in a low voice whiſpered to the Biſhop of Briſtol, "Mrs. New-

" ton's good health." The Biſhop of Briſtol rather in a grave and ſolemn manner ſaid, " My Lord I drink to your Lordſhip's good health." No, no, ſaid he, you are to drink to Lord Pulteney's good health. " My Lord, I " drink to your good health, and may God ſupport and comfort you in " your affliction." Upon which Dr. Douglas burſt into tears, and related the fatal cataſtrophe. It was a moving melancholy ſcene to ſee this great good old man in ſuch agonies of grief upon ſo juſt and trying an occaſion, and would have affected even thoſe who were much more indifferent than the parties who beheld it. After giving ſome vent to his paſſion and to his tears, he deſired leave to retire and to lie down upon the bed, and left them to finiſh their wine, but they were much more diſpoſed to diſcourſe and lament over what had happened. The next time the Biſhop of Briſtol ſaw him, he was more calm and compoſed, and they had a good deal of religious diſcourſe together. Among other things the Biſhop cited that paſſage in the Pſalms, *Man walketh in a vain ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them: And now, Lord, what is my hope, truly my hope is even in thee.* " This, my Lord, is your caſe, and you can have no ſolid and rational " hopes but in God and religion. *Acquaint thyſelf with him, and be at* " *peace.* Your acquaintance is not now firſt to be formed, it is only to " be improved." It was indeed a ſevere blow, and the more ſevere becauſe irreparable, to be deprived of his only ſon, and heir to ſuch a title and eſtate, who though he was not equal to his father, yet having been ſeveral years, both at home and abroad, under the tuition of a moſt able inſtructor, an univerſal ſcholar, and one of the moſt knowing intelligent men in the kingdom, Dr. Douglas, he had much improved a natural good capacity, and would have very well become his rank and ſtation.

The Earl of Bath did not ſurvive his ſon a year and half, Lord Pulteney having died February 12, 1763, and Lord Bath dying July 7, 1764. At this time the Biſhop of Briſtol was at Briſtol, but was informed by Dr. Douglas of the manner and circumſtances of his death. He was truly a great and wiſe, and what is more, a good man; and of all men he was the beſt and eaſieſt to be with and live with at all times and upon all occaſions. An inferior naturally appears before a man of his uncommon parts and talents with ſome degree of awe and diffidence; but ſo familiar and engaging was his addreſs, that you could not be with him half an hour, but you felt

yourſelf

yourſelf entirely at eaſe, your apprehenſions leſſened, and your reſpect increaſed. Whether he was in a leſſer or in a larger circle, in converſation with a few or in a mixed company, he was equally excellent in both; and was univerſally allowed by the moſt judicious of both ſexes to be one of the moſt, if not the moſt agreeable, entertaining and inſtructive companions of his time. He did not, like Lord Bolingbroke, dictate and dogmatize and talk eſſays, nor like Lord Granville, overwhelm you with diſcourſe though excellent, and engroſs the whole to himſelf; but invited and encouraged every one to bear his part, toſſed the ball that it might be returned again, and delighted not ſo much in diſplaying his own powers, as in calling forth the exertions of others. He did not like Lord Cheſterfield affect quaint conceits, and lay traps and baits to introduce witty ſayings and ſtories which he had prepared before hand; but gained admiration by not ſeeking it, his wit all natural and eaſy, ariſing from ſomething then ſaid or done, and the more pleaſing becauſe ſudden and unexpected. When the great men in oppoſition met, as they ſometimes did, at Lord Cobham's at Stow, and there paſſed ſome days together, Mrs. Grenville uſed to ſay, that the family thought none of them comparable to Mr. Pulteney; his eaſy and engaging addreſs, his lively and entertaining diſcourſe, his pleaſant and ready vein of wit and humour, far exceeded them all. He was not only a moſt inſtructive and agreeable companion, but was alſo a moſt eminent and able ſpeaker in parlament; and not only a moſt excellent ſpeaker, but alſo a very fine writer, of which there are abundant proofs in the Craftſman and other papers and pamphlets. The Craftſman may be ſaid without exception to conſiſt of ſome of the beſt political papers that ever were publiſhed; and among other things to recommend them, preſerved a decency, to which our modern papers are ſtrangers. They had better ſeaſoning to make them palatable than perſonal reflections. Wit and ſatire only bore the ſecond part. There was great knowlege of the world and of mankind, of government and laws, of trade and commerce, of public funds and taxes, of treaties and negotiations, of the intereſts of Europe in general, and of Great Britain in particular. And the manner of writing was as excellent as the matter, with all the beauties and graces of language, ſome of the firſt and ableſt pens in the kingdom being employed beſides his own. His own papers were marked with the letter C. Thoſe marked with C A were written by him and Amherſt jointly, or by Amherſt from his dictation.

Lord

Lord Bolingbroke's were diſtinguiſhed by the letter O: and happy would it have been for Lord Bolingbroke, if he had written nothing but hiſtory and politics. He would then have been admired and honored as one of our moſt claſſical writers, whereas his *Firſt Philoſophy* (as he calls it) has tarniſhed all his glory, has depreciated the value of his works, and fixed an indelible ſtain upon his name and memory. All the charms of fine writing cannot make amends for ſo much falſe reaſoning and ſuch groſs infidelity. Mallett, the editor of his works, expected that they would prove a treaſure, and refuſed three thouſand pounds for the copy; but ſo little did they anſwer his and the world's expectation, that the firſt impreſſion was not ſold off in twenty years. Mr. Pulteney had other able coadjutors beſides his couſin Daniel Pulteney, and ſeveral excellent letters were ſent with the ſignature of Walter Raleigh, the author whereof he never knew, nor could ever diſcover.

But though he thus oppoſed and purſued Sir Robert Walpole, both in the Houſe and out of the Houſe, by ſpeaking and by writing; yet he was not moved thereto by any perſonal enmity or envy, or by any intereſted and ambitious views of ſupplanting and ſucceeding him, as appeared from his repeated declarations at different times, and (what are a ſtronger proof) from his actions afterwards. He liked the man, but diſliked his meaſures; he really thought that he was a dangerous miniſter; that he too much neglected the houſe of Auſtria; that he was too cloſely connected with France; that he ſacrificed too much to Hanover; that he did not preſerve inviolate the honor even of his own child, the Sinking Fund, but proſtituted it for his own particular purpoſes; that his expenſes in peace were almoſt equal to thoſe in times of war, and that he had improved and eſtabliſhed the ſyſtem of bribery and corruption beyond any miniſter before him. In other reſpects he admired his parts and abilities, and particularly his great ſkill and knowlege in affairs of the finances, wherein he declared that he ſhould not have been able to have contended with him, if he had not been aſſiſted by ſo good a ſecond as Sir John Barnard. So far was he from bearing malice or reſentment, that he ſometimes would take a pleaſure in relating ſtories to his credit and honor, and the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen. When Steele was to be expelled the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pulteney were commiſſioned to go to him and Addiſon by the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Kit Kat Club, with their poſitive

order

order and determination, that Steele ſhould not make his own ſpeech, but Addiſon ſhould make it for him, and he ſhould recite it from the others writing without any inſertion or addition of his own. Mr. Addiſon thought this an hard injunction, and ſaid that he muſt be like a ſchool-boy, and deſire the Gentlemen to give him a little ſenſe. Mr. Walpole ſaid that it was impoſſible to ſpeak a ſpeech off hand in cool blood, but being preſſed he ſaid he would try, and immediately ſpoke a very good ſpeech of what he thought proper for Steele to ſay upon the occaſion; and the next day in the Houſe made another ſpeech as good or better upon the ſame ſubject, but ſo totally different from the former, that there was ſcarce a ſingle argument or thought the ſame: which particulars were mentioned as illuſtrious proofs of his uncommon eloquence. Even in the heighth of oppoſition they would ſometimes ſit together in the Houſe of Commons, and diſcourſe of various matters. One day Sir Robert took occaſion to cite the line,

Nil conſcire ſibi, *nulli* palleſcere *culpæ*.

Nulla palleſcere *culpa*, ſaid Mr. Pulteney. Sir Robert maintained that he was right, whereupon a wager was laid, and Mr. Hardinge, who was then Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, was called upon to decide it, and he gave it in favor of Mr. Pulteney,

Nil conſcire ſibi, *nulla* palleſcere *culpa*.

Another day, as they were ſitting and converſing together, he ſaid to Sir Robert, that he was afraid the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and Dr. Pearce was an obſtacle to him in his preferment, for ſuch an eminent Divine ſhould not have lain ſo long neglected, he was beſides one of His Majeſty's Chaplains, and was deſerving of ſome deanery at leaſt. Sir Robert replied, that their friendſhip had not been and ſhould not be any hindrance to him; he was very ſenſible of Dr. Pearce's merits, and would ſoon take an opportunity of procuring a deanery for him. Sir Robert was the more inclined to make this promiſe, as Queen Caroline had alſo before

her

her death recommended Dr. Pearce to him for a deanery. At that time or not long after the deanery of Wells became vacant, and Dr. Pearce who knew that Sir Robert had expreſſed his inclinations to ſerve him, waited upon him at his Levee to put himſelf in the way, and in the thoughts of the Miniſter of State. Sir Robert received him graciouſly, but the deanery was ſtill kept vacant till another fell, which was that of Winchester, and then Sir Robert ſent for Dr. Pearce and offered him that deanery, which Dr. Pearce moſt gladly accepted. His friend was not only himſelf very thankful to Sir Robert, but alſo deſired Dr. Pearce, as he owed his promotion entirely to Sir Robert's favor, to make all his acknowlegements and return all his thanks to him; and if at any time there ſhould happen to be a conteſt between any of his friends and Sir Robert's at Winchester, he inſiſted upon it that the Dean ſhould give his intereſt to Sir Robert's friends in preference to his own: Which proceedings were handſome and generous on both ſides. In point of politics Lord Bath was one of thoſe old Whigs, who were for cultivating an alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, as the moſt proper balance againſt the power of France. The French, he ſaid, were a buſy reſtleſs people, would always be breaking faith, would always be doing or intending ſome miſchief. It was neceſſary therefore by the means of foreign alliances to counteract their deſigns as circumſtances might require, to cut out ſome work for them upon the continent, or at leaſt to keep a ſtrict watch and guard over all their motions. It might indeed be more œconomical to be without allies, but would be found more prudential to have them in readineſs upon occaſion. For if England was left alone without any ally, and the French had not ſufficient employment for their land armies, they would naturally turn their attention more to their maritim affairs, as they could then afford, they would then expend larger ſums in buying or building and fitting out ſhips of war, and in time would contend for the dominion of the ſea, which particulars we lately have ſeen too much verified in fact. No man is infallible, and perhaps Lord Bath was never more miſtaken in his politics than in his letter to two great men, wherein he recommended it to the Duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Secretary Pitt, by no means to reſtore Canada to France, but to annex it to the dominions of Great Britain, and thereby

thereby to gain and ſecure the entire poſſeſſion of North America. For if that meaſure had not taken effect, the Americans would not ſo ſoon have affected independency; the French at their back would ſtill have kept them in awe and dependence upon the mother country: but no ſooner was that terror removed, than inſtantly forgetting all allegiance, forgetting all obligations, they were for throwing off the Britiſh government and eſtabliſhing their own; and all the fatal evil conſequences to both countries may be ſaid to be derived in great meaſure from this ſource. But indeed who could have foreſeen, or have thought it poſſible for human nature to be capable of ſuch monſtrous ingratitude, that they ſhould conſider the blood exhauſted and the millions expended in their defenſe as nothing; that when they were ſaved and ſecured from their moſt dangerous enemies, they ſhould take up arms againſt their beſt friends who had ſo reſcued and delivered them; and not only ſo, but make alliances and enter into the ſtricteſt amity with thoſe very enemies againſt thoſe very friends; that when they might enjoy legal government and conſtitutional liberty, they ſhould rather ſubmit to wild anarchy and lawleſs tyranny; that when they might have lived in peace and plenty and happineſs, they ſhould rather involve themſelves and their country in war and miſery and ruin. In Scripture it is ſaid, that "rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft;" and ſuch an unprovoked and unnatural rebellion can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than diabolical infatuation. If Lord Bath had any failing (as indeed who was ever exempt from ſome failing?) it was rather too great a love of money; but his love of money was not near ſo great as it was commonly reported and reputed to be. In an age of prodigality and profuſion every man ſhall be deemed covetous, who is careful to live within his income: and ſuch œconomy was the more neceſſary for him, as he had no miniſterial ways and means of improving his fortune; for after the deceaſe of his couſin Daniel Pulteney, and of Mr. Watts, he was fully fixed in his reſolution never to be a miniſter, having loſt in them (as he ſaid) his right hand and his left. He was therefore very ſtrict and exact in all his accounts and payments. He had ſomething of the ſpirit of Hotſpur in Shakeſpear; he would be generous and *give to any well deſerving friend, but in the way of bargain* he would not readily yield a point, nor eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, eſteeming it a reflection upon his underſtanding. While he was in oppoſition he was ſtill for carrying it on by none but fair and

generous means. One morning a man came to him offering his ſervice, that he could open any letter folded in any form, could take a copy of the letter, and make it up again in ſuch a manner, that the writer of the letter himſelf could not diſtinguiſh whether the ſeal had been touched, or how the letter had been opened. The man withdrew into another room, a ſhort letter was written, was folded up in the moſt artful manner, was ſealed with a finely cut coat of arms, and then ſent to the man in the room adjoining. In a quarter of an hour the man returned with the letter and the copy of the letter, and neither Mr. Pulteney nor a friend who had been ſitting with him all the time, could diſcover the leaſt traces of the letter's having been opened. The man therefore hoped, that his Honor would employ him, or recommend him to ſome other perſon. He replied, that he was ſorry there exiſted ſuch a dangerous enemy to ſociety; ſo far from employing or recommending him, he would puniſh him if he had it in his power; Go your ways, ſaid he, and ſeek your reward elſewhere. The man was ſoon after taken into the Secretary of State's office.

A report was circulated at one time much to his diſhonor, but the diſhonor was afterwards retorted upon the reporter. The ground which lies between Cheſterfield houſe and the wall of Hyde Park, was in the tenure of Lord Bath by a leaſe from the church of Weſtminſter. The ground was of no great value in itſelf, but in the general rage for building it was thought probable that it might be let to advantage upon building leaſes. Of this Lord Cheſterfield was apprehenſive, and therefore was deſirous of purchaſing it, that his view into the park might not any way be obſtructed. Lord Bath aſked 3000 l. for it, and ſaid that upon calculation he knew it was worth more, and would ſell for more; but however to oblige him and for his accommodation he ſhould have it at that price. Lord Cheſterfield had no ſenſe of the obligation, but made an heavy outcry, and in all companies exclaimed againſt Lord Bath's avarice and extortion in demanding ten times more than the value, and he muſt either comply with ſuch an exorbitant demand, or muſt be cruelly excluded from his view into the park. Lord Bath was not moved by theſe reflections, well knowing that he had required leſs than the real value; and at length Lord Cheſterfield, after all his tragical complaints, thought fit to pay the money. But inſtead of keeping open his view into the park, which was his pretence for purchaſing, he ſold the ground ſoon after to a builder, at the great advance

of

of 5000l. and in a little time it was all built upon; and he was blocked up much more than he would have been acccording to the plan of building propoſed by Lord Bath; ſo that his own reproaches were juſtly with aggravation turned upon himſelf, as having acted in no part like the man of honor he pretended to be. Lord Cheſterfield has likewiſe in ſome publications ſince his death made free with the character of Lord Bath as well as of ſeveral others, and has repreſented him as one of the moſt ſordid covetous wretches breathing. But Lord Cheſterfield's writings are a dead weight upon his memory; and the profligacy and immorality of the two former volumes, and the futility and frivolouſneſs of the two latter, have ſunk him much in the opinion of the world: and ſurely he muſt have been an excellent judge of mankind, and very well qualified to draw characters, who could commit the tuition of his own heir apparent to Dr. Dodd, and alſo recommend the ſaid Doctor to his Majeſty as a proper perſon for ſub-preceptor to the Prince of Wales. The truth is Lord Cheſterfield and Lord Bath never much loved one another. Mr. Pulteney had his reaſons for ſuſpecting that Lord Cheſterfield betrayed the Oppoſition to Queen Caroline, and through her to Sir Robert Walpole, for which reaſons, when the whole power was put into his hands, he would enter into no treaty or connexion with Lord Cheſterfield, and *hinc illæ lacrymæ*, hence theſe complaints and invectives.

Some other ſtories were ſpread to Lord Bath's diſadvantage with as little foundation in truth. It was no ſign of his covetouſneſs, when the oppoſition was carried on chiefly at his expenſe, as well as ſupported principally by his abilities. The charge of gaining intelligence, and of printing and publiſhing and the like was almoſt all his own; and there were very few who aſſiſted now and then with ſo much as a ſubſcription of five guineas. It was no ſign of his covetouſneſs, when he refuſed one of the moſt beneficial employments in the kingdom at a time when it was offered and preſſed upon him. It was no ſign of his covetouſneſs, when he ſtipulated every thing for others, and nothing for himſelf. He was generous in many inſtances and upon many occaſions. He contributed largely to the education and ſupport of many hopeful promiſing youths. He was a great encourager of learning and ingenuity wherever he found them, and was a moſt liberal ſubſcriber to all publications of this kind. He diſpenſed beſides conſiderable ſums in private penſions and benefactions to worthy objects, the particular in-

ſtances whereof would be better known, if the merit of ſuch actions were not greatly inhanced by their privacy. Biſhop Pearce had without doubt good authority for affirming, or he would never have affirmed, that he devoted the tenth part of his income every year to charitable uſes. What is moſt to be lamented is, that ſo wiſe a man as he was ſhould not before his death make a proper ſettlement of his eſtates; but ſhould leave the whole in the power and diſpoſal of his Brother. If he had left every thing to his Brother for his life, he would have done well. If he had made a diſtribution to take place after his Brother's death, he would have done better; for the General was quite overwhelmed with ſuch an acceſſion of fortune, was unequal to the taſk of ſettling and diſpoſing of it properly, and his will has ſince been made the ſubject of much litigation. This omiſſion in Lord Bath was owing moſt probably to his indolence and indifference, which had grown much upon him in his old age, and eſpecially after the death of Lord Pulteney, ſo that he ſeemed little concerned about the world and worldly affairs, having his hopes full of immortality and of a better life after this. For he had always delighted in the offices of religion and the ſervice of the church, and was not only a good man but likewiſe a good chriſtian: and his religion and virtue were the true ſource of his eaſe and pleaſantry; and enabled him to preſerve and retain the ſame good humour, and to continue the ſame chearful agreeable companion to the laſt.

Some reflections alſo were very undeſervedly caſt upon him on account of the Bradford eſtate. Lord Bradford and He were related, they were ſchool-fellows at Weſtminſter and fellow-collegians at Chriſt Church, they traveled together in their younger years, and ever after there was a great friendſhip and intimacy between them. This Lord had a favorite miſtreſs by whom he had a ſon of his own name Newport, and to her he gave his eſtate, which was very conſiderable and in his own power. And where was the mighty wonder, that after her own ſon (who was then growing inſane) ſhe ſhould bequeath this eſtate to her Lord's relation, and companion, and friend. Whether ſhe had received any hint or direction from Lord Bradford to this purpoſe, or whether ſhe thought it a debt of juſtice and gratitude due to his memory, we cannot ſay: but it was by no means expected, and was a matter of great ſurpriſe to Lord and Lady Bath, her will being made entirely without their privity, and the contents not in the leaſt known till after her death. And who was ever ſo ſelf-

denying

denying as to refuſe a good eſtate left in this manner? Did Lord Chatham (for inſtance) refuſe Sir William Pynſent's eſtate, which yet was given him by an entire ſtranger, and given away from his own relations? Let thoſe only blame Lord Bath, who would not accept the ſame themſelves. While the two young men were upon their travels, they happened to be at Berlin at the ſame time that the Duke of Marlborough came thither to fix Frederic the firſt King of Pruſſia in the intereſt of the Allies, and to prevail with him to ſend a body of forces into Italy. This able politician as well as general, who penetrated into the deſigns of Charles XII. of Sweden only by obſerving his looks, and ſeeing the map upon his table, ſhowed the like dexterity in diſcovering the inclinations of the King of Pruſſia, and accordingly paying all imaginable court to him. He would not though invited ſit down to the table, but would rather ſtand behind, and wait upon him at dinner; which condeſcenſion from the greateſt man at that time in Europe was ſo flattering to the pride and vanity of the vaineſt of all mortals as his Grandſon repreſents him, that the Duke thereby inſinuated himſelf entirely into his favor, and ſucceeded in every part of his negotiation. One day for the Duke's entertainment there was exhibited a battle of the wild beaſts. A trooper's horſe and a bull were turned out, and ſoon after were let looſe a lion, and a tiger, and a bear, and a wolf, kept hungry for the purpoſe. The tiger crawled along upon the ground like a cat, and firſt jumped upon the bull's back, which ſoon brought the bull down, and then the great ſcramble began, the beaſts tearing the bull to pieces, and likewiſe one another. The wolf and the tiger were firſt diſpatched. The lion and the bear had a long conteſt. The lion with his teeth and with his claws wounded the bear in ſeveral places, but could not penetrate much farther than the ſkin. The bear ſome how or other took the lion at an advantage, got him within his graſp, and gave him ſuch a ſqueeze as ſqueezed the breath out of his body. The bear then furiouſly attacked the trooper's horſe, who was grazing all this while at a little diſtance, and not minding what was done: but the horſe with his hind legs gave him ſuch a kick upon his ribs as provoked him into tenfold fury; and at the ſecond attack a ſecond kick upon his head broke both his jaws, and laid him dead upon the ground; ſo that contrary to expectation the trooper's horſe remained maſter of the field.

The

The firſt time that Lord Bath dined with the Biſhop of Briſtol after the death of Lord Pulteney, there dined alſo with him the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir Thomas Clarke Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome other friends. It happened that Sir Thomas Clarke's chariot did not come at the time appointed, ſo that he was left behind the reſt, of the company alone with the Biſhop. Their diſcourſe naturally turned upon Lord Bath and Lord Pulteney's death; and the Maſter of the Rolls wondered how he would now diſpoſe of his great fortune, and particularly what he would do with the Bradford eſtate, or whether he had any thoughts of reſtoring it to the remains of the family. The Biſhop anſwered, that poſſibly he might have entertained ſome thoughts of reſtoring it, if they had not given him trouble about it; but as things were circumſtanced, he thought that they had no reaſon to hope or expect any ſuch favor from him, eſpecially ſince the male line were all extinct: but as it was the eſtate of a mad family, and deſcended to Lord Bath by the incurable madneſs of Mr. Newport, he could not help wiſhing that God might put it into Lord Bath's heart to beſtow it in founding an hoſpital for incurables, or in making a large ſettlement upon St. Luke's, which was a charity of the ſame kind, and wanted ſuch aſſiſtance and ſupport. The Maſter of the Rolls was ſtruck with the thought, and ſaid that a better never entered into a man's heart, and aſked abundance of queſtions about St. Luke's, as to the nature and ſtate of the charity, all which the Biſhop anſwered as well as he was able. It was without doubt owing to this incidental diſcourſe, that Sir Thomas Clarke, finding that Lord Bath had done nothing of the kind, and dying himſelf within leſs than half a year after him, November 13, 1764, did in his laſt moments bequeath 30,000l. to St. Luke's hoſpital; and ſome of the governors were ſenſible of the obligation, and accordingly made their acknowlegements to the Biſhop. Sir Thomas's fortune was all of his own acquiring by his profeſſion, and amounted at leaſt to as many thouſands more, the bulk of which he left to the preſent Earl of Macclesfield out of a ſenſe of gratitude to his grandfather the Chancellor. While he was at Weſtminſter ſchool, no body appearing there for him, or ſeeming to take any notice of him, but Dr. Pearce who was at that time Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, the boys had a notion that he was a natural ſon of Lord Macclesfield; and he himſelf did not contradict nor diſcourage that notion. But the truth is, that he was born of low but honeſt parents.

His

His father was a Carpenter in St. Gyles's pariſh Holborn, and his mother kept a pawn-broker's ſhop. His elder ſon his father brought up to his own trade and buſineſs; but this his younger ſon, who was born ſeveral years after the other, his father finding to be a ſenſible clever boy, and being now by his honeſty and induſtry in better circumſtances, he had thoughts of breeding him a ſcholar, and for this purpoſe applied to his good friend Dr. Pearce, of whoſe father he rented his houſe, that he would introduce him to Weſtminſter ſchool, and anſwer there for him: and it was through Dr. Pearce's means that he was made a King's ſcholar, and was choſen to Cambridge, and was elected fellow of Trinity College. It was not till after he had been at Cambridge ſeveral years, and was entered at one of the Inns of Court, that he firſt became known to Lord Macclesfield; and the occaſion of it was as follows. Lord Macclesfield was ſaying one day to Dr. Pearce, that he had a M. S. copy of Fleta, and wanted to have it collated with Selden's edition, and inquired of the Dr. whether he could not recommend to him ſome young lawyer who might be proper for this work. Dr. Pearce mentioned Mr. Clarke, and brought him ſoon after to Kenſington to dine with Lord Macclesfield, and then and there the time was fixed for his coming down in the long vacation to Lord Macclesfield's ſeat in Oxfordſhire. He continued there five or ſix weeks, and Lord Macclesfield wrote to Dr. Pearce, how greatly he was obliged to him for his recommendation of Mr. Clarke, how much he admired his great learning and knowlege, how well he was pleaſed with his converſation, and had therefore detained him longer than was intended. In this manner their acquaintance began, and this gave the firſt riſe to Mr. Clarke's edition of Fleta. Lord Macclesfield recommended him in the warmeſt terms to the favor and friendſhip of Sir Philip Yorke. Sir Philip Yorke had been greatly indebted for his advancement to Lord Macclesfield, and Mr. Clarke owed his preferment as much to Lord Hardwicke. He was certainly under great obligations both to the one and to the other, but contrary to general expectation the reſidue of his fortune all centered in the family of his firſt patron. After Lord Hardwicke had reſigned the great ſeal, it was offered to the noble Lord, who was beſt able to ſupply the place with dignity; but in thoſe unſettled times he prudently choſe to keep his certainty rather than exchange it for an uncertainty. It is ſaid that Lord Chief Juſtice Willes and Sir Thomas Clarke alſo declined the office, becauſe they could not

obtain

obtain a peerage with it: but Mr. Clarke aſſigned other reaſons to his friends, and only one thing, he ſaid, would have made it agreeable to him, which was the patronage belonging to the great ſeal with the power of providing for ſo many worthy clergymen.

Before this account of Sir Thomas Clarke is finally cloſed, it may not be diſagreeable to relate a ſtory or two which he uſed to tell with pleaſure, as he was a great dealer in anecdotes. In his younger days, as he was patronized by Lord Hardwicke, ſo he was of courſe much favored by Sir Joſeph Jekyll Maſter of the Rolls, and frequently dined with him and his Lady. One day when he was dining at the Rolls, there dined alſo the famous William Whiſton, to whom Sir Joſeph allowed a penſion of 50l. a year. Lady Jekyll, who was one of the ſiſters of Lord Sommers, thought that ſhe muſt know more than other women, and was often puzzling herſelf and others with curious queſtions. After dinner ſhe ſaid, Mr. Whiſton, a difficulty occurs to me in the Moſaic account of the creation, which perhaps you can reſolve me in, and it is this, Since it pleaſed God to create the woman out of the man, why did he form her out of the rib rather than any other part? Whiſton ſcratched his head, and anſwered, Indeed Madam I don't know, unleſs it be that the rib is the moſt crooked part of the body. There, ſaid the Maſter, you have it now, I hope you are ſatisfied. Whiſton was alſo a penſioner to Queen Caroline, who ſometimes admitted him to the honor of her converſation, and payed the penſion with her own hands. One day ſhe ſaid to him, Mr. Whiſton, I underſtand you are a free ſpeaker, and honeſtly tell people of their faults: no one is without faults, and I wiſh you would tell me of mine; and ſhe preſſed him to do ſo. He was ſtill upon the reſerve, and ſhe preſſed him the more. Well, ſaid he, ſince your Majeſty inſiſts upon it, I muſt obey you. There are abundance of people who come out of the country every ſpring to London upon buſineſs, and they all naturally deſire to ſee the King and Queen, and have not any opportunity of ſeeing your Majeſtys ſo conveniently as at the Chapel Royal: but theſe country folks, who are not uſed to ſuch things, when they ſee your Majeſty talking with the King almoſt all the time of divine ſervice, are perfectly aſtoniſhed, and depart with ſtrange impreſſions into their reſpective countries, and make their reports there (let me tell you) not at all to your Majeſty's honor. I am ſorry for it, anſwered the Queen, I believe there may be too much truth in what you ſay; but

but pray, Mr. Whiſton, tell me of another fault. No, Madam, ſaid he, let me ſee you mend of this before I tell you of another. Sir Thomas Clarke always profeſſed a high veneration for his nameſake Dr. Clarke, and was not an enemy to Mr. Whiſton; then ſeeing the one a very great, and the other a very honeſt well meaning man.

The narration has naturally paſſed on from the death of one friend to that of another, but it is proper to revert to ſome other tranſactions which were prior in point of time. It was in the year 1763 that Biſhop Pearce, being 73 years old, and having held the biſhopric of Rocheſter and deanery of Weſtminſter ſeven years, propoſed to reſign them both, in order to paſs the remainder of his days in privacy and retirement, and to dedicate himſelf wholly to ſtudy and devotion: And the better to recommend his deſign to Lord Bath, and to intereſt him more effectually in its favor, he wiſhed that the Biſhop of Briſtol might ſucceed him in the biſhopric and deanery, and that Dr. Douglas might ſucceed the Biſhop of Briſtol as reſidentiary of St. Pauls; and with this view he gave in his own hand-writing to the Biſhop of Briſtol an account of the annual income of the biſhopric and the deanery for the laſt ſeven years. The Biſhop of Briſtol was rather indifferent about the propoſal from the firſt, and afterwards was more ſo, when Mr. Grenville adviſed him by no means to think of it, and aſſured him that better things were intended for him. It was contrary to the entreaties of his wife, and to the opinion and advice of Lord Bath and all his friends, that Biſhop Pearce made this attempt; but though he perſiſted in it, yet at length he could not ſucceed in his application for leave to reſign his biſhopric. His Majeſty's conſent had been given, but upon farther deliberation was withdrawn; for doubts and difficulties were raiſed by ſome of the miniſters concerning the legality and propriety of reſigning a biſhopric, and the Biſhops generally diſapproving it, the deſign was laid aſide. Some time after, when the Biſhop was more advanced in years, no kind of objection having been made to his reſigning of the deanery, he determined upon doing it; and aſked the Biſhop of Briſtol whether he ſhould be willing to ſucceed him. The Biſhop of Briſtol did not think it worth his while to make the exchange, having ſomething better in view; but offered and urged all the arguments he could, repeatedly and at different times, to diſſuade the Biſhop from his purpoſe of ſeparating the two preferments, which had been united for near a century, and lay ſo

convenient to each other, that neither of them would be of the ſame value without the other; and if once they were ſeparated, they might perhaps be never united again, and his ſucceſſors in both would have reaſon to reproach and condemn his memory. However he reſigned his deanery in 1768, and was ſucceeded by his friend Dr. John Thomas, who had been many years one of the prebendaries, and was his ſubdean; and upon the death of the good Biſhop June 29 1774, he ſucceeded him in the biſhopric too, ſo that the two preferments were happily united again in a moſt worthy ſucceſſor, who though he was not of the ſchool, yet has always been favorable and friendly to it, excells equally in the characters of the gentleman and the ſcholar, and has a ſpirit and taſte and elegance ſuperior to moſt men, which he has fully diſplayed in the judicious improvements of his deanery houſe, and in building a palace and laying out and adorning the grounds at Bromley, not to mention the alterations in the choir at Weſtminſter, which perhaps would have been more approved, if they had been made more according to his plan. It is very extraordinary, and what ſcarce ever happened before at any period, but it has been the caſe now for ſeveral years, that neither the Dean of Weſtminſter, nor any one of the twelve Prebendaries have been bred at the ſchool, and neither is the Maſter himſelf a Prebendary, as ſuch laborious and uſeful ſervice well deſerves that he ſhould be. Dr. Buſby, Dr. Knipe, Dr. Freind, Dr. Nicol, ſucceſſive Maſters, were all Prebendaries. Dr. Markham and Dr. Hinchliffe have their lot in a fairer ground. But Dr. Smith after twelve years of conſtant labor and attention remains, to the reproach of the miniſters, a ſingle exception. Theſe things ought not to be, they are a diſcouragement and diſparagement to the ſchool and to learning.

As Mr. Grenville had aſſured the Biſhop of Briſtol, that better things were intended for him; ſo he ſoon convinced him of the truth and reality of his good intentions by his ſubſequent actions. For upon the death of Biſhop Oſbaldeſton in the ſpring of 1764 Mr. Grenville, the Duke of Bedford, and others of the miniſters agreed in the Biſhop of Briſtol as a proper perſon to fill the vacant ſee of London, and Mr. Grenville in a particular manner recommended him to the King for that preferment. His Majeſty was very gracious in his anſwer, and was pleaſed to ſay many kind things of the Biſhop of Briſtol; but unluckily he was ſome how or other partly engaged, and had given ſome kind of promiſe for Biſhop Terrick in Lord Bute's adminiſtration, which he thought himſelf now obliged to fulfil:

fulfil: And afterwards the Princeſs of Wales had the goodneſs at one time, and Lord Bute condeſcended at another, to ſpeak to him concerning this matter, and in ſome meaſure apologized for it. This was not the only time that Terrick ſtood in his way. For when Sir Joſeph Jekyll was to chooſe a preacher at the Rolls in the room of Dr. Bolton preferred to the deanery of Carliſle, they two were the only competitors; but Terrick's was the prevailing ſtar, though the other was honored with the friendſhip and recommendation of Chandler Biſhop of Durham. But though Terrick was the younger man, and was preferred before him, yet he never harboured the leaſt jealouſy or envy againſt him.

Nec bonus Eurytion prælato invidit honoris.

He was glad to ſucceed him as ſubalmoner, he was happy to be made Dean of the church where he was Biſhop: and had always a reſpect and regard for him, thought him an agreeable friend and companion, and knew he would well become any ſtation.

In the ſummer of the ſame year 1764 Dr. George Stone Primate of Ireland was thought to be dying, and Mr. Grenville ſounded a particular friend of the Biſhop of Briſtol to know whether the Primacy would be agreeable to him. The Biſhop had therefore ſufficient time to conſider of it; and ſoon after the death of the Primate, which happened on the 19th of December 1764, Mr. Grenville ſent for him, and in the moſt obliging manner deſired his acceptance of the Primacy, as he was well aſſured that he could readily obtain His Majeſty's conſent and approbation: but farther added that he ſhould expect him always to be one of the Lord's Juſtices, conſtantly to correſpond with him, and to give him certain intelligence of every thing material, he ſhould rely upon his letters of advice, as upon a friend's in whom he ſhould repoſe the greateſt truſt and confidence. The Biſhop having fully conſidered the matter before in all points of view, was the readier in his anſwer, declined the offer with all poſſible gratitude, aſſigned his reaſons for ſo doing, and expreſſed how much happier he ſhould be with a tranſlation to a biſhopric in England, not naming any one in particular. Mr. Grenville ſaid that he conſidered biſhoprics as of two kinds, biſhoprics of buſineſs for men of abilities and learning, and biſhoprics of eaſe for men of family and faſhion. Of the former ſort he reckoned Canterbury, and York, and London, and Ely on account of its connexion with Cambridge; of the latter ſort Durham, and Wincheſter,

and Saliſbury, and Worceſter. He mentioned the Biſhops Egerton and Lyttelton as likely to ſucceed to ſome of the latter ſort, and informed the Biſhop of Briſtol that he was deſigned for one of the former; for His Majeſty had the moſt gracious intentions in his favor, and he would ſoon experience the good effects of them. Biſhop Boulter had before been tranſlated from the See of Briſtol to the Primacy of Ireland; and it was very extraordinary for any man to wiſh to retain the pooreſt biſhopric in England, in preference to the firſt and richeſt in Ireland, and perhaps richer than any in England. If he had been a younger man, or had enjoyed better health, or had had a growing family, he would certainly not have declined ſo tempting an offer; and if he had accepted it, it was his firm reſolution to become a perfect Iriſhman, he was determined never to entertain a thought of returning even upon a viſit to England, but would there have paſſed and have ended his days. But he was never very ambitious, was always deſirous of a competency rather than of pomp and greatneſs; he was then paſt ſixty, which is an age too late in life to change one's country, to enter upon new and different ſcenes, to form new friends and acquaintance, and in a manner begin the world again; his health alſo was too precarious and uncertain to be depended upon, though poſſibly the ſofter and moiſter air of Ireland might have agreed with his conſtitution; he had beſides no children, and though his wife was well acquainted and pleaſed with Dublin having received part of her education there, yet ſhe was for running no riſks, and preferred her huſband's eaſe and quiet to any wealth or ſplendor of her own; he himſelf too at all times, and eſpecially the more he advanced in years, was fonder of privacy and ſtudy than of public life and public buſineſs. The Primacy of Ireland was likewiſe offered to Dr. Keen Biſhop of Cheſter, and he likewiſe declined it, and at the ſame time urged his requeſt to Mr. Grenville, that upon the vacancy he might ſucceed to the ſee of Ely, which was his great object, the aim and end of all his ambition. Mr. Grenville replied in general terms of civility, but ſaid that he could not give him much encouragement in that particular, he was afraid that he would have there a powerful rival and competitor, for the King deſigned that preferment for the Biſhop of Briſtol, which particulars Biſhop Keen himſelf related to Biſhop Newton. But before the old Biſhop of Ely died, the Biſhop of Briſtol was otherwiſe preferred, and there was a change of the miniſtry, ſo that upon the vacancy

Biſhop

Biſhop Keen ſucceeded to his heart's deſire, and happy it was that he did ſo; for few could have borne the expenſe, or have diſplayed the taſte and magnificence, which he has done, having a liberal fortune as well as a liberal mind, and really meriting the appellation of a builder of palaces. For he built a new palace at Cheſter, he built a new Ely houſe in London, and in great meaſure a new palace at Ely, left only the outer walls ſtanding, formed a new inſide, and thereby converted it into one of the beſt epiſcopal houſes, if not the very beſt in the kingdom. He had indeed received the money which aroſe from the ſale of old Ely houſe, and alſo what was paid by the executors of his predeceſſor for dilapidations, which all together amounted to about 11000l.; but yet he expended ſome thouſands more of his own upon the buildings, and new houſes require new furniture. After all the Primacy of Ireland was given to Dr. Richard Robinſon Biſhop of Kildare. He as well as the late Primate Stone were in Weſtminſter College at the ſame time with the Biſhop of Briſtol, and Robinſon was his *Junior*, or what is called his *Man*. Sir Septimus Robinſon, who was Gentleman Uſher of the black rod, upon his brother being made Primate, came up to the Biſhop of Briſtol in the Houſe of Lords, and thanked him, ſaying I knew that you were always a good maſter; but now you have made better proviſion for your man, than any maſter ever did before you.

When Mr. Grenville was removed from the helm, which was in July 1765, the Biſhop of Briſtol loſt a very good friend at court, and (what was infinitely worſe) the King and the nation loſt a moſt faithful and able miniſter. And what followed upon it? the repeal of the ſtamp act, the ſacrifice of the honor and authority of Great Britain, and all the conſequent troubles in America. The Biſhop of Briſtol was always a friend to government, ſeldom oppoſed the meaſures of the miniſtry, and never carried his oppoſition ſo far as to become a proteſter but upon this occaſion; and foreſeeing then and ſeeing ſince the train of growing evils, he would not upon any account but have had his name appear againſt a proceeding ſo diſgraceful to his King, and ſo deſtructive to his country. Mr. Grenville was not only an able miniſter, but was likewiſe a religious good man, and regularly attended the ſervice of the Church every Sunday morning, even while he was in the higheſt offices: and whatever the world may pretend to the contrary, it is an infallible axiom, that the beſt men, cæteris paribus, will always make the beſt miniſters. Let Lord Clarendon, and Mr. Grenville,

and

and Lord North be cited as witneſſes. During the time of Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration Mr. Swymmer, the Mayor of Briſtol and Brother in law to the then earl of Weſtmoreland, came to London, and made a complaint to the Biſhop of ſome perſons making preparations for opening a public Maſs-houſe at the Hot Wells under the protection of the Duke of Norfolk. Upon this information the Biſhop went and conſulted with Archbiſhop Secker what would be the beſt method of ſuppreſſing it, and they both agreed that nothing could be done effectually without the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the miniſtry; and miniſters, whatever may be their reaſons, ſeldom lend a favorable ear, or give a helping hand to ſuch applications. But the Biſhop met with a different reception from Mr. Grenville, and repreſented the matter to him in ſuch a light, that he deſired the Biſhop to take his meaſures with the Mayor for putting the laws in execution, but adviſed them firſt to try the gentler methods of argument and perſuaſion, and even of threatening; and if theſe ſhould not avail, he would then be ready to ſupport them with all the power and authority of government. As ſoon as the Biſhop came to Briſtol, a meeting by his deſire was appointed at the Mayor's houſe of the Mayor, the Biſhop, and Sir Abraham Elton the Town Clerk, and of the prieſt, the proprietor of the building, and their agent. The Biſhop argued with as much candor as he could upon the ſubject, that though he was no friend to their religion as it ſtood diſtinguiſhed from our common Chriſtianity, yet he was no enemy to their perſons; that they could not but be ſenſible that they were acting directly contrary to the laws; that the Duke of Norfolk had no more authority to break the laws than any private man; that their offenſe was the more provoking, as the building ſtood upon Church land, and was held by leaſe from the Dean and Chapter; that they had already a private Maſs houſe at Briſtol, where this ſame prieſt had officiated many years, and having behaved decently and given no great offenſe, they were ſuffered to go on without moleſtation; but to preſume upon opening a public Maſs-houſe in ſuch a public place was ſo daring an affront, ſo contemptuous a defiance of all law and authority, that no government would or could endure it; he hoped therefore that they would deſiſt from their deſign; as they were unmoleſted themſelves, they ought not to moleſt others; but if they ſhould ſtill perſiſt in their purpoſe, he was authorized by the Miniſter to declare unto them, that he would employ the whole force of government, and

proſecute

proſecute them to the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. They ſaid they were ſorry, they begged pardon, they thanked the Biſhop for his civility and candor, they would convert the building to ſome other uſe, and would never reſume or renew the ſame deſign there or elſewhere: And they were really as good as their word, the building was converted into a dwelling houſe, and nothing of the like kind has been attempted ever ſince; only a baſtard kind of popery, Methodiſm, has troubled Briſtol ſince that time. By the diſmiſſion therefore of Mr. Grenville the Church as well as the State loſt an able pillar and ſupport, and the Biſhop of Briſtol was left with little or no hopes but in the favor and goodneſs of the King and the Princeſs of Wales.

At the beginning of Auguſt 1768 died that great and excellent prelate Archbiſhop Secker. He was not only a moſt learned divine, as his uſeful writings abundantly teſtify, but was likewiſe a moſt indefatigable and exact man in all kinds of buſineſs; and every one who hath ſucceeded him in any of his preferments has reaped the fruits of his labor and pains in the books and manuſcripts which he left behind him. Biſhop Newton found the benefit of them both in the ſee of Briſtol and in the deanery of St. Pauls. Biſhop Secker ſat in the ſee of Briſtol not above 3 years, and yet in that time he drew up an account of all the leaſes and eſtates belonging to the biſhopric; and alſo made a dioceſe-book with an account of the nature and value of every living, of the incumbents and curates, of the duty uſually required and performed, and ſeveral other particulars. All the knowlege of the dioceſe was derived from his books and accounts: and it is ſurpriſing how little was added to them by the five intervening Biſhops. He was likewiſe very charitable, and beſides the penſions and bounties which he diſtributed himſelf, whenever application was made to him by others for a diſtreſſed object, he gave with a liberal hand, as Biſhop Newton can atteſt upon his own experience as well as that of ſeveral others. At the ſame time he was too conſiderable a man to live in the world without enemies. Whether it was owing to their miſrepreſentations, or to a certain preciſeneſs and formality in his own behaviour, he was never very acceptable and agreeable at Court, nor ever had the due weight and influence there: In former reigns the Archbiſhop or ſome of the Biſhops had uſually the principal ſway or direction in the diſpoſition of eccleſiaſtical preferments; at leaſt nothing of importance was concluded upon without

firſt

firſt acquainting and conſulting them upon it. But by degrees the miniſters of ſtate have ingroſſed all this power into their own hands, and Biſhops are regarded as little better than cyphers even in their own churches, unleſs the preferments happen to be in their own gift, and then perhaps the miniſters are as troubleſome by their ſollicitations. When his preſent Majeſty firſt came to the throne, there were near twenty old Chaplains diſcarded, and as many new ones appointed without the privity of the Archbiſhop, ſeveral whoſe names were ſcarcely known before, and ſome by no means worthy of the honor. Other inſtances of neglect might be mentioned; and ſome of his friends thought him blameable in wanting a proper ſpirit of reſentment. But he anſwered like a wiſe and prudent man as he was, that he had as ſharp a ſenſe of the indignity as any one could have, but he was very unwilling to break altogether with the Court, for then he was certain he could prevail in nothing, he might now poſſibly be able to carry ſome points for the good of the Church. But whoever may have been his enemies, or whatever prejudices may have been conceived againſt him in his life time, yet his merits have been univerſally allowed and acknowleged ſince his deceaſe. But it is needleſs to ſay any thing more concerning him, after the juſtice that has been done to his memory in the review of his life and character by his two worthy chaplains Dr. Porteus and Dr. Stinton.

When Mr. Grenville heard of the death of Archbiſhop Secker, he ſaid upon it, that if the Biſhop of London, as then ſeemed moſt probable, ſhould be tranſlated to Canterbury, he was pretty confident from what had before paſſed in diſcourſe with the King, that the Biſhop of Briſtol would ſucceed to London. But Diis aliter viſum: the higher powers made a different arrangement. And here it muſt be ſaid—Sit mihi fas audita loqui—the following particulars the writer cannot be ſuppoſed to authenticate upon his own certain knowlege, he can only relate them according to his beſt belief and information, and upon as good authority as can uſually be had in caſes of this nature. The Duke of Grafton was at that time the firſt miniſter, and he was determined to promote his friend Dr. Cornwallis, Biſhop of Lichfield and Dean of St. Pauls, and propoſed him for the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. The King would have it firſt offered to his old preceptor the biſhop of Wincheſter, which was readily complied with, as it was thought that Wincheſter would even be more agreeable to

Biſhop

Biſhop Cornwallis than Canterbury. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter was unwilling to change his ſituation, and then mention was made of the Biſhop of London, to which nothing was objected, as it was conceived that Biſhop Cornwallis might make as good a Biſhop of London as Biſhop Compton who was a very good one: but the King added, that the Biſhop of Briſtol ſhould ſucceed the Biſhop of London. This would have diſconcerted the whole plan of the miniſtry, which was on the Duke of Grafton's part that Biſhop Cornwallis ſhould be promoted to Canterbury or Wincheſter or London, and on Lord Gower's part that Biſhop Egerton ſhould ſucceed him in the biſhopric of Lichfield and in the deanery of St. Pauls. The beſt game therefore they had to play was to reſume their firſt deſign, and to puſh Biſhop Cornwallis for Canterbury, which was no ſooner aſſented to than they propoſed Biſhop Egerton to ſucceed him both at Lichfield and at St. Pauls. No, ſaid the King, if the Biſhop of Briſtol is not to be Biſhop of London, he ſhall at leaſt be Dean of St. Pauls. Biſhop Cornwallis was hereupon declared Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and has ſince proved himſelf not an unworthy ſucceſſor. When he was a young man at the univerſity, he had the misfortune of a paralytic ſtroke on his right ſide, from which he has never recovered the full uſe of his right hand, and is obliged to write with his left: but this notwithſtanding, he has hitherto enjoyed uncommon good health, and never fails in his attendance upon the multifarious buſineſs of his ſtation. He has greatly improved Lambeth houſe, he keeps a hoſpitable and elegant table, has not a grain of pride in his compoſition, is eaſy of acceſs, receives every one with affability and good nature, is courteous, obliging, condeſcending, and as a proof of it, he has not often been made the ſubject of cenſure even in this cenſorious age. While theſe things were tranſacting in London, the Biſhop of Briſtol was at Briſtol, and the firſt notice that he received of his preferment was from the news-papers; but there is no dependence upon news-paper intelligence. He then received a letter from the new Archbiſhop dated at London Aug. 18, thanking him and Mrs. Newton for their kind and friendly congratulations, and wiſhing them both much joy and happineſs, in the deanery of St. Pauls: he did not know of it for certain till yeſterday, or ſhould have apprifed him of it ſooner: yeſterday the Duke of Grafton acquainted him that it was done, and aſked where he

might write to him; ſo that it is likely, ſaid he, "you will have heard "from him by the time this reaches you." Soon after he received a letter from the Biſhop of London dated at Brighthelmſtone Aug. 23, wherein he ſaid he took the firſt opportunity of congratulating him upon his promotion, the Duke of Grafton having informed him by the laſt poſt, that His Majeſty had appointed him to ſucceed the Archbiſhop in the deanery of St. Pauls. But ſtill there was no letter from the Duke of Grafton, none from either of the Secretarys of State, nor any authentic letter of office. The Biſhop therefore, that he might no longer be held in ſuſpenſe between hope and fear, wrote to the Duke of Grafton, informing him of what congratulations he had received, and deſiring to know what truth there was in them. The Duke returned a very obliging anſwer, dated Groſvenor Square Aug. 30. 1768, that he was much concerned that his letter which he wrote by his Majeſty's command to acquaint him of the King's conferring on him the deanery of St. Pauls ſhould have been loſt from the Poſt, or from the ſervant who was to carry it thither: that the Biſhop of Bangor (Egerton) would kiſs the King's hand to morrow for the dioceſe of Lichfield and the reſidentiaryſhip of St. Pauls vacated by his Lordſhip's becoming Dean: that his own convenience would direct him in the time of coming up to kiſs the King's hand, but he ſhould think the ſooner the better. His Grace was alſo pleaſed to add ſome civil compliments and kind profeſſions upon the occaſion, for which the Biſhop retained all due gratitude; but it is certain, and it is a circumſtance in which he always gloried, that he owed his preferment more to His Majeſty's goodneſs than to the favor of any of his miniſters.

When he had obtained the deanery of St. Pauls, he reſigned his living in the city having held it 25 years. He was under no kind of obligation to reſign it, he had it in commendam, and might ſtill have held it, as many would have done, and adviſed him to do; but he thought it not proper nor becoming his character and ſtation to be ſo tenacious of pluralities, tho' there were at that time ſimilar examples. His ambition was now fully ſatisfied, and he firmly reſolved never to ſeek or aſk for any thing more. But if he had been otherwiſe diſpoſed, and ambitious of riſing higher, yet his ill health would have plucked his wings, and have neceſſarily kept him down. For he had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of his deanery houſe at the beginning of Dec. 1768, than he was ſeized with a moſt deſperate cough

cough and cold, an inflammation of the lungs, and ſhortneſs of breath. Some time before he had been rather drooping and ſinking, and his phyſicians had given him cordials and warm things to raiſe and ſupport him: but Dr. Eliot being called in at the earneſt perſuaſion and entreaty of Lady Charlotte Edwin, changed the whole proceſs, and put him into the cool regimen. He lay ſeveral weeks with little or no hopes of amendment; and his difficulty of breathing was ſo great, that his wheezing might eaſily be heard from one ſtory of the houſe to another, and a large tub of boiling water was placed near him, and conſtantly ſupplied with other boiling water, that the ſteam might ſoften the air, and aſſiſt his reſpiration. At length, contrary to general expectation, by the good bleſſing of God, he recovered his health in ſome meaſure; and it muſt be ſaid, that Dr. Eliot by his conſtant care and attention, by his great ſkill and judgment, contributed as much as any phyſician ever did, to the recovery of his patient. There was always ſomething wonderfully agreeable in Dr. Eliot's method of practice; he had nothing of the formality and ſtifneſs of other phyſicians, he made no myſtery of his art, and communicated his preſcriptions, explained what they were, for what purpoſe he gave them, and what effects he deſigned ſhould follow from them; and was a lively chearful friend and companion as well as an excellent good phyſician. But tho' the Biſhop recovered his health in ſome meaſure, yet as his conſtitution had never been a good one, it was more ſhattered and broken after ſo long and ſevere an illneſs, and he was liable to frequent returns of the ſame complaints, tho' not perhaps to the ſame degree; ſo that he was often under the neceſſity of having recourſe to Dr. Eliot, and the Doctor was very conſtant and friendly in his attendence and attention to him and his family. After this his health was ſo tender, that he could not ſtand a north or an eaſt wind, nor bear the night air or any cold without ſuffering materially. He was ſcarce ever able to go through a month's reſidence at St. Pauls without falling ill in the courſe of it; and this happened ſo frequently that all his phyſical friends as well as others were earneſt and importunate with him not to think of going any more to that cold church, it would certainly give him his death: And His Majeſty out of his great benevolence and goodneſs of heart was pleaſed to lay his royal injunctions upon him for the ſame purpoſe, and moſt graciouſly repeated them ſeveral times. It was a great mortification to him to be reduced to ſuch inſignificance as not to attend his

his duty in that conſpicuous church, and the more as he was very fond of the choir-ſervice as it is uſually performed at St. Pauls. But however he ſo far diſcharged his duty as to reſide the greater part of every year in his deanery houſe, where he was at hand to hear any complaints, to rectify any irregularities, to give any directions, and conſult with the members of the church upon any occaſion. Year after year he tried and tried again as unwilling to ſubmit, but at laſt to ſubmit he was forced; for the laſt time he was at church and preached there, he caught ſuch a cold as indangered his life, and ſo totally deprived him of his voice that he could hardly be heard to ſpeak for a fortnight afterwards. Neceſſity has no law; and in ſuch a caſe it is to be hoped that mercy is better than ſacrifice.

But tho' the Biſhop was forced to deſiſt from his attendence on the public ſervice at St. Pauls, yet he was not under the like neceſſity at Briſtol; as his call thither was in the ſummer ſeaſon, and he was as it were two different creatures in ſummer and in winter. From the time that he was firſt made Biſhop, he conſtantly went to Briſtol every ſummer, and uſually ſtayed there the three months intervening between his laſt reſidence at St. Pauls and the next following; and when he was no longer able to go to St. Pauls, he continued at Briſtol four or five months, and went to church as often as his health and the weather would permit. In the ſummer of 1766 the Duke of York lodging at Clifton did him the honor of dining with him, and beſides Lady Charlotte Edwin to accompany Mrs. Newton, there dined at the ſame time the Mayor, and Sir Abraham Elton, and ſome principal merchants and other perſons: and all the company were ſurpriſed and delighted with the pertinence and propriety of the Duke's queſtions and diſcourſe concerning the trade and commerce of the place. Dr. Lyttelton Biſhop of Carliſle being one of the company, ſome mention was made of his Brother's hiſtory of Henry II. which was then in the preſs; and the Duke of York obſerved upon it, that he was ſorry Lord Lyttelton recurred back to ſo remote a period; he wiſhed that inſtead of writing the Hiſtory of the life and reign of Henry II. he had written the Hiſtory of the life and reign of George II. One memorable thing the Duke related of himſelf, that when he was abroad upon his travels, his practice was to riſe early every morning, and then to recollect and ſet down in writing all the tranſactions and occurrences of the preceding day, ſo that by turning to his diary he could preſently find out where he had been, and

what

what he had ſeen, and with whom he had converſed on ſuch a day at ſuch an hour. After dinner the Duke and Lady Charlotte Edwin and the Biſhop being retired into a bow-window in the drawing room, the Duke among other things aſked the Biſhop what might be the yearly value of his biſhopric, and the Biſhop anſwered that the fines were very uncertain, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, and ſometimes none at all; the certain clear income was 300l. a year, and little more. How then, ſaid he, can you afford to give me ſo good a dinner? The Biſhop truly lamented the Duke of York's death, for he had fine lively parts, and the Biſhop was perſuaded, that if he had outlived the years of diſſipation, he would have proved an honor to his King and Country.

The Biſhop never failed going to Briſtol every ſummer till the year 1776, when contrary to the advice of many friends he went upon his fifth viſitation into Dorſetſhire, and viſited and confirmed at Blandford, and at Dorcheſter, and at Bridport; and by theſe exertions, it is ſuppoſed, he burſt a veſſel, and had a profuſe ſpitting of blood, which laſted a week, and much alarmed his wife and all his friends. In this diſtreſs however it was ſome comfort, that he was at the houſe of his good old friend and Archdeacon, Mr. Walker of Spetiſbury, where he had good help from Dr. Pulteney of Blandford, and was almoſt as well accommodated as he could have been at home. But he was not able to proceed any further in his viſitation; the Archdeacon viſited for him at Shafteſbury; and the viſitation at Briſtol he was forced to ſend and put off, and to order his ſervants who were there with his baggage to return to London, as he himſelf did by eaſy ſtages, as ſoon as he was in a condition to be moved. This was his firſt failure of going to Briſtol; and by living and reſiding there ſo much, he was in hopes that his example would have induced the other members of the church to perform alſo their part, and to diſcharge at leaſt their ſtatutable duties. The deanery is worth at leaſt 500l. a year, and each prebend is worth about half that ſum, and their eſtates are capable of good improvement: and for theſe preferments the reſidence uſually required is three months for the Dean, and half that time for each Prebendary. But alas! never was church more ſhamefully neglected. The Biſhop has ſeveral times been there for months together, without ſeeing the face of Dean, or Prebendary, or any thing better than a Minor Canon. The care and management of the church were left to Mr. Camplin, Precentor or Senior Minor

Minor Canon, and to the Sexton. His example having no kind of effect, he remonſtrated ſeveral times, that their preferments deſerved a little better attendence, as they would well bear the expenſe of it; their neglect was the more conſpicuous and culpable, being in the ſecond city in the kingdom; that their want of reſidence was the general complaint not only of the city, but likewiſe of all the country; that great numbers reſorted every year to the Wells, and generally came, at leaſt on a Sunday, to ſee the cathedral; that they were aſtoniſhed at finding only one Minor Canon both to read and to preach, and perhaps adminiſter the ſacrament; that this was not a time for ſuch relaxation and neglect of all order and diſciplin; that the Church had too many enemies, and Deans and Chapters in particular; that they furniſhed their adverſaries with the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt themſelves; that there were thoſe who contended for the worthleſneſs and uſeleſneſs of Deans and Chapters, and they could not point out a more flagrant inſtance of good pay received and little duty done than in the church of Briſtol. The church of Rocheſter was ſaid to be much in the ſame predicament as that of Briſtol; and one of the Prebendaries dining with the late Biſhop Pearce, he aſked him Pray Dr. S. what is your time of reſidence at Rocheſter? Oh my Lord, ſaid he, I reſide there the better part of the year. I am very glad to hear it, replied the good Biſhop. But the Doctor's meaning was, and the fact really was, that he reſided there only during the week of the Audit. Theſe things ought not to be ſo. At Rocheſter they are reported now to be under ſome better regulation.

But the Biſhop of Briſtol's remonſtrances had no better effect than his example, and to do more than to ſay what was right and practiſe it himſelf was not in his power. The power of Biſhops is thought to be ſomething, and it is really nothing. The Biſhop is their viſitor, vocatus ſive non vocatus, but he can only admoniſh and reprove, he has not the power of inflicting any penalty in caſe of failure.

While the Deans of Gloceſter, Norwich and Peterborough, to their honor, were improving and adorning and beautifying their churches, poor Briſtol lay utterly neglected, like a diſconſolate widow, ſaying My lovers and my friends have forſaken me. Upon the Dean's death the Biſhop forbore adding what he might have added with truth and juſtice; for it was contrary to his nature and temper to ſay ſevere things of any man: but yet he was

of

of opinion, that ſomething ought to remain as his Proteſtation againſt ſuch men and ſuch meaſures. It is to be hoped that a better race is ſpringing up, and that the new Dean, Dr. Hallam, who bears an excellent character, will rectify all theſe irregularities, and reſtore the good old order and diſciplin of the Church.

During the Biſhop's firſt dangerous illneſs in the deanery houſe at St. Pauls, his good friend Biſhop Lyttelton was coming from the other end of the town to viſit him, when a ſtrong eaſt wind blowing full in his face affected him to ſuch a degree, that he could come no farther than Temple-bar, ſent his ſervant on to St. Pauls, and went himſelf directly home again. This intended viſit proved fatal to him, for he was ſeized with the ſame kind of inflammation of the lungs and ſhortneſs of breath as his friend had been: and Dr. Akenſide his phyſican treated him in the ſame manner as the other phyſicians had treated his friend. At length growing worſe and worſe, and hearing of the ſucceſs of Dr. Eliot's practice, he was perſuaded by his friend to call him in, but he called him in too late, when the caſe was paſt recovery. His friend would at any time have been much concerned for the death of ſo worthy honeſt and valuable a man, but was more particularly grieved, as he loſt his life in a manner out of kindneſs to him. Indeed the Lyttelton family, as they were generally a worthy good family, had all along been kind and friendly to him and his wife. A ſiſter of Sir Thomas, and aunt to Lord Lyttelton, Lady Biddulph, a very well bred woman, and one of the moſt benevolent beneficent creatures that ever exiſted, living at Lichfield, he was in his younger years much in her company and converſation, and ſhe always uſed to ſay that he ſhould be Dean of St. Pauls, than which nothing was leſs likely to happen at that time, but what ſhe threw out at random a good providence afterwards fulfilled. It was under this Lady that his ſecond wife was in good meaſure trained and formed, and lived happily with her till her death, the one conſtantly ſhewing all the love and fondneſs of a parent, the other returning all the gratitude and duty of a child. Sir Richard Lyttelton, among his other civilities, made him a preſent of a curious old picture of architecture, painted, as appears from the date upon it, ſo long ago as in the year 1525, and a finer piece of perſpective can rarely be ſeen. Lord Lyttelton frequently honored the deanery with his viſits, and has ſeveral times declared that he never felt himſelf more warm and comfortable than in that comfortable habitation.

tion. He likewiſe did the Biſhop the honor of ſitting for his picture for him to Mr. Weſt, and he himſelf and his family all agreed, that it was the trueſt reſemblance and the beſt portrait of him that ever was drawn. After his death Mr. Weſt copied it for Lord Hardwick and for Governor Lyttelton now Lord Weſtcote; and the prints of Lord Lyttelton are alſo taken from this picture.

Dr. Newton became firſt acquainted with this worthy Lord at Mrs. Stanley's, whom he frequently viſited, and at her houſe often met with Lord Lyttelton, Mrs. Montagu, and other very agreeable company. One evening in converſation there, when Biſhop Sherlock had publiſhed his fourth volume of diſcourſes, they were wiſhing that he would give orders for his occaſional ſermons which he had printed ſeparately to be collected into a volume. Dr. Newton ſaid upon it, that perhaps Biſhop Sherlock was of the ſame mind as Biſhop Manningham. For when Dr. Thomas Manningham his ſon, who was afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter, applied to him in the name of the bookſellers, that they might have leave to collect into a volume the different ſermons which he had printed at different times, for there was a ſufficient number to make a volume; the Biſhop replied, "Prithee, Tom, let them alone, they lie quiet now; put "them together, and they will fight." This fourth and laſt volume of his diſcourſes Biſhop Sherlock was prevailed upon to publiſh at the requeſt of his friend Gilbert Weſt. The Biſhop was againſt publiſhing any more ſermons, ſaying he was drawn to the dregs; Why then, ſaid Mr. Weſt, let the ungodly of the earth drink them and ſuck them out. Biſhop Sherlock's occaſional ſermons the bookſellers have ſince collected into a ſeparate volume, to which is prefixed a ſhort and imperfect account of his life, wherein an intimation is given as if the Biſhop had altered his opinion, and was ſorry for the part he had taken in the Bangorian controverſy. I know not by whom this account was written, but I have been aſſured by the beſt authority, by thoſe who lived with him moſt and knew him beſt, that this intimation is abſolutely falſe and groundleſs, and the Biſhop was ſo far from having changed his opinion, that he had written ſomething more againſt Biſhop Hoadly, which he had thoughts of publiſhing even to the laſt. Biſhop Moſs, his favorite chaplain is beſt able to do juſtice to the life and character of this eminent prelate. He delivered ſomething of this kind in a charge to the clergy of the archdeanry of Colcheſter, and promiſed

promiſed a ſecond part, which the world has long wiſhed for and expected from ſo maſterly a writer, as well as his ſermons at the lecture founded by Mr. Boyle.

Beſides the pleaſure of frequently viſiting Mrs. Stanley in London, Dr. Newton generally paſſed ſome weeks in every ſummer at her houſe in the country, and ſuch company made even Cluer an agreeable place. She had not only good ſkill and judgment in the fine arts, poetry, painting, muſic and the like, but was likewiſe a woman of very ſtrong underſtanding ſuperior to moſt men, and was a true hearty friend wherever ſhe profeſſed a friendſhip. She was the daughter of Sir Hans Sloan, and mother of Hans Stanley, and of two daughters worthy of ſuch a mother, who retained after their mother's death the ſame friendſhip to Biſhop Newton ſteddy and invariable to the end. As they were two excellent worthy women, ſo they were married to two excellent worthy men, the elder to Mr. Welbore Ellis, and the younger to Mr. Chriſtopher D'Oily, who with their brother Mr. Stanley (as long as he lived) were members of parlament, were all three men of letters as well as of buſineſs, enjoyed conſiderable places under government, and formed a very reſpectable triumvirate. One of the greateſt grievances of old age is, its being ſo frequently chequered with the loſs of one friend or other. In Febr. 1772 the Biſhop ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of his great friend and patroneſs the Princeſs Dowager of Wales. Not that he had any thing farther to ſollicit or deſire; he was content and ſatisfied, and wanting nothing wiſhed for nothing more. It was owing to His Majeſty's and to her great goodneſs, that he was firſt made Biſhop, as Lord Bute declared. It was entirely owing to His Majeſty's and to her reiterated favor, that he was made Dean of St. Pauls, and he could not but value himſelf the more for being ſo patronized and diſtinguiſhed, without any obligation to any of the miniſters of that time. But her grace and favor did not ſtop here. She ſometimes honored him with private audiences at Carlton houſe; and even after ſhe had declined ſeeing company on her birth-day, ſhe ſtill admitted him to pay his duty to her; and the diſcourſe upon all occaſions was far from being ſtiff and formal, it was with the moſt perfect eaſe and condeſcenſion that ſhe converſed with him. He could not therefore help grieving for his own perſonal, as well as for the national loſs, for a national loſs it ſurely was, notwithſtanding all that party rage or private malice could ſuggeſt to the contrary. She was indeed

a moſt remarkable inſtance of the fluctuation and uncertainty of popular favor. For from her firſt coming very young into this country, her behaviour was ſo diſcreet and prudent, ſo courteous and affable, that ſhe gained the love and eſteem of the whole nation, and no Princeſs was ever more admired and applauded than ſhe was till ſome time after the death of the Prince of Wales. But the late King's behaviour to her upon that melancholy occaſion was ſuch, that ſhe could not with decency ſupport and encourage the faction that was formed againſt the Court: and hence it proceeded that the tide of popularity, which roſe ſo high and ran ſo ſtrong in her favor, firſt began to turn againſt her. Upon his preſent Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, when her influence was believed to be greater, the clamors of faction increaſed in proportion. The ſcandalous but at that time popular author of the North Briton laid to her charge ſeveral things, of which ſhe was entirely innocent: and one day being aſked how he could aſſert ſuch a particular which he knew was not true, "No matter for "that, replied he, it will do very well for a North Briton, the people will "ſwallow any thing." It is by no means an agreeable ſituation to be made the ſubject of popular outcry, but conſcious virtue will riſe ſuperior to all.

She would often aſk in a morning, Well what have the papers ſaid of me, and would read them and laugh over them. For never was more vile abuſe with leſs foundation, and it is to be hoped ſhe regarded it as little as ſhe deſerved it. Her good deeds were more ſilent and unknown, for never was any one actuated with a truer ſpirit of benevolence and charity. The ſums which ſhe gave away in private benefactions and penſions amounted, as it has been affirmed upon good authority, to no leſs than 10,000l. in the year; and the merit of her charities was greatly enhanced by their ſecrecy. Several families, who were relieved by her, did not ſo much as know who was their benefactor till after her death, when the current of bounty ceaſed to flow. The calmneſs and compoſure of her death were farther proofs and atteſtations of the goodneſs of her life; and ſhe died as ſhe had lived, beloved and honored moſt by thoſe who knew her beſt.

Weakly and tender as Biſhop Newton's conſtitution was, he yet outlived many of thoſe who were ſtronger and ſeemingly built for longer life, and ſaw almoſt all his ſchoolfellows and contemporaries go before him. Two of them he had particular reaſon to lament having ſome kind of intimacy with

with them, Andrew Stone who died at the latter end of the year 1773, and Biſhop Johnſon who died at the latter end of the year following, of whom the former was captain of Weſtminſter ſchool the year before him, and the latter the year after him. Andrew Stone was a moſt excellent ſcholar, at ſchool and at college diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his compoſitions, and the knowlege not only of Greek and Latin but even of the Hebrew language, which he had firſt learned at ſchool, he retained and improved to the laſt; and was withall a man of grave deportment, of good temper, and of the moſt conſummate prudence and diſcretion. If he had been made Primate of Ireland inſtead of his brother, and his brother had been ſecretary of ſtate in his place, the change perhaps might have been more ſuitable to their reſpective characters. Not but he had a capacity to ſhine in any ſphere, much reading, great knowlege, clear comprehenſion, good judgment, and a memory as exact as ever was known of the moſt minute circumſtances as well as of the moſt material tranſactions. He was for many years the principal adviſer and coadjutor of the Duke of Newcaſtle, and happy would it have been for His Grace, if he had taken his advice and retired upon the death of the old King; his evening of life would have cloſed much more glorioufly in an honorable retirement without place or penſion, than in ſtill graſping at power, changing from place to place, and at laſt ſinking into oppoſition. No man was ever better qualified than Mr. Stone to write the hiſtory of his own time, and Biſhop Newton and other friends ſometimes exhorted him to it; for he was in the ſecret of all affairs for 30 or 40 years, had the pen of a ready writer, and enjoyed ſufficient health and leiſure in the latter part of his life: but it is to be lamented, that he was of too indolent a nature, and all his knowlege died with him.

Biſhop Johnſon's ſtrong conſtitution and athletic form promiſed a longer life, but unluckily his death was occaſioned by a fall from his horſe, which happened at Bath, where likewiſe a brother of his had died a few years before of the like accident. He had good parts and learning, and was recommended by his friends Mr. Stone and Mr. Murray to the Duke of Newcaſtle, whom he attended to Hanover as the King's Chaplain; and by theſe means from Second Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool was made Reſidentiary of St. Pauls, and then Biſhop of Gloceſter, and at laſt Biſhop of Worceſter. He was very fortunate in having ſome good legacies left him by ſome

friends, and he had the ſpirit to enjoy his fortune, lived hoſpitably, kept a good table, entertained handſomely, repaired and beautified his palaces at a conſiderable expenſe, and what was the moſt ſhining part of his character, he was *notus in fratres animi paterni*, a father as it were to his numerous nephews and nieces.

For ſeveral of the laſt years of his life the Biſhop's health would not ſuffer him to attend the Houſe of Lords. At the beſt he never was a conſtant attender, but only when ſome debates of conſequence were expected: and he always regarded Lord Mansfield as the beſt and ableſt ſpeaker that ever he had heard in parlament. Lord Chatham was indeed a great genius, and poſſeſſed extraordinary powers, quick conceptions, ready elocution, great command of language, a melodious voice, a piercing eye, a ſpeaking countenance, an authoritative air and manner, and was as great an actor as an orator. What was ſaid of the famous orator Pericles, that he lightened and thundered and confounded Greece, was in ſome meaſure applicable to him; and during the time of his ſucceſful adminiſtration he had the moſt abſolute and uncontrolled ſway that perhaps any Member ever had in the Houſe of Commons. With all theſe excellences he was not without his defects. His language was ſometimes too figurative and pompous, his ſpeeches were ſeldom well connected, often deſultory and rambling from one thing to another, ſo that though you were ſtruck here and there with noble ſentiments and happy expreſſions, yet you could not well remember nor give a clear account of the whole together. With affected modeſty he was apt to be rather too confident and overbearing in debate, ſometimes deſcended to perſonal invectives, and would firſt commend that he might afterwards more effectually abuſe, would ever have the laſt word, and right or wrong ſtill preſerved (in his own phraſe) an *unembaraſſed countenance*. He ſpoke more to your paſſions than to your reaſon, more to thoſe below the bar and above the throne than to the Houſe itſelf; and when that kind of audience was excluded, he ſunk and loſt much of his weight and authority. Lord Mansfield was happy in moſt of the ſame perfections with few of the ſame failings and imperfections. His language was more natural and eaſy, his ſpeeches were more in a continued chain of reaſoning, and ſometimes with regular diviſions, ſo that you eaſily accompanied him, and clearly comprehended the whole from the beginning to the end. What he ſaid as well as his manner of ſaying it was more modeſt and decent, leſs

preſuming

preſuming and dictatorial; he never deſcended to perſonal altercations, diſdained to reply even to reflections caſt upon himſelf, and in all things preſerved his own dignity and that of the Houſe of Peers. He addreſſed himſelf more to your reaſon than to your paſſions; he never courted popular applauſe ſo much as the approbation of the wiſe and good; he did not wiſh to take you by ſtorm or ſurpriſe, but ſought to prevail only by the force of truth and argument; he had almoſt an immediate intuition into the merits of every cauſe or queſtion that came before him, and comprehending it clearly himſelf could readily explain it to others; perſuaſion flowed from his lips, conviction was wrought in all unprejudiced minds, and for many years the Houſe of Lords payed greater deference to his authority than to that of any man living.

The Biſhop himſelf never attempted to ſpeak in parlament, for he as well as moſt other Biſhops entered into the Houſe of Lords at a time of life too late to begin ſuch exerciſes. Some previous practice is requiſite, which renders Lawyers ſo much readier and abler ſpeakers than the generality of Divines. While the Convocation was allowed to ſit, it was a kind of ſchool of oratory for the Clergy, and hence Atterbury and others became ſuch able ſpeakers in the Houſe of Lords. However when the bill for the relief of Proteſtant Diſſenters from ſubſcription was ſent up from the Houſe of Commons to the Houſe of Lords, as he was not in a condition to attend the ſecond reading, he cauſed what he would have ſpoken to be printed, and to be ſent the day before the debate to every Lord of parlament. It will be found in the Appendix N°. I. The fate of the bill was that it was rejected by a majority of 102 againſt it to 29 for it, proxies included; ſo that without the Biſhops, a much greater number of the Lay Lords were for throwing out the bill than for receiving it: and many of the Diſſenters have ſince ſhown themſelves ſo little friendly to government, that for ſome years they had as little encouragement, as they had reaſon to renew their application.

When the biſhop was no longer able to go to Briſtol, he purchaſed the houſe upon Kew Green, which was occupied by William Blair, Eſq. Clerk of the Council. It had been neatly fitted up and furniſhed by Mrs. Blair, who died ſoon after ſhe had finiſhed it; and Mr. Blair then offering it to ſale, the Biſhop bought the leaſe of the houſe, with all the fixtures and furniture and every thing as it ſtood. It was an agreeable ſummer retreat,

with

with an exceeding good neighbourhood at all times, and eſpecially while the Royal Family reſided there, with Lady Charlotte Finch, and Biſhop Hurd, and Mr. Smelt, with others of both ſexes attending on the Court. It was an additional pleaſure to ſee and hear ſo much more of the King and Queen in their privacies, of their conjugal happineſs, and of their domeſtic virtues, which the nearer they are beheld, appear greater and more amiable, and are a ſhining pattern to the very beſt of their ſubjects.

It has been aſſerted by eminent phyſicians, that if old people could be perſuaded to ſtay at home all the winter, it would be the means of prolonging their life ſeveral years. Biſhop Newton was very obſervant of this rule, not ſo much out of choice as out of neceſſity. One fine warm day in December, when the wind was ſouth, and the ſun ſhone bright and clear, he was to pay his duty at His Majeſty's levee; and the King coming up to him, ſaid, "Ah, a viſit from you in December? I did not expect to ſee you till May."

But this confinement did by no means ſour his temper, or lower his ſpirits, which generally flowed in an even tenor, never very high nor ever very low, but more inclinable to the former than to the latter; and theſe were his ſupport in illneſs, and ſuſtained all his infirmities. Exerciſe is commonly thought to be neceſſary to health, but ſome are of opinion that it wears out the conſtitution, and ſome have lived to a great age without uſing any. It is certain that there may be too much as well as too little. There was a Lady of the Biſhop's intimate acquaintance, who loſt her Lord in the year 1749, and after that never made any viſits, and ſeldom went out of her own houſe, except to her ſon's or her daughter's, upon illneſs or ſome ſpecial occaſion; and for many of the latter years of her life ſcarce ever ſtirred out of her bedchamber and the room adjoining to it, and yet recovered from a ſtroke of the palſy, and in the 78th year of her age was ſtill living in amazing health and ſpirits. He knew ſome more ſuch inſtances, and his only exerciſe during the winter ſeaſon was walking backwards and forwards in his rooms, which he did repeatedly in the intervals between reading and writing; and theſe were his uſual times of meditating and compoſing. He had no great notion of going out to take the air, unleſs it was to ſee ſomething or to viſit ſome body, till he had read the account which Chancellor Hoadly has given of his father the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he was always a cripple, and much an invalid all the former part of his life,

and

and was thought to be conſumptive till he was between thirty and forty, but then his circumſtances enabling him to take the air daily in a chariot, he grew rather corpulent, and enjoyed a general good ſtate of health, living to the age of 85. Company he never wanted, nor ever was at a loſs what to do with himſelf, or how to fill up his vacant time. His friends were very kind and frequent in their viſits; and for others, as he was known always to be at home, and could not well be denied, he was ſometimes ſubject to ſome inconvenience in having rather too many viſiters than too few. Converſation he delighted in, but he never played at cards or any game, which he reckoned, in point of time, was the addition of ten years to his life, and often wondered how ſome worthy perſons could beſtow ſo many hours upon ſuch unworthy diverſions, and be miſerable almoſt for want of their party in the evening, when he himſelf could hardly find time ſufficient for the more uſeful and neceſſary duties of life. Beſides the reſources which he had in himſelf, he poſſeſſed a never-failing fund of employment and entertainment too in his books and his prints and his pictures. Theſe were the only expenſive articles of his life, and eſpecially the latter, in which he indulged to ſome kind of exceſs; but he had no family of children, and his Wife and her Son took as much delight in them as he did himſelf. However he put ſome limitation to theſe expenſes. He had no particular fondneſs for ſtatues, buſts, or bronzes &c.; and might truly ſay with Cicero (Fam. Epiſt. vii. 23.) Si quid generis iſtius modi me delectat, pictura delectat. His deſign was to form not ſo much a great as a good collection, and to have ſomething of the principal maſters, and only of the principal maſters of the different ſchools. He had likewiſe portraits and heads of ſome eminent noblemen, as Lord Bath, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Mansfield, and Lord Lyttelton; and in his library ſeveral of the moſt celebrated Engliſh authors, divines, philoſophers, and poets, of many of whom there never were any good pictures, and therefore we muſt reſt contented with ſuch as can be procured.

Sunt bona, ſunt quædam mediocria, ſunt mala plura.

As he was known to be ſuch a lover of their art, the royal academy of painters in 1773 made an application to him by their worthy preſident Sir Joſhua Reynolds, repreſenting, that the art of painting, notwithſtanding the preſent encouragement given to it in England, would never grow up to maturity

maturity and perfection, unleſs it could be introduced into churches as in foreign countries, individuals being for the moſt part fonder of their own portraits and thoſe of their families than of any hiſtorical pieces; that to make a beginning, the royal academicians offered their ſervices to the Dean and Chapter to decorate St. Pauls with ſcripture hiſtories, and ſix of their members, Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Mr. Weſt, Angelica Kauffman, Cipriani, Mr. Barry, and I think Mr. Dance had been choſen to paint each a picture for this purpoſe; that theſe pictures ſhould be ſeen and examined and approved by the academy before they were offered to the Dean and Chapter, and the Dean and Chapter might then give directions for alterations and amendments, and receive or refuſe them as they thought them worthy or unworthy of the places for which they were deſigned; none ſhould be put up but ſuch as were entirely approved, and they ſhould all be put up at the charge of the academy without any expenſe to the members of the church. St. Pauls had all along wanted ſome ſuch ornaments, for rich and beautiful as it is without, it is too plain and unadorned within.

Sir James Thornhill had painted the hiſtory of St. Paul in the cupola, the worſt part of the church that could have been painted, for the pictures there are moſt expoſed to the changes of the weather, ſuffer greatly from damp and heat, and let what will be done to prevent it, it is to be feared muſt in no very long time all decay and periſh. It was happy therefore that Sir James's eight original ſketches and deſigns, which were higher finiſhed than uſual in order to be carried and ſhewn to Queen Anne, were purchaſed of his family at the recommendation of the Dean in the year 1779, and are hung up in the great room at the Chapter Houſe. Beſides the expoſition of theſe pictures to the weather in the cupola, they are at ſuch a height, that they cannot conveniently be ſeen from any part, and add little to the beauty and ornament of the church. They had better have been placed below, for below they would have been ſeen, and there are compartments which were originally deſigned for bas-reliefs or ſuch like decorations, but the parlament, as it is ſaid, having taken part of the fabric money, and applied it to King William's wars, Sir Chriſtopher Wren complained that his wings were clipt, and the church was deprived of its ornaments: Here then a fair opportunity was offered for retrieving the loſs and ſupplying former defects. It was certainly a moſt generous and noble offer on the part of the academicians, and the public ought to think themſelves

ſelves greatly obliged to them for it. The Dean and Chapter were all equally pleaſed with it; and the Dean in the fulneſs of his heart went to communicate it to the Great Patron of arts, and readily obtained his royal conſent and approbation. But the truſtees of the fabric, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London, were alſo to be conſulted, and they diſapproved the meaſure. Biſhop Terrick, both as truſtee of the fabric and as Biſhop of the dioceſe, ſtenuouſly oppoſed it; whether he took it amiſs that the propoſal was not firſt made to him, and by him the intelligence conveyed to His Majeſty; or whether he was really afraid, as he ſaid, that it would occaſion a great noiſe and clamor againſt it as an artful introduction of popery. Whatever were his reaſons, it muſt be acknowleged that ſome other ſerious perſons diſapproved the ſetting up of pictures in churches. It was in truth not an object of that concern as to run the riſk of a general outcry and clamor againſt it: but the general opinion plainly appeared to be on the contrary ſide much in favor of the ſcheme; and whatever might have been the caſe in the days of our firſt reformers, there was ſurely no danger now of pictures ſeducing our people into popery and idolatry; they would only make ſcripture hiſtory better known and remembred. Many other churches and chapels have adopted and are adopting this meaſure, as Rocheſter, Wincheſter, Saliſbury, St. Stephen's Walbrook, and ſeveral colleges in the univerſities. The Houſe of Commons have given a rich painted window to their church of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter. Biſhop Terrick himſelf approved, if not contributed to, the ſetting up of a picture of the annunciation by Cipriani in the chapel of his own college Clare Hall at Cambridge: And why ſhould ſuch ornaments be denied to the capital church in the kingdom? The Dean, rather than the ſcheme ſhould be totally laid aſide, propoſed to make a trial and experiment how the thing would bear. Moſt churches and chapels, he obſerved, have ſomething of ornament and decoration about the communion table. You ſometimes ſee even in the country

> Moſes and Aaron upon a church wall
> Holding up the commandments for fear they ſhould fall.

But St. Pauls will not well admit of any ornament over the communion table, becauſe it would darken the windows there, which give the principal light to the quire. But near to the communion table are two doors,

one opening into the north and the other into the ſouth aile; and over theſe two doors are proper compartments for two pictures. It was therefore propoſed by the Dean, that Sir Joſhua Reynolds and Mr. Weſt ſhould paint theſe two pictures; and Mr. Weſt's deſign being the giving of the two tables to Moſes from the cloud of glory, the people all ſtanding beneath; and Sir Joſhua's deſign being the infant Jeſus lying in the manger, with the ſhepherds ſurrounding, and the light flowing all from the child as in the famous Notte of Corregio; here was the beginning both of the law and of the goſpel, here was nothing that could encourage ſuperſtition or idolatry, nothing that could poſſibly give any one any juſt offenſe. Let the trial be made only by theſe pictures; and if they occaſion any noiſe and clamor, then let an end be put to the whole affair; if they are well received and approved and applauded by the public, then let the other artiſts proceed. But reaſonable as this propoſition was generally thought to be, it was overruled by the ſame authority as the former: and whether the merits or demerits are greater of thoſe who favored the deſign, or of thoſe who defeated it, the preſent age and impartial poſterity muſt judge. Sir Joſhua has wrought up his deſign into a noble picture. Mr. Weſt exhibited his drawing at one of the public exhibitions of the royal academy, and Mr. Barry has publiſhed an etching of his deſign the fall of angels, both excellent, both maſterly performances; and it is much to be wiſhed that the other artiſts would follow their example.

Some time before this another opportunity was unfortunately loſt of decorating St. Pauls. When Biſhop Newton was only one of the Reſidentiaries, a ſtatuary of ſome note came to him in his ſummer month of reſidence, deſiring leave to ſet up a monument in St. Pauls for one who had formerly been a Lord Mayor and Repreſentative of the city of London. The Dean and his other brethren of the Chapter being in the country, he went to conſult with Archbiſhop Secker upon the ſubject; and Archbiſhop Secker was ſo far from making any objection, that he much approved the deſign of monuments, ſaying what advantages foreign churches have over our's, and that St. Pauls was too naked and bare for want of monuments, which would be a proper ornament, and give a venerable air to the church, provided care was taken, that there be nothing improper in their ſtructure, or in the inſcriptions upon them. But when the thing was propoſed to Biſhop Oſbaldeſton, he was violent againſt it; Sir Chriſtopher Wren had

deſigned

deſigned no ſuch things; there had been no monuments in all the time before he was Biſhop, and in his time there ſhould be none. He was deſired to look upon the print which hung over his head of the inner ſection of St. Pauls, wherein he would ſee that Sir Chriſtopher Wren had deſigned monuments, eſpecially in the receſſes under the windows: but he was not to be convinced; churches, he ſaid, were better without monuments than with them. Since the Biſhop was ſo peremptory, it was judged proper not to puſh the matter any farther, eſpecially ſince the perſon for whom the monument was deſired was not one of the moſt illuſtrious characters, nor deſerving to be the firſt inſtance of the kind. Few, I conceive, will agree in opinion with Biſhop Oſbaldeſton, that churches are better without monuments than with them. The ſenſe of mankind has been contrary in all ages and in all countries: and it is really a wonder that no more applications have been made for erecting monuments in St. Pauls. Weſtminſter Abbey is too full of them. It may be ſaid to be incruſted with monuments; and in ſome places they are ridiculouſly piled two ſtories high one over another. At St. Pauls there is ample room, and ſpaces deſigned for monuments: and what a magnificent and glorious church would it be with a proper intermixture of pictures and ſtatues, and what an ornament and honor to the metropolis and to the kingdom! The great difficulty is to find a ſuitable perſon to begin with, of eminence and dignity ſufficient to ſet an example to the reſt. Several gentlemen were deſirous of opening a public ſubſcription for a monument to Mr. Pope in St. Pauls, as had been done to Shakeſpear in Weſtminſter Abbey; but Mr. Pope's religion was ſome objection to this ſcheme. It was a better thought of erecting the firſt monument to Biſhop Sherlock, whoſe father had been Dean, and himſelf Biſhop of London ſo many years.

As Dean of St. Pauls he had better ſucceſs in improving his houſe than in adorning the church, that being altogether in his own power, and this depending very much upon others. The court before his houſe was ſepaparated from what is called Dean's Court, and incloſed with a high wall, in the middle whereof was placed the door of entrance, and on each ſide was a ſmall houſe and ſhop, one of which was empty having lately been on fire, and the other was a regiſter office for ſervants, one of the worſt of neighbours. This court you had to walk through, and nine ſteps to aſcend into the houſe, whatever the weather happened to be. As ſoon as he was

in poſſeſſion of the deanery houſe, and in the midſt of a ſevere illneſs, he employed workmen to take down theſe ſhops and houſes, and to build an entire new wall, in the middle whereof the door was placed as before, and on each ſide were made large gates to let in coaches to the foot of the ſteps and to let them out again, and over the ſteps an awning was erected to keep them dry. The way to the houſe before for a coach was round by Carter Lane into Dean's court, there having been for ſeveral years a fixed poſt under the arch-way leading from St. Pauls Church-yard into Dean's court: but he luckily diſcovered the act of parlament paſſed in 1670 for rebuilding the deanery houſe, by which he recovered his right of the way thro' the arch for all coaches and carriages coming to and going from his houſe, againſt thoſe who were diſpoſed to conteſt with him at law, and inſtead of a fixed ſubſtituted a lock-up poſt to let down and ſet down again, as occaſions required. Theſe conveniences were obtained in the fore part of the houſe, and behind the houſe the improvements were not fewer nor leſs. For behind the houſe there was a ſugar-houſe, which was a great annoyance to the neighbourhood; and in Scollop court almoſt adjoining to the Dean's houſe were two or three poor dirty houſes with poor dirty inhabitants, a chimney ſweeper and the like, which being ſo near darkened the houſe very much, and filled and tainted the air with ſoot and blacks. But the leaſe coming into hand, he renewed it much to the diminution of his fine, but greatly to the benefit of his eſtate, obliging the leſſee to put an end to the ſugar-houſe, and not to let any of the houſes to dangerous or offenſive trades; and to pull down the two houſes in Scollop court and part of a third, and to lay the ground into the Dean's garden, and to build a handſome garden wall of brick coped with ſtone: and part of the ground whereon the ſugar-houſe ſtood being given up to the public agreeably to an act of parlament for widening the ſtreet, Scollop court was received in exchange, and became the Dean's property, by all which means a large opening was obtained, and the houſe was rendered much more lightſome and airy, and better ſecured from thieves and fire. Some leſſer improvements were alſo made within doors, by enlarging the drawing room, and in ſome parts by putting in ſaſh windows inſtead of others. He likewiſe obtained from the city a common ſewer to be made in Carter Lane, which was very much wanted, and is of great benefit not only to his houſe but to the whole neighbourhood.

He

He had not the like occaſion, nor the like opportunities of making improvements in his epiſcopal houſe at Briſtol, Biſhop Butler having expended conſiderable ſums (it is ſaid 4600l.) in repairs and alterations, for which he deſerves to be remembered with gratitude by all his ſucceſſors. There were more openings for making improvements in his epiſcopal eſtates, for the Biſhops of Briſtol were generally ſuch birds of paſſage, that they had little time to look into the value of their eſtates, and (excepting Biſhop Secker) ſcarce any of them have left any papers and memorandums behind them. He was at the charge therefore of procuring from the clerk of the Rolls an atteſted copy of the parlament-ſurveys of all the eſtates belonging to the Biſhop of Briſtol. At his firſt coming to the ſee the certain income of the biſhopric ariſing from the reſerved or chief rents was little more than 300l. a year; but by raiſing the rent of the park from 18l. to 63l. a year upon a building leaſe, and by never renewing any leaſe without clearing the reſerved rent of the land-tax, and laying it upon the leſſee, he advanced the certain income to 400l. a year. The fines were more precarious and uncertain, but he ſcarce ever renewed a leaſe without a conſiderable increaſe of the fine, often to double, ſometimes to treble the value of what it was before. He made ſome, but he had not room to make the like improvements in the decanal eſtates of St. Pauls; for theſe had been more conſidered, and were better known and underſtood. In both his preferments he was remarkably fortunate in the article of fines, more dropping in than could of courſe have been expected; ſo that his income was amply ſufficient, and ſcarce any Biſhop had two more comfortable or more convenient houſes. Greater he might have been, but he could not have been happier; and by the good bleſſing of God was enabled to make a competent proviſion for thoſe who were to come after him, as well as to beſtow ſomething in charity. When he was made Dean of St. Pauls, it was the royal intention, that this deanery and the biſhopric of Briſtol ſhould continue in conjunction, Briſtol being the ſecond city in the kingdom, and the Biſhop really wanting ſome ſuch commendam to keep up hoſpitality, and to live as becomes a Biſhop in ſo public a ſituation. Others have been of opinion, that the biſhopric of Rocheſter and the deanery of St. Pauls, and the biſhopric of Briſtol and the deanery of Weſtminſter would form a more proper union; becauſe the Dean of St. Pauls has a ſummer month of reſidence, and Bromley being ſo much nearer is ſo much more convenient for his

his going backwards and forwards. But on the other hand it may be queſtioned whether the Dean of Weſtminſter, though he be not limited to certain months of reſidence, has not yet more public buſineſs on his hands, and conſequently more frequent calls to town. It ſeems beſt therefore for things to remain as they are; and what the King hath joined together, let not Miniſters put aſunder.

In the ſeſſions of 1778 the parlament paſſed an act in favor of the papiſts, to exempt them from the penalties of ſome former ſtatutes, and to enable them to purchaſe lands in their own name, firſt taking certain oaths, and making certain declarations. This act (as it might eaſily be foreſeen) encouraged the diſſenters in the following ſeſſion to renew their application for liberty of conſcience, which they had before made in the year 1772; and now with a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs, for ſome indulgence having been granted to the former, it could not well be denied to the latter.

By this time the Biſhop had more fully conſidered theſe matters, and had declared his ſentiments to ſeveral of his friends for an univerſal toleration of all the different ſects of religion, but ſtill with ſome exceptions and reſtraints upon public preaching, that the teachers and lecturers might not advance doctrins any way prejudicial to the ſtate and ſubverſive of civil government. For ſtrange republican leveling principles having been much propagated and countenanced of late, notwithſtanding the oath of allegiance, he was of opinion that ſome more powerful check ought to be given to them, being clearly convinced that a republican and leveler is full as dangerous, if not a more dangerous enemy to government now, than any Jeſuit and Jacobite was formerly; and that it is therefore become full as neceſſary, if not become rather more neceſſary to require a public renunciation and abjuration of the principles of the one than of the other. It is chiefly among the diſſenters that theſe notions have been propagated, and countenanced by ſome men in a higher ſphere, who ought to know their own duty and their own intereſt better, than any way to contribute to the leveling of all diſtinctions. As the oath of allegiance has not proved an effectual barrier againſt theſe innovations, ſo neither is the declaration in the diſſenters bill by any means ſatisfactory. No religious teſt ſhould be required; or if any a more full and explicit one; but ſufficient ſecurities ſhould be given to government for a quiet and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the laws, without any moleſtation to church or ſtate. And certainly there never

never was a time when ſuch a requiſition was more requiſite; for no man can duly conſider and not evidently perceive, that the doctrins of the pope's ſupremacy, and of the hereditary indefeaſable right of another family to the crown, are not ſo totally ruinous and deſtructive of the Engliſh conſtitution, as the abolition of King, Lords and Commons, and the reduction of all things to anarchy and confuſion, every man his own governor and his own legiſlator. While this bill was depending in parlament, the Biſhop was labring under pain and ſickneſs, but however he could not forbear committing his thoughts to paper, and cauſing them to be printed on a ſingle ſheet, and diſtributed in the Houſe of Lords. It is a rough rude ſketch, but the time required diſpatch, and he was willing to be as ſhort as poſſible. While he was treating of this ſubject, he could not help obſerving, that ſeveral of thoſe who are for leveling all government, are alſo for leveling the only Son of God to the ſtate and condition of a mere man, falſe notions of religion and government, going uſually hand in hand together.

See the Sentiments of a Moderate Man in the Appendix N°. II.

Beſides the pain and ſickneſs which the Biſhop laboured under in the ſpring of 1779, he had alſo the misfortune of loſing two very good friends in Green Biſhop of Lincoln, and Warburton Biſhop of Gloceſter. His acquaintance with the former began, as it was ſaid before, when he was uſher in the ſchool at Lichfield; and their friendſhip continued for more than 50 years unviolated and unvaried to his death. They were both made Biſhops together, they were conſecrated together, and were happy to meet at laſt in the ſame church, Biſhop Green being made Reſidentiary of St. Pauls in the room of Biſhop Egerton promoted to the See of Durham; for Lincoln is ſo very large and laborious, ſo very extenſive and expenſive a dioceſe, that it really requires and deſerves a good commendam to ſupport it with any dignity. When he was firſt made Biſhop of Lincoln, Biſhop Newton reminded him of a common friend of theirs, Mr. Seward of Lichfield, whom he knew that the other was well diſpoſed to ſerve, and hoped that one time or other he would collate him to a prebend in his church of Lincoln. The Biſhop replied, that he ſhould always bear him in memory, and if ever an opportunity offered he would certainly give him a prebend, but at preſent he ſtood engaged eleven deep to the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Hardwick and their friends. So that the Biſhop of Briſtol leſs regreted his want of patronage, having nothing in his gift worthy of a

miniſter

miniſter to lay his paw upon. Fifteen years intervened before the Biſhop of Lincoln was able to make good his promiſe to Mr. Seward, and then Mr. Seward generouſly reſigned his pretenſions to a nephew of his wife, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Hunter of Lichfield before-mentioned, and the Biſhop as generouſly accepted him. Biſhop Green was a very good ſcholar, and had an elegent pen in Latin and Engliſh; but he was too lazy and indolent to write much, he publiſhed only a few occaſional ſermons, and two letters to the Rev. Mr. Berridge and Mr. Whitfield againſt the Methodiſts. His charges to his clergy were much commended, and it is to be lamented, that he did not prepare and order theſe and ſome other pieces for publication. He was always a prudent manager and œconomiſt, or he could not have made the proviſion that he did for two nephews and four neices, with ſome bequeſts to charitable uſes. He was naturally a ſtrong man, and three years younger than Biſhop Newton, ſo that it might reaſonably have been expected that he would be the longer liver of the two. But for three or four years before his death his health and ſpirits began to fail: and yet in the winter of 78 and 79 he was rather better than he was before; and when he took leave of his friends at the deanery of St. Pauls in order to go to Bath, they little imagined that it would be the laſt time that they ſhould ever ſee him; for having received great benefit at Bath the year before, it was hoped that he would experience the ſame good effects this year. But at his firſt coming to Bath he caught a cold, and the water diſagreed with him. He had too a ſlight paralytic ſtroke, of which he ſoon recovered; but his conſtitution appeared to be worn out, and he was obſerved every day to droop more and more. However on Saturday evening he had his party at cards as uſual, reſted tolerably well that night, breakfaſted as uſual on Sunday morning, when his chaplain went out, and his apothecary came in, and having felt his pulſe, ſaid that he was ſomewhat better. As they were ſitting and talking together, the Biſhop's butler, who was attending the room, obſerved his head to recline on one ſide, and ſuppoſed him to be nodding as he frequently did in his chair; but looking a little more intently at him, he ſaid to his apothecary, "Sir I am afraid my lord is "dead," and ſo he really was without a ſingle groan or a ſigh. Few perſons have ſuch an eaſy paſſage out of life. Something of the ſame kind is related by Biſhop Berkley, who was poſſeſſed, according to Mr. Pope, *of every virtue under heaven.* It is well known that this worthy good man

was

was for ſome of the laſt years of his life deſirous of exchanging his biſhopric of Cloyne for a canonry of Chriſt Church in Oxford. If he had been bred at Oxford, the wonder would have been leſs of his deſiring ſuch an exchange, but he had received his education at Trinity College in Dublin. It was an extraordinary requeſt, and ſuch as by no means he could obtain; but yet he came, and took a houſe, and ſettled in Oxford. One evening he and his family were ſitting and drinking tea together, he on one ſide of the fire, his wife on the other, and his daughter making the tea at a little round table juſt behind him. She had given him one diſh, which he had drank. She had poured out another, which was left ſtanding ſome time. "Sir, ſaid ſhe, will you not take your tea?" and upon his making no kind of anſwer, ſhe ſtooped forward to look upon him, and found that he was dead. So little ſenſible were they who ſat ſo near him of his departure. Theſe two worthy men may truly be ſaid in the beautiful phraſe of holy writ to have *fallen aſleep*. In both caſes many perhaps will ſay, *'Tis a conſummation devoutly to be wiſh'd.*

Biſhop Warburton was in a great meaſure loſt to the world and to his friends ſome years before his death, by the decay of his intellectual faculties, the body preſſing down the mind that muſed upon many things; which hath been the caſe of many a great genius as well as himſelf. For he was indeed a great genius, of the the moſt extenſive reading, of the moſt retentive memory, of the moſt copious invention, of the livelieſt imagination, of the ſharpeſt diſcernment, of the quickeſt wit, and of the readieſt and happieſt application of his immenſe knowlege to the preſent ſubject and occaſion. He was ſuch an univerſal reader, that he took delight even in romances, and there is ſcarce one of any note ancient or modern which he had not read; he ſaid himſelf, that he had learned Spaniſh to have the pleaſure of reading Don Quixote in the original. He was excellent and admirable both as a companion, and as a friend. As a companion, he did not dwell upon little trivial matters, but diſcloſed a nicer vein of converſation, was lively and entertaining, was inſtructive and improving, abounded with pleaſant ſtories and curious anecdotes; but ſometimes took the diſcourſe too much to himſelf, if any thing can be ſaid to be too much of ſuch an inexhauſtible fund of wit and learning. As a friend he was ingenuous and communicative, would anſwer any queſtions, would reſolve any doubts, delivered his ſentiments upon all ſubjects freely and without

reſerve, laid open his very heart, and the character which he was pleaſed to give Mr. Pope of being *the ſoul of friendſhip* was more juſtly applicable to him, and more properly his own. The ſame warmth of temper which animated his friendſhip, ſharpened likewiſe his reſentment: but even to his enemies, if he was eaſily provoked, he was as eaſily reconciled, eſpecially after the leaſt acknowlegement and ſubmiſſion, ſo that his friend truly applied to him the ſaying,

Iraſci facilis, tamen ut placabilis eſſet.

He was rather a tall, robuſt, large-boned man, of a frame that ſeemed to require a good ſupply of proviſions to ſupport it; but he was ſenſible if he had lived as other people do, he muſt have uſed a good deal of exerciſe, and if he had uſed a good deal of exerciſe, it muſt have interrupted the courſe of his ſtudies, to which he was ſo devoted as to deny himſelf any other indulgence, and ſo became a ſingular example not only of temperance, but even of abſtinence in eating and drinking; and yet his ſpirits were not lowered or exhauſted but were rather raiſed and increaſed by his low living. When Dr. Newton at the requeſt of Lord Bath and Biſhop Pearce had undertaken to publiſh a new edition of the Paradiſe Loſt, his firſt introduction to Dr. Warburton's acquaintance was by the means of their common friend Dr. Robert Taylor the King's phyſician; and from that time their friendſhip continued for more than thirty years without the leaſt interruption, tho' ſometimes they differed in points of opinion, which was readily admitted, provided there was nothing of ill will or petulance in it. For the moſt part they perfectly agreed in their judgment of men and things, in politics as well as in religion. When his friend firſt communicated to him his deſign of writing his diſſertations on the prophecies, which have remarkably been fulfilled and are now fulfilling in the world, he ſaid with ſeeming rapture that it was one of the greateſt and nobleſt deſigns that ever entered into the head of man. He likewiſe peruſed the manuſcripts before they went to the preſs, made ſome remarks upon them, and concluded in theſe words, "Theſe trifling hints were only to ſhow you that I had read your papers. "Indeed I have read them carefully, and like them extremely. I hope "they will do much good. I am ſure they will do you much honor. I "find nothing of any kind of moment to object to." As a farther proof of his approbation of the deſign, he founded a lecture to be preached in the

Chapel

chapel of Lincoln's-Inn; "to prove the truth of revealed religion in gene-
"ral, and of the chriſtian in particular, from the completion of the pro-
"phecies in the Old and New Teſtament, which relate to the chriſtian
"church, eſpecially to the apoſtaſy of papal Rome." It was objected to him at the firſt, that the plan was too narrow; that it ſhould have been extended to the prophecies at large; that being limited to the prophecies *relating to the chriſtian church, eſpecially to the apoſtaſy of papal Rome*, the ſubject muſt in the courſe of ſome years be quite exhauſted, little or nothing could be added, the ſame things muſt be repeated again and again, few lecturers could be found to do credit to the inſtitution like the firſt lecturer Dr. Hurd. This objection was really ſo well founded, that after the third in ſucceſſion a fourth lecturer could not eaſily be procured, and there was a failure at leaſt for ſome time. But if the credit of the inſtitution could be kept up anſwerable to the deſign of the founder, this would be but a ſecondary honor to his name, the beſt and moſt valuable memorials of him will be his own works. And yet his capital work, the Divine Legation of Moſes, is left unfiniſhed to the loſs and regret of all who have any regard for religion or learning. It is indeed a loſs much to be lamented, whatever was the cauſe, whether he was diſguſted at the ill reception which was given to the work by ſeveral of the Clergy, for whoſe uſe and ſervice it was principally intended; or whether he was diverted from it by the numerous controverſies, wherein he was engaged in defenſe of it. But he ſhould have cared for none of theſe things, and ſhould have proceeded directly and ſteddily to the end. The viper might have faſtened upon his hand, but like St. Paul he ſhould have ſhaken off the beaſt into the fire, and like him too would certainly have felt no harm. Whatever was the cauſe, the misfortune is, that out of nine books ſix only are completed. Of the three remaining he judged the ninth to be the moſt material, and therefore had written the whole or the greater part of it, and had cauſed it to be printed, but could not be prevailed upon to publiſh it in his life time. It is hoped that ſome of his friends and thoſe whom it may concern will, for their own emolument as well as for the public benefit, ſet forth a handſome edition of all his works together, as a κτημα ες αει, a poſſeſſion for ever.

While the Biſhop of Briſtol was lamenting the death of his two friends, he was recovering from two moſt dangerous illneſſes. The firſt was a

monſtrous large carbuncle on the left ſide of his back, of the very worſt ſort, and threatening an immediate mortification; ſo that to ſupport him under the violent torture and exceſſive diſcharge attending it, and to prevent if poſſible the mortification from taking place, he was obliged, contrary to his uſual practice, inſtead of two or three glaſſes to drink a whole bottle of wine every day, and to live proportionably high in other reſpects. This method having been continued five or ſix weeks, his carbuncle was in a fair way of being healed, and afterwards was healed without any kind of inciſion, and the fleſh was reſtored whole and ſmooth as in other parts. But in the mean while his high living had inflamed his blood to ſuch a degree, that it burſt a veſſel, and not a ſpitting, but a vomiting of blood enſued, at little intervals as often as he coughed. As one extreme commonly produces another, this alteration rendered it neceſſary to purſue the direct contrary courſe, and from the higheſt he was reduced to the loweſt ſcale of living, the things which were ſalutary in one caſe being deſtructive in the other. He was blooded ſix times, and each time he loſt ten ounces, and at the laſt fainted away, ſo that the faculty were alarmed, and for ſome time he was thought to be dead. But with theſe operations and with all cooling medicines it was a full week before his vomiting of blood abated, and then became a ſpitting of blood, which laſted another full week, gradually decreaſing. One morning, when he was at the worſt, and it was thought he could not live till the evening, in the intervals between his fits of coughing and vomiting of blood, he compoſed the following prayer: but poetry muſt not be looked for in a dying man's prayer: it is ſufficient if there be a ſpirit of devotion.

To thee, O gracious Lord, I make my pray'r,
Though ill deſerving thy peculiar care;
For thou alone haſt pow'r to raiſe me up,
And if it be thy will, remove this cup:
But if the ſacrifice muſt be my life,
Support and comfort ſtill my deareſt Wife,
Preſerve my ſenſes to the lateſt breath,
Aſſuage the agonizing pains of death,
And gently gently lay me down to reſt,
That I may be with thee for ever bleſt!

What

What contributed much to his ſupport and comfort was the regard and attention ſhown to him by all his friends and acquaintance, and particularly the great goodneſs and condeſcenſion of their Majeſtys in their frequent and kind inquiries after his health. His recovering at his time of life from one ſuch malady was extraordinary, but his recovery from two ſuch was little leſs than a miracle of Providence. Next to God, great thanks were due, and great encomiums were beſtowed on the ſkill and judgment of his Phyſician and Surgeon, Sir John Eliot, Bart. and Mr. Davenport. It was indeed a marvellous cure, and was ſpoken of as ſuch every where. But a recovery in the 76th year is not like a recovery at an earlier period. His inclination was as good as ever to go to Briſtol that ſummer, but he could almoſt as eaſily have taken a flight, as a journey thither. His phyſical friends as well as others inſiſted upon the neceſſity of his remaining as ſtill and quiet as poſſible at Kew Green, as the only means of ever reſtoring his health and ſtrength. For after all theſe evacuations they were much impaired and weakened. Old diſorders increaſed, and new ones were added. His body was ſhrunk and bowed down, and he had ſcarce any thing left but a few ſpirits. But as he had learned *in every thing to give thanks*, he was thankful to his God that he was no worſe than he was.

After the large evacuations in 1779, the diſcharge of his carbuncle, the loſs of more than an hundred ounces of blood, and a continued diarrhœa through the greater part of the ſummer, he found himſelf much reduced in the following winter, and ſo cold and chilly, that with the warmeſt cloathing he could hardly keep warmth and life within him. In other reſpects his health was tolerable till February; when he became very ill indeed, with ſuch a heavy load and oppreſſion upon his breaſt and ſtomach, and with ſuch a variety and complication of other diſtempers, as he had never experienced or felt before. He never had been afraid of dying, but he never wiſhed himſelf dead till this illneſs, when for three weeks together he thought every day that death would be a happy releaſe from his ſufferings. However it pleaſed God that again he recovered; and he was ſorry to live and ſee the diſtreſſes and miſeries brought upon his country in the ſpring of 1780 by a band of lawleſs and outrageous ruffians. The facts are too recent, and too well known to be related; and it is to be wiſhed, that they could be blotted out of all hiſtory, and out of the memory

of

of every foul living, that they might be mentioned no more to the ſhame and diſgrace of the Britiſh name and nation. The Papiſts, the Diſſenters, the Magiſtrates, the Miniſters, the Parlament, all parties and perſons almoſt were to blame, but the Oppoſition moſt of all. The Papiſts imprudently took more liberties than were allowed by the late act in their favor. The Diſſenters manifeſted a cruel ſpirit of perſecution. The Magiſtrates were all confounded and ſtupified. We read in the Roman ſtory that an Emperor made his horſe Conſul, and we might as well have had aſſes for Juſtices of peace. The Miniſters ſhould have prevented ſuch an unlawful concourſe of people by a proclamation, or other more vigorous meaſures if requiſite. The Parlament inſtead of giving way to their fears, and adjourning for a time, ſhould have proceeded immediately to the ſtrongeſt acts and reſolutions againſt ſuch riotous aſſemblies for our preſent peace and future ſecurity. All people were, as I may ſay, *dementated*, to borrow a word from an old Latin proverb, Quos Deus vult perdere prius *dementat*. If the King of his own motion had not ordered forth the ſoldiery, the cities of London and Weſtminſter might have been laid in aſhes. And yet ſome Aldermen and more Common-Council men have been ſuch ungrateful monſters, as to refuſe joining in an addreſs to thank His Majeſty for the preſervation of their lives and properties.

It appeared by the evidence at the trial of one of the criminals, as well as by other notices which the Biſhop received, that his deanery houſe was among others deſtined for deſtruction: and a grievous calamity it muſt have been to him, and an irreparable loſs, for the labors of his whole life, his papers, his books, his prints, his pictures, all to be deſtroyed in a night. He and his family by the advice of their friends removed to Kew, and a guard was placed in his houſe which preſerved it; for which deliverance he was ever after thankful to God, and next under God, to the King for his preſervation. He as Dean and his three brethren of the Chapter, (Dr. Douglas eſpecially) were at no little expenſe in entertaining the officers ſtationed at St. Pauls, and the Ward at the ſame time made proviſion for the common men. But the money was well beſtowed, for both officers and ſoldiers behaved incomparably well, with the greateſt regularity and order.

The late act for the relief of the Papiſts, tho' no great matter in itſelf, was yet artfully made a cry and a pretence to work up the people to madneſs; but the ſore lay much deeper. If that act had been the real grievance,

ance, the rage of the poupulace would of courſe have fallen upon the promoters of it, Sir George Savile who firſt moved it, and Mr. Dunning who ſeconded it, Lord Rockingham, Lord Shelbourn, Mr. Burke, and others who ſupported it; but little or no damage was done to them, and that little only for a ~~diſgrace~~ pretence and color. The fury of the mob was directed principally againſt thoſe who had no hand in the bill, and was diſcharged chiefly upon the friends of government, and particularly upon the great and venerable diſpenſer of law and juſtice, who was not even preſent at any reading of the bill, and having himſelf injured no man, concluded in the integrity of his heart, that no man would injure him. As he reſembled the great Roman orator in ſeveral particulars, ſo in this among others, for Cicero's houſe was in like manner ſet on fire, and pulled down by the wicked faction of the profligate Clodius. It was really wonderful after ſuch a ſhock as he had received, that he could ſo ſoon recollect himſelf, and ſo far ſummon up his faculties, as to make one of the fineſt and ableſt ſpeeches that ever was heard in parlament, to juſtify the legality of the late proceedings on the part of government, no royal prerogative had been exerted, no martial law had been exerciſed, nothing had been done but what every man, civil or military, had a right to do in the like caſes. "I ſpeak not from books, "ſaid he, for books I have none," having been all conſumed in the fire. The effects of his ſpeech were the admiration and conviction of all who heard him, and put an end to the debate without a diviſion. Lord Mansfield never appeared greater in any action of his life; and it would have been a right meaſure, if his ſpeech had been printed and circulated throughout the kingdom at the charge of government, to ſatisfy the apprehenſions and to quiet the minds of the people about the laws relating to riots, which before were little underſtood.

The Proteſtant Aſſociators diſgrace the proteſtant religion, by their intolerant principles and practices. *They know not what manner of ſpirit they are of; for the Son of Man came not to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them.* It is poſſible, but barely poſſible, that ſome of few them might have no bad intentions at firſt; but others of no religion, taking advantage of their miſtaken zeal, French and American agents, and ſome deſperate villains of our own and other countries, inliſted and inrolled themſelves under their banners for the ſake of plunder and deſtruction. John the painter's attempt was only the prelude; this was the tragedy, and a deep tragedy indeed,

deed, ſuch as never before was acted upon this ſtage, and God grant that it may be never again. Some combuſtible materials muſt have been laid in beforehand, or ſo fierce a fire could not ſo ſoon have been kindled; and perhaps it will be no wrong judgment to ſay, that it was lighted and blown up by the inflammatory ſpeeches of the leaders in oppoſition. But who and what are theſe leaders of oppoſition? All of them craving and hungry to diſtribute and partake of the loaves and fiſhes: Some of ruined deſperate fortunes: Some of vile abandoned characters: Some of parts without property, and others of property without parts: many even of thoſe who have eſtates, involved in debts and mortgages, and neceſſitous to a great degree: The greater part guilty of baſe ingratitude, the greater part, as a moſt exact calculator obſerves, having received great perſonal favors and obligations from the King. Some have been miniſters, as unpopular in power as they are impatient out of power; and no reaſon can be deviſed for wiſhing to ſee them miniſters again. They have been weighed in the balances, and found wanting.

The Biſhop's real opinion of them was, that they were the moſt unprincipled, the moſt unreaſonable, and the moſt factious oppoſition, that he had ever known or remembered; and with the utmoſt candor and charity he could not forbear looking upon them as the main ſource of our national evils, and in truth and fact little better than traitors and enemies to their King and country. For they have conſtantly oppoſed and obſtructed every meaſure of government right or wrong, have thereby done more harm than good, and prevented more good than harm; for doubtleſs more good laws and regulations would be propoſed, if there was not ſuch a certainty of their being oppoſed and every point conteſted. At times when unanimity and diſpatch have been abſolutely neceſſary, they have ſtudiouſly contrived delays and fomented diviſions. If they did not originally beget, yet at leaſt they have foſtered and cheriſhed the rebellion in America, and have not only publicly wiſhed ſucceſs to it, but have aided and abetted and vindicated it in all their ſpeeches and writings. Like the curſed ſon of Noah they have delighted in expoſing the nakedneſs of their parent, in ſetting forth the weakneſs and diſtreſs of their country in the livelieſt colors, and thereby inciting the arms of France and Spain againſt us. When ſome of note and eminence in their different profeſſions have been employed in the ſervice of government without diſtinction of parties, they have choſen

rather

rather to ſully their honor and to forfeit their characters, than to ſerve their country and ſtrengthen the hands of adminiſtration. When they have returned with tarniſhed laurels, they have been received by their party with the loudeſt acclamations, illuminations and I know not what; and no ways aſhamed of the wealth they have gotten or of the credit they have loſt, they could not ſit down quietly with their gains, but have concurred with the moſt forward and violent in arraigning others, when they themſelves ought to have been arraigned and puniſhed. When any misfortune or miſcarriage befalls their country, they aggravate and magnify the loſs and diſcover their joy in their countenances; as on the contrary they appear diſappointed and grieved at any good ſucceſs, and depreciate and diminiſh it all they can. When great things have been in agitation, and mighty fleets were to be fitted out with all expedition, they have called off the attention of the Admiralty to trivial matters, and have conſumed weeks after weeks in frivolous and fruitleſs inquiries to their own diſgrace and the honor of their adverſaries. Without any the leaſt regard to the majeſty of the crown or the dignity of the kingdom, they would reduce the royal beneath the ſtandard of any noble family, and have propoſed impracticable ſchemes of œconomy, which they have known too to be utterly impracticable and impoſſible, merely for the ſake of inflaming the minds of the people, and leſſening their reverence for government. They have traduced the Parlament as no Parlament, and have formed illegal aſſociations and committees of correſpondence, profeſſedly with a deſign to controll King Lords and Commons, and to eſtabliſh a *fourth* ſtate in the kingdom. Some of the graveſt and wiſeſt, as they have been reputed, have even in the Houſe threatened force and recourſe to arms, if their petitions were not granted. Their ſpeeches have frequently been of ſuch a nature, that other men at other times would for the like have been committed to the tower, if not treaſon, yet as near as may be bordering upon it. The have encouraged and patronized the authors and publiſhers of ſcandalous treaſonable libels, of ſeditious obſcene prints, of every thing offenſive to religion and good manners, and have protected and ſupplied them with money in caſe of proſecution or impriſonment. They have played all games, and would now fain inſinuate themſelves into the favor of the young Princes as they grow up, with the diabolical deſign of ſetting the Sons againſt their Father.

A diviſion in the royal family during this diſtracted ſtate of the nation would be miſery made more miſerable, confuſion worſe confounded. May God avert it, and blaſt their purpoſes! All their words and actions plainly ſhow, that they would ſtick at nothing, would ſacrifice every thing, would move even hell itſelf to get into place, and *reſolv'd to ruin or to rule the ſtate*, would rather ruin than not rule it. They have both in the Houſe and out of the Houſe advanced and propagated ſuch leveling notions, as would not only be the total ruin of our happy conſtitution, but are ſubverſive of all law, of all government, of all ſociety whatever; that all men are born equals; that every man is his own governor and legiſlator; that no man ought to pay taxes who is not repreſented; that elections of members of parlament ſhould be annual; that every man of the age of twenty one ſhould have a vote; that the power of the people is ſupreme above all; that the people have a right to call their governors to account, and to redreſs all grievances; that the King was made for the people, and not the people for the King; that the King is only the ſervant of the people; that the people have depoſed and murdered Kings, and may again. Which notions, tho' ſome of them perhaps may be right in a certain limited ſenſe, have yet turned the heads of the people. *Wilkes and liberty*, or in plain Engliſh *the devil and licentiouſneſs*, began the work, and theſe maſter-builders have completed it. For the *Mob*, eſteeming themſelves to be the people, look upon every thing as their own, and think every thing lawful for them: and not to mention the number of robbers, incendiaries and murderers, hence proceed that corruption of morals in all the lower claſſes of the people, that diſpoſition as we have ſeen for riots and inſurrections, that deſpiſing of dominion and ſpeaking evil of dignities, that rudeneſs and readineſs for any miſchief rather than honeſt work and labor, that neglect and violation of all decency and order, of all rule and authority in domeſtic as well as in public life. And what can be the reſult and end of theſe things, but a civil war or a foreign invaſion, deſpotiſm and tyranny or anarchy and confuſion? The Biſhop was not without his fears and apprehenſions of the divine judgments hanging over our head for our incorrigible wickedneſs, and would have deſpaired as of a nation ripe for deſtruction, if he had not ſupported and comforted himſelf with the reflection, that there is a God over all, *who ſtilleth the raging of the ſea, and the noiſe of his waves, and the madneſs of the*

the people. The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of iles be glad thereof.

After theſe riots and diſturbances the ſummer paſſed very heavily with the Biſhop. He had ſuch frequent returns of a troubleſome diſorder that for weeks together he could not ſo much as ſtep into his coach to take the air. In autumn his diſorder abated; and indeed if ever he was better than uſual, it was at that milder ſeaſon of the year, the cold of winter, and the ſharp winds of ſpring, and the heat of ſummer not ſo well agreeing with his tender conſtitution. His health and ſpirits were ſo much better, that he wrote *A Letter to the new Parlament with hints of ſome regulations which the nation hopes and expects from them.* This he conſidered as the laſt duty that he ſhould ever be able to pay to his country, and therefore cauſed it to be printed, and to be delivered gratis at the two Houſes to their reſpective Members. It ſhall not here interrupt the narration, but ſhall be added at the end of this account in the Appendix N°. III.

At the very beginning of the year 1781 He had a return of his ſpitting of blood, and ſoon after that a moſt violent attack upon his ſtomach and bowels, inſomuch that he was for ſome days in the moſt imminent danger, and was attended by Sir John Eliot twice or thrice in a day. At this critical juncture it added much to his pains and ſufferings to hear of the death of ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance within the courſe of a few weeks, and among them of Dr. Lloyd, his contemporary at ſchool and at college, and one of his oldeſt and moſt intimate friends. Something has before been ſaid of Dr. Lloyd of his merits and of his misfortunes. He has often ſaid, that he had a ticket in every ſtate lottery, but never obtained a ſingle prize. It is a common remark, that prizes of this kind ſeldom wear well or proſper long. They lightly come, and lightly go. A relation of Dr. Lloyd by marriage, Dr. William Freind, brother to Dr. Robert Freind maſter of Weſtminſter School, and to Dr. John Freind the famous phyſician, had a prize of 20,000*l.* in Queen Anne's time, and another conſiderable prize of 5 or 10,000*l.* in the reign of George I. but yet with theſe lucky hits he would have died a priſoner in the Fleet, if his old ſchoolfellow, the Earl of Winchelſea, when he was at the head of the Admiralty, had not made him a chaplain to a ſhip of 100 guns. To die in the Fleet priſon was the fate of Dr. Lloyd's ſon, after a long courſe of extravagance in company with

Wilkes and Churchill; or otherwiſe having a very good capacity (as his poems abundantly teſtify) inſtead of a drain or burden, he might have been a ſupport and ornament to his family. This blow was therefore the more grievous to ſo good a father; yet with all his troubles and diſappointments, with all the ſickneſs and diſtreſs in his family, he ſtill preſerved his calm-placid countenance, his eaſy chearful temper, and was at all times an agreeable friend and companion, in all events a true chriſtian philoſopher. The Biſhop of Briſtol never regretted his want of patronage more than upon his account, having nothing to give him worthy of his acceptance. Dr. Markham was always well diſpoſed to his old fellow labourer in the ſchool, and was no ſooner made Archbiſhop of York and Lord Almoner, than he had thoughts of promoting him to be Subalmoner; but that deſign did not ſucceed, there being no vacancy as was expected. The Archbiſhop is no very great patron, yet being of as liberal and noble a way of thinking as any man living, he collated him in the moſt generous and handſome manner to a good prebend in the church of York, and the very firſt that he had to beſtow, as much to his own credit and honor as to the benefit and advantage of Dr. Lloyd, and was univerſally applauded for it. But his bounty did not ſtop here, for in the following year he beſtowed upon him a good ſinecure, and exchanged his former prebend for a dignity in the church, with a better prebend annexed to it: and all theſe things ſo graciouſly given as to double the value of the gifts, and thereby to render the latter end of Job more comfortable than the beginning He was now in poſſeſſion of 300*l.* a year addition to his income, beſides the chance of good fines: but alas! theſe preferments he held a very ſhort time, having ſucceeded to them in the latter part of the ſummer 1780, and dying at the beginning of January 1781. And ſomething of his former ill fortune purſued him to the laſt, for an agreement having been made for a fine of 460*l.* if he had lived but two days longer, the leaſe would have been ſealed, and he would have received the money.

After Dr. Lloyd's death two others of the Biſhop's contemporaries were ſtill living, Lord Mansfield and Mr. Church, who were both elected to Oxford at the ſame time that he was to Cambridge. Mr. Church was uſually called Honeſt John Church, and very worthy he was of the appellation. As he reſided altogether upon his livings in Suffolk, he was little known in the

the world; but wherever he was known, he was greatly eſteemed, having been both man and boy a pattern of prudence and diſcretion, of probity and integrity, of good temper and good manners, and in many reſpects living up to the character of the good perſon, imitated from Chaucer and inlarged by Dryden.

Lord Mansfield's is a character above all praiſe, the great oracle of law, the ſtandard of eloquence, and pattern of all virtue, both in public and private life. It was happy for the nation as well as for himſelf, that at his age there appeared not the leaſt ſymptom of decay in his bodily or in his mental faculties, but he had all the quickneſs and vivacity of youth tempered with all the knowlege and experience of old age. Except the King's no man's life was of greater importance and conſequence to his country, and wiſhing well to him was wiſhing well to all mankind. When his nephew Lord Stormont had married, and had a fair proſpect of having children, he with good reaſon aſked and obtained an earldom for himſelf to deſcend to the male heirs. Upon which occaſion Biſhop Newton in the ſincerity of his heart addreſſed to him the following letter.

"My Lord, Kew Green, Oct. 20. 1776.

"You have long merited the higheſt honors which this country can be-
"ſtow; but it was not fitting that they ſhould die with you, ſomething
"ſhould remain as a monument to poſterity. I beg leave therefore to con-
"gratulate your Lordſhip, or rather my Lord Stormont, upon your addi-
"tional titles. Nothing can be properly an addition to yourſelf. You
"may rank higher in the world, but you cannot riſe higher in the opinion
"and eſteem of all who know you, and particularly of,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordſhip's ever affectionate

"and obedient Servant."

Soon

Soon after he was favored with the following friendly anſwer.

" My dear Lord, Kenwood 22 Oct. 1776.

" I am exceedingly flattered by your letter, which I have juſt received, " becauſe I know the friendly ſincerity of the heart from whence it flows. " You do juſtice to my view in this creation. Lady Stormont is five months " gone with child. If it pleaſe God to bleſs Lord Stormont with iſſue " male, I wiſh from a pardonable vanity becauſe common, that they may " repreſent my name as their firſt title. The manner of conferring this " mark did great honor, and conſequently gave great pleaſure to

" Your moſt affectionate &c."

The event was anſwerable to the good wiſhes and expectations of himſelf, his family and friends; for at the beginning of March following Lady Stormont was delivered at Paris of a ſon and heir to the title of Earl of Mansfield. Another ſon has been born ſince, and probably there may be more. The noble Lord thus lives happy in himſelf, happy in his family, *plenus annis, plenus honoribus, etiam illis quos recuſavit*, and may he long, very long continue thus! Yet with all this worth, and all this excellence, greatly as he has been eſteemed, and highly as he has been honored in his life time, his virtues will ſhine forth more illuſtrious, and his merits will be more univerſally allowed and applauded after his death. Envy will then be dumb, and faction be heard no more.

Upon the death of Dr. Marriott, one of the Prebendaries of Weſtminſter, the Biſhop weak and ill as he was, in juſtice to Dr. Smith, and out of affection to the School, wrote the following letter to Lord North.

" My Lord,

" At firſt I thought of addreſſing this letter to your Lordſhip in the " public papers, but for the greater decency I chooſe to direct it imme- " diately to yourſelf. You are, my Lord, a man of learning, you are a pa- " tron of learned men. You have the diſpoſal of the chief of the King's " preferments for the encouragement of learning. One would imagin too, " that you had ſome regard for Weſtminſter School, by honoring the ſcho- " lars with your preſence at their dramatic performances, which appear to

" give

" give you no little pleaſure. But how then comes it to paſs, that for ſeve-
" ral years paſt, neither the Dean nor the twelve Prebendaries, were any
" one of them educated at the School? Such an inſtance, I believe, is not to
" be found in the annals of time, ſince the foundation by Queen Elizabeth.
" The ſucceſſive Maſters of the School for more than a century paſt have
" uſually had a prebend given them, or ſomething of honor. Dr. Buſby enjoyed
" a prebend many years. Dr. Knipe had likewiſe a prebend. Dr. Freind
" and Dr. Nicoll were both Prebendaries of Weſtminſter and Canon of
" Chriſt Church. Dr. Markham and Dr. Hinchliffe obtained higher walks
" in life. And ſhall ſuch an induſtrious Maſter as Dr. Smith remain a
" ſingle exception? After 16 or 17 years conſtant labor and faithful ſer-
" vice in a royal foundation, ſhall he receive no royal reward? After re-
" peated applications and repulſes, ſhall he ſtill ſuffer the mortification of
" ſeeing others unworthily preferred before him? Forbid it, Candor. For-
" bid it, Juſtice. Such illiberal treatment, ſo contrary to laudable cuſtom
" and antient practice, would caſt a ſhade even upon your Lordſhip's cha-
" racter; and what is worſe, would be a diſparagement to the School, and
" a diſcouragement to learning. In general I am a friend to your admini-
" ſtration, and have approved myſelf ſuch upon many occaſions. But ſhall
" I commend you in this? No, here all the world muſt condemn you, if
" not as an enemy, yet certainly as no friend to Weſtminſter School.

" I do moſt faithfully aſſure your Lordſhip, that I have no particular ac-
" quaintance or connection with Dr. Smith, and neither is he nor any man
" privy to the contents of this letter, but your Lordſhip and the Writer,
" who cannot but feel for the credit and honor of the School, having been

" A Quondam Weſtminſter Scholar."

It is to be hoped that this letter was not without ſome effect; for tho' Dr. Smith was again diſappointed in not ſucceeding to Dr. Marriott's ſtall, yet he had the ſatisfaction of receiving under the Miniſter's own hand an abſolute promiſe of the very next vacancy; which no doubt his Lordſhip will perform out of his regard to learning as well as for his own credit and character.

Some books were publiſhed in 1781, which employed ſome of the Biſhop's leiſure hours in his rural retreat and during his illneſs. Mr. Gibbon's *Hiſtory of the decline and fall of the Roman empire* he read throughout, but

but it by no means anſwered his expectation. For he found it rather a prolix and tedious performance, his matter unintereſting, and his ſtile affected, his teſtimonies not to be depended upon, and his frequent ſcoffs at religion offenſive to every ſober mind. He had before been convicted of making falſe quotations, which ſhould have taught him more prudence and caution. But without examining his authorities there is one, which muſt neceſſarily ſtrike every man who has ever read Dr. Burnet's treatiſe *De ſtatu mortuorum*. In vol. 3. p. 99. Mr. Gibbon has the following note. "Bur-" net *de ſtatu mortuorum* (p. 56---84) collects the opinions of the fathers, " as far as they aſſert the ſleep or repoſe of human ſouls till the day of " judgment. He afterward expoſes (p. 91, &c.) the inconveniencies which " muſt ariſe, if they poſſeſſed a more active and ſenſible exiſtence." Who would not from hence infer, that Dr. Burnet was an advocate for the ſleep and inſenſible exiſtence of the ſoul after death! Whereas his doctrin is directly the contrary. He has employed ſome chapters in treating of the ſtate of human ſouls in the interval between death and the reſurrection; and after various proofs from reaſon, from ſcripture, and the fathers his concluſions are, that human ſouls exiſt after their ſeparation from the body, that they are in a good or evil ſtate according to their good or ill behaviour but that neither their happineſs nor their miſery will be complete and perfect before the day of judgment. His argumentation is thus ſummed up at the cloſe of the 4th chapter. *Ex quibus conſtat primo, Animas ſuperaſſe extincto corpore; ſecundo, Bonas bene, malas male, ſe habituras; tertio, Nec illis ſummam felicitatam, nec his ſummam miſeriam, acceſſuram eſſe ante diem judicii.* The Biſhop's reading the whole was a greater compliment to the work than was paid to it by two of the moſt eminent of his brethren for their learning and ſtation. The one entered upon it, but was ſoon wearied, and laid it aſide in diſguſt. The other returned it upon the bookſeller's hands, and it is ſaid that Mr. Gibbon himſelf happened unluckily to be in the ſhop at the ſame time. --- Dr. Johnſon's *Lives of the poets* afforded more amuſement, but candor was much hurt and offended at the malevolence that predominates in every part. Some paſſages, it muſt be allowed, are judicious and well written, but make not ſufficient compenſation for ſo much ſpleen and ill humor. Never was any biographer more ſparing of his praiſes, or more abundant in his cenſures. He ſeemingly delights more in expoſing blemiſhes than in recommending beauties, ſlightly paſſes over

excellences, inlarges upon imperfections, and not content with his own ſevere reflections revives old ſcandal, and produces large quotations from the long forgotten works of former critics. His reputation was ſo high, in the republic of letters, that it wanted not to be raiſed upon the ruins of others. But theſe eſſays, inſtead of raiſing a higher idea than was before entertained of his underſtanding, have certainly given the world a worſe opinion of his temper. The Biſhop was therefore the more ſurprized and concerned for his townſman, for he reſpected him not only for his genius and learning, but valued him much more for the more amiable part of his character, his humanity and charity, his morality and religion. *Lenit albeſcens animos capillus*, as Horace ſays. Old age ſhould lenify, ſhould ſoften mens manners, and make them more mild and gentle, but often has the contrary effect, hardens their hearts, and renders them more ſour and crabbed. The panygeriſt of Savage in his youth, may in his old age become the ſatiriſt of the moſt favourite authors, in both caſes alike to be blamed, his encomium as unjuſt and undeſerved as his cenſures. Dr. Milles's edition of *Rowley's poems*, and Mr. Bryant's remarks upon the ſame, are curious pieces for all the lovers of antiquity. The Biſhop by all that he could learn and collect at Briſtol was all along of opinion, that it was utterly impoſſible for Chatterton to be the author of theſe poems; and he was pleaſed to have his judgment confirmed by the concurrence of two ſuch able writers. Who the real author was, whether Rowley or any one elſe, is a queſtion more of curioſity than of any great uſe and importance. If the Biſhop had ever ſo ſtrong an inclination to enter into the controverſy, yet the failure of his eyes would not ſuffer him to purſue it: and he could not help wiſhing that two ſuch learned and ingenious men had employed their pens upon ſome ſubject of greater utility, and more worthy of them. Dr. Milles's ſhould be conſidered as the work, rather of the Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries, than of the Dean of Exeter; and as ſuch it ſhould have been intitled. This however is an ample proof, how worthily he filled the chair, to which the Society had advanced him. He was alſo deſerving of a higher chair, if the governing powers had thought it proper.

On the firſt day of January 1782, the Biſhop entered on the 79th year of his age. He reckoned himſelf to be the oldeſt Weſtminſter ſcholar then living. He was older than the Earl of Mansfield, and on New year's day wrote the following note to his old friend and ſchool-fellow.

" My Lord, St. Pauls, Jan. 1. 1782.

" Give me leave at the coming in of the new year to addreſs your Lord-
" ſhip with the old wiſh of *multos & felices*. I am happy to hear from all
" friends ſo good an account of your health, and I rejoice in it for the
" ſake of the public as well as your own, your's being a life of the greateſt
" importance and conſequence, an ornament and bleſſing to your country.
" Mine is but labour and ſorrow, and I have often occaſion devoutly to wiſh
" *Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace*. Never having been
" ſtrong and healthy, it is no wonder, that entering into the 79th year of
" my age, I bow under a load of growing evils. One that diſtreſſes me
" much came on very faſt by my illneſs this laſt ſummer, the failure of my
" eyes to ſuch a degree, that I can read and write very little by day-light,
" and not at all by candle-light with the help of any glaſſes. But amidſt all
" my infirmities, God be praiſed, my ſpirits ſtill bear me up. If they were
" to fail, I ſhould be miſerable indeed. I had the good fortune not to hear
" of Lady Mansfield's illneſs, till I was informed of her recovery, which I
" hope continues as complete and perfect as it is reported to be. As long
" as I live I ſhall offer up my prayers for the health and happineſs of your
" Lordſhip and all your family; and I muſt ceaſe to be myſelf, before I
" can ceaſe to be,

" My dear Lord,

" Your ever affectionate, obliged,

" and faithful humble ſervant."

The bearer who carried this note returned with this obliging anſwer.

" My dear Lord, Jan. 1. 1782.

" A thouſand thanks to you for your moſt friendly letter. We two are
" almoſt left alone. Thank God, I go down the hill without pain except
" for the public: and if the Breſt fleet and convoy are diſperſed and driven
" back, this year opens propitiouſly. Lady Mansfield, bleſſed be God, has
" had a miraculous recovery from a very ſudden and violent illneſs. Pru-
" dence on her account has kept me hitherto in town theſe holidays. I hope
" to be able ſoon to have the pleaſure of ſeeing you, and thanking you per-
" ſonally for your kind remembrance of

" Your moſt affectionate, &c."

The

The Biſhop's concern for the public was not leſs than Lord Mansfield's, for we have very little to hope, and very much to fear from the ſad diſmal proſpect before us, from the groſs immorality and irreligion of our people, from the want of ſpirit and reſolution and ſtedineſs in counſel, from the want of conduct and courage and fidelity in action, from the great attention to private intereſt and little regard to the public welfare, from admirals and generals ſacrificing more to the pleaſure of their party than to the honor of their country or their own, from the capture of our armies at land and the diminution of our dominion of the ſea, from the loſs of ſome of our territories, and the danger of loſing more, from the number and ſuperior forces of our enemies, and from the parties and factions among ourſelves. It is hard to contend with all the world, but our domeſtic enemies are the worſt of all. All perſons complain of the weight of taxes and the dearneſs of proviſions, and yet how few retrench their expenſes, or forbear their pleaſures, their miſtreſſes and their country houſes; operas, balls, maſquerades, all kinds of entertainment; gaming, adultery, and all kinds of vice; abound as much as ever. And from hence what is there to hope, what is there not to fear? He dreaded the calamities impending over his country infinitely more than his own death, and would gladly by his own death have averted them, if it had been poſſible. But he was ſenſible, that the fate of his country was a part only of a greater plan, that divine Providence was bringing about wonderful revolutions in the earth, which he could not live to ſee accompliſhed. He plainly perceived the beginning, and could only aſk the queſtion with the prophet Daniel, *O my Lord, what ſhall the end of theſe things be?* But ſtill he did not abſolutely deſpair of the commonwealth. He was not like the generality of Engliſhmen all triumph or all dejection. There are changes and revolutions in all human affairs. *And why? God is the judge, he putteth down one and ſetteth up another.* The ſame hand, that in judgment has ſtricken us and brought us low, in mercy may heal us and lift us up again. National pride and vanity are juſtly humbled to bring forth national repentance and reformation. Our ſucceſſes have been our ruin. Our diſtreſſes may prove our reſtoration. With all our wounds and bruiſes there are ſtill ſome vital ſigns, ſome ſymptoms of recovery; or otherwiſe this little iland could not make ſo glorious a ſtand as we have made, and do make againſt the combined force of ſo many enemies. He would have died much happier, if he had left his country in

a more flouriſhing condition. He had ſurvived moſt of his friends and acquaintance, but like father Paul he wiſhed his country to be perpetual, *Eſto perpetua*. His friends, who had uſually dined with him in celebration of his birth-day were reduced to Sir John Eliot alone beſides his own family; and he might fitly have applied to himſelf *Cedat, uti conviva ſatur*, and have retired like a gueſt ſatisfied with a full meal. Satisfied indeed he was with life, with the good as well as evil of it; and thought it equally his duty to be thankful for the former and patient of the latter, truſting in God, that he would *not ſuffer him to be tempted above that he was able, but would with the temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that he might be able to bear it.*

It was really wonderful that ſuch a poor, and weak, and ſlender thred as the Biſhop's life ſhould be ſpun out to ſuch an amazing length. In the ſummer of 1781, in the autumn uſually the moſt favourable part of the year to him, he laboured under repeated illneſſes, with an account of which, as it is unneceſſary, it would be diſagreeable to trouble the reader. And ſo let the laſt act here be cloſed, and the curtain drop. He lived ſome time afterwards in great weakneſs of body, but with his mind vigorous and chearful to the laſt. He had tender affections and ſympathies which helped to detain him in life; he had growing evils and calamities, which diſpoſed him rather to ſay, Oh! that the glaſs of life were run! But yet not mine, thy will be done. He was like the apoſtle *in a ſtrait betwixt two*, and thought with him that it was *far better to depart than abide in the fleſh*. But as he could not poſſibly know, God only knew, which of the two was beſt and fitteſt for him, he wiſhed to refer himſelf entirely to God's good pleaſure, and to wait for his appointed time with patience and reſignation. He hoped however *whether he lived to live unto the Lord, or whether he died to die unto the Lord. Living or dying* he prayed to *be the Lord's.*

The Biſhop having finiſhed the whole of this work but a very few days before it pleaſed God to releaſe him, the reader will perceive that little remains to be added but the time and manner of his death. He might very juſtly wonder how ſuch a weak, infirm body was ſo long preſerved, for

for few men perhaps had more conſtant or ſeverer infirmities to combat with than himſelf. It is difficult to determine at the Biſhop's time of life, and with his variety of complaints, what was the immediate cauſe of his death. The ſpring was uſually the moſt unfavorable part of the year to his conſtitution, for ſome years paſt he ſcarce ever eſcaped a violent illneſs, owing probably to the north eaſt winds which prevail at that time, and which never failed of producing an inflammation upon his lungs. He had paſſed the months of November, December, and January without any very alarming attack, and upon the whole he thought he had got through the winter as well as he could ever hope or expect. The ſevere weather at the beginning of February brought with it all his old complaints. On Saturday the 9th of that month he began to find his breath much affected by the froſt. On the Sunday he grew worſe, the oppreſſion upon his cheſt increaſed, and he was unable as he uſually did upon that day to ſee his friends in the evening. On the Monday having had two very bad nights, and gaining no ground, he loſt ſome blood, which generally was an immediate relief to him, and was an operation he always bore uncommonly well; not receiving the benefit from it that was expected, it was thought neceſſary to bleed him a ſecond time on the Tueſday, and apply a bliſter to his back. Neither of theſe had the deſired effect, for he had a moſt reſtleſs night, and was by no means relieved the next morning. During all this time he came down ſtairs at his uſual hour, breakfaſted and dined with his family, and omitted no part of his daily buſineſs; bad as he was on the Wedneſday he would be ſhaved and dreſſed. In the evening about nine o'clock his phyſician left him apparently not worſe, he rather thought him upon the whole ſomething better, and there certainly was no indication of immediate danger. His night however proving very bad, and his breath growing ſhorter, he got up at five o'clock and was placed in a chair by the fire; complained to his wife how much he had ſuffered in bed, and repeated to himſelf that portion of the Pſalms, " O my God, I cry unto thee in the day time but " thou heareſt not, and in the night ſeaſon alſo I take no reſt. And thou " continueſt holy, O thou worſhip of Iſrael." About ſix o'clock, the apothecary who had ſet up with him during the night, left him in a quiet ſleep. Between ſeven and eight he awoke, and appeared rather more eaſy, took a little nouriſhment and enquired what a clock it was. He continued

dozing till near nine, when he ordered his ſervant to come and dreſs him and help him down ſtairs. As ſoon as he was dreſſed he again enquired the hour, and bid his man open the ſhutter and look at the dial of St. Pauls. The ſervant anſwered it was upon the ſtroke of nine; the Biſhop made an effort to take out his watch with an intent to ſet it, but ſunk down in his chair, and expired without a ſigh, or the leaſt viſible emotion, his countenance ſtill retaining the ſame placid appearance which was ſo peculiar to him when alive. He was buried on Thurſday the 28th of February early in the morning by his own deſire in the vaults of St. Pauls, immediately under the ſouth iſle; and it was the intention of his widow, with the permiſſion of the truſtees to the fabrick, to erect a monument in the church to his memory; but on applying to the truſtees of the fabric for their permiſſion, ſhe found that the introduction of monuments into St. Pauls cathedral was not agreeable to them. Bow church was then fixed upon, as the next proper place; and the preſent rector, Dr. Apthorp, having acceded to her propoſal in the moſt obliging manner, ſhe is now much gratified in her ardent wiſh of ſeeing the monument completed in her life-time.

It is an exquiſite piece of ſculpture, executed by Mr. T. Banks, of Newman-ſtreet; and is erected in the chancel, near the ſouth ſide of the communion-table. The principal ſubject is Religion and Science deploring the loſs of a character ſo eminent for both. On the top of the ſarcophagus are a mitre and a book, in alluſion to his learned Diſſertations on the Prophecies; and in the front is a female figure, in bas-relief, weeping over the Biſhop's portrait. The baſe is ornamented on one ſide with his own arms and thoſe of his lady; and on the other with the arms of the biſhopric of Briſtol.

Beneath the ſarcophagus are the lines on the next page from the pen of the ingenious Mrs. CARTER.

In

Banks delineavit *Heath sculpsit*

The **Monument** of

The Right Reverend **THOMAS NEWTON**, D.D. Biſhop of Briſtol.

Published according to Act of Parliament by John, Francis & Charles Rivington, *January 23.d 1787.*

INSCRIPTION on the SHOP-MONUMENT.

In thee the faireſt bloom of ſpring youth
Flouriſh'd beneath the guard of Chriſtian Truth;
That guiding Truth to Virtue form'd thy mind,
And warm'd thy Heart to feel for all mankind.

How fad the change my wither'd days now prove,
Thou ſoul of Friendſhip and of tender Love!
Yet holy Faith one ſoothing hope ſuppliès,
That points our future Union in the Skies.

To which lines is ſubjoined the following Proſe inſcription:

Sacred to the memory of
THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.
Twenty-five years Rector of this Church,
Dean of St. Paul's, Biſhop of Briſtol.
He reſigned his ſoul to his Almighty Creator,
February the XIVth, MDCCLXXXII,
In the LXXIXth year of his age.
His remains were, according to his deſire,
Interred under the South ſide of St. Paul's
Reader,
If you would be further informed of his character,
Acquaint yourſelf with his writings.
His ſecond wife, who had the happineſs of living with him
In the moſt perfect love upwards of twenty-one years,
Has cauſed this monument to be placed as a
Teſtimony of her affection and gratitude
To the kindeſt huſband, and moſt
Benevolent friend.

APPEN-

INSCRIPTION on the BISHOP's MONUMENT.

In three the fruitful pleasures of obeying words
Eformith'd penneath the grave of Christian Truth:
That guiding Truth to Virtue form'd thy mind,
And warm'd thy Heart to feel for all mankind.
How led the cheerful way wisdom's steps now prove!
From toil of Parliament, and of reader Love!
Yet now Faith one footstep more implies,
That points our future Union in the Skies.

To which trustees subscribed the following Prose Inscription.

Sacred to the memory of

THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

Twenty-five years Regent of this Church,
Dean of St. Paul's, Bishop of Bristol,
And Prebendary of this Cathedral.
Departed this life the XIVth, MDCCLXXXII
In the LXXIXth year of his age.
His remains were, according to his desire
Interred under the South Isle of St. Paul's
Beneath
Is now world be found, inclosed in his cathedral
Adjacent world with his writings?
His second wife, who had the happiness of living with him
In this most perfect love above thirty-one years,
Has caused this monument to be placed as a
Memorial of that affection and esteem
To the kindest husband, and most
Faithful friend.

INSCRIPTION on the BISHOP's MONUMENT.

In thee the faireſt bloom of op'ning youth
Flouriſh'd beneath the guard of Chriſtian Truth;
That guiding Truth to Virtue form'd thy mind,
And warm'd thy Heart to feel for all mankind.

How ſad the change my widow'd days now prove,
Thou ſoul of Friendſhip, and of tender Love!
Yet holy Faith one ſoothing Hope ſupplies,
That points our future Union in the Skies.

To which lines is ſubjoined the following Proſe Inſcription:

Sacred to the memory of
THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.
Twenty-five years Rector of this Church,
Dean of St. Paul's, Biſhop of Briſtol.
He reſigned his ſoul to his Almighty Creator,
February the XIVth, MDCCLXXXII,
In the LXXIXth year of his age.
His remains were, according to his deſire,
Interred under the South iſle of St. Paul's.
Reader,
If you would be further informed of his character,
Acquaint yourſelf with his writings.
His ſecond wife, who had the happineſs of living with him
In the moſt perfect love upwards of twenty-one years,
Has cauſed this monument to be placed as a
Teſtimony of her affection and gratitude
To the kindeſt huſband, and moſt
Benevolent friend.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A SPEECH designed for the HOUSE of LORDS,

On the Second Reading of the DISSENTERS BILL,

MAY 19, 1772.

MY LORDS,

THE Act of Toleration was one of the firſt fruits of the glorious Revolution. It may be conſidered as one of the corner ſtones of our conſtitution, and care ought to be taken, how we remove, or even meddle with foundations. When the Act of Toleration paſſed, the generality of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, profeſſed to agree with the Church in points of doctrin, and to differ only in matters of diſciplin; ſo that being releaſed from the three articles, and part of a fourth, relating to church government, they were willing and ready to ſubſcribe to all the reſt. But that part of the Diſſenting Miniſters, for my Lords, they are only a part of the Diſſenting Miniſters, who are the promoters of this bill, profeſs to differ from us in doctrin, as well as in diſciplin, and declare that "they "cannot in conſcience ſubſcribe to ſeveral of the articles, becauſe they ap- "prehend them to be contrary to the ſenſe of ſcripture." If they had ſaid, that they could not be proved from ſcripture, or that they were not agreeable to ſcripture; that would have been more than they could have made out by any fair argument: But to ſay that they are *contrary* to ſcripture, is a falſe and ſlanderous aſſertion, and what no one of them ever has proved, or can prove. It is to be wiſhed, that they had ſpecified thoſe particular articles, which they apprehend to be contrary to ſcripture; but ſuch general aſſertions without the leaſt offer of proof deſerve no kind of regard. All

that

that they really prove is, that there is too much ground and reaſon for the general ſurmiſes and ſuſpicions, that the promoters of this bill are of I know not what religion; they are no longer Preſbyterians, but ſome perhaps Anabaptiſts, ſome Independents, ſome Arians, ſome Socinians, and ſome even Deiſts; horrid things to hear of thoſe who pretend to be miniſters of the goſpel, but more horrid if true.

No wonder that ſuch men wiſh to be freed from all the reſtraints of law: But what need was there, at this time eſpecially, in this general relaxation of all order and diſciplin, to deſire to be releaſed from a ſubſcription, which few or none of them have ever made? Eaſy and moderate as the terms of toleration are, yet ſcarce any of them have complied with them; ſcarce any of them have ſubſcribed to the articles, as they themſelves admit; ſcarce any of them have taken the oaths and made the declaration againſt Popery at the Quarter Seſſions. And was there any reaſon for any jealouſy of the ſuperior powers? Who was likely to call upon them to do their duty? And why then interrupt the harmony that was growing between the Church and Diſſenters, why not reſt contented with the general connivence, without troubling the legiſlature to juſtify their neglects and omiſſions, and to authorize their breaches of one law by the paſſing of another? They firſt break the law, and then, not content with impunity, muſt have a diſpenſation for ſo doing.

But it was terrible to have the ſword hanging over their heads. They are for a free toleration, and full liberty of conſcience. But if they are ſuch friends to free toleration and full liberty of conſcience, why will they not allow it to others, as well as require it for themſelves? We know very well what an intolerant ſpirit poſſeſſed the Diſſenters in the laſt century, while they had the power in their hands. We know it at this day, by their oppoſition to the eſtabliſhing of a Biſhop in America. And where is the reaſon, or juſtice, or equity, that they ſhould expect the eſtabliſhed Church to grant the ſame indulgence to them, which they deny to the eſtabliſhed Church?

Liberty is indeed a glorious thing: But liberty in the Church is now growing like liberty in the ſtate. It is liberty run mad. It is licentiouſneſs, and not true liberty. Lawleſs liberty is the curſe of the land. Liberty and law muſt ſtand or fall together.

I profeſs

APPENDIX.

I profeſs myſelf, my Lords, as hearty a friend to freedom of inquiry and liberty of conſcience as any Diſſenter of them all. But liberty of thinking and judging is one thing, and liberty of public preaching is another. The one nothing ought, and indeed nothing can hinder or controll. Thought is free, but public preaching ſhould be laid under ſome reſtraints and regulations. But it may be ſaid, why not allow liberty of preaching, as well as liberty of printing? Becauſe the liberty of the preſs is not attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences. Men are more eaſily inflamed by preaching than by reading. Readers are commonly better judges than hearers. What is printed is known, and may alſo readily be anſwered: But men may preach more than they dare to print, and more eaſily infuſe their poiſon, when there is no antidote at hand to prevent the bad effects of it. There are laws, if they were put into execution, to regulate the liberty of the preſs; and much more there ſhould be laws to regulate the liberty of preaching. And no wiſe ſtate would ſuffer it without ſome kind of ſecurity given that it ſhall not diſturb the public peace. No wiſe ſtate would allow a full toleration to any religion, without knowing in the leaſt what that religion is.

Now what ſecurity do theſe men offer to give that their doctrins ſhall not be ſubverſive of public peace? What declaration or confeſſion do they propoſe to make of their faith and religion? Why, they will take the oaths and make the declaration, as required in the act of toleration: But as they have neglected theſe things for the time paſt, how can we be ſure that they will obſerve them better for the time to come? Inſtead of ſubſcription to the articles, they will alſo ſubſcribe "a declaration of their believing that "the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament contain a revelation of "the mind and will of God, and of receiving them as the rule of their faith "and practice." And is this all? Can any thing be conceived or expreſſed in lower and meaner terms than this? Is this a declaration becoming Proteſtant Miniſters? Would not any Papiſt, would not any Fanatic, would not any Heretic freely make the ſame declaration? This falls infinitely ſhort of the Quaker's declaration, of their believing the doctrin of the bleſſed Trinity, and the divine inſpiration of the holy ſcriptures.

If they had offered, tho' they could not ſubſcribe to the articles as articles of *Truth*, yet to ſubſcribe to them as articles of *Peace*, their plea might have been admitted. Or if they had pointed out what articles they had

real objections to, and would have ſubſcribed to the reſt, they might have been excuſed from ſubſcribing to thoſe articles, as the Anabaptiſts are from ſubſcribing to that concerning infant baptiſm, as well as the other three and part of the fourth in common with other Diſſenters. Or if they had propoſed to make any declaration or confeſſion of their faith and religion worthy of Proteſtants or even worthy of Chriſtians, it might have been ſubſtituted in lieu of ſubſcription; but this is really nothing at all. For all the different ſects of Chriſtians profeſs to derive their tenets from the Scriptures, and there is no ſect even of half Chriſtians that would not make at leaſt this declaration: And how then can we judge of their tenets and principles? And will you, my Lords, give a kind of eſtabliſhment to you know not what, and to you know not whom? And if you ſhould, would they remain contented with it? No, my Lords, they would riſe in their demands, and you would be peſtered with applications from every quarter. There are other things beſides *the grave*, that are always crying, *Give, give, and are never ſatisfied.*

It is a matter, my Lords, that concerns the State full as much as it does the Church. There are ſome ſectaries, who hold principles inconſiſtent with all civil government, and indeed with all civil Society: And how do you know but ſome of theſe men may be of that ſort, and will your Lordſhips grant your licence to any ſuch teachers and preachers! Indeed there is nothing then that may not be publicly taught as it were by authority: and what an influence muſt it have, and how muſt it perplex and diſtract the minds of the people? There would be nothing then that can hinder the doctrins of popery from being preached as freely as any other. There would be nothing then that can hinder the revival of all the fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, of all the hereſies and blaſphemies, which were broached in the laſt century, and terminated in the ruin of the conſtitution both in Church and State.

There is then no plea nor pretence for this bill; for I do not find that it would be agreeable to the generality of Proteſtant Diſſenters. I ſaid before, that they were only a *part* of the Diſſenting miniſters, who were the promoters of this bill. For I have been informed, and believe my information may be depended upon, that it is a meaſure in which they are far from being all agreed, that it is carried on chiefly by ſome miniſters in and about London, without the concurrence and conſent of many in the country, and indeed

indeed without the approbation of the graver part of Diſſenters, the Preſbyterians eſpecially. It is therefore improperly intitled a Bill for the Relief of Proteſtant Diſſenters. It is more juſtly and truly a bill for the public preaching of Arianiſm, Socinianiſm, any ſchiſm, any hereſy, that any fanatic or incendiary may advance.

Such is the nature of this bill, bad in itſelf, worſe in its conſequences. Let what will be ſaid, it is contrary to all the maxims of ſound and good policy for any government to grant to any men or ſett of men the free toleration and public profeſſion of their religion, without their firſt declaring what their religion is, ſo that it may be known to be conſiſtent with the ſafety of the State. But perhaps their principles are ſo very different that they *cannot*, or perhaps they are of ſuch a nature that they really *dare not* declare them. I am afraid, my Lords, and there is too great reaſon to fear, that the true ſecret, the true end and deſign of this bill, as well as of the petition from ſome of the clergy againſt ſubſcription, is that being no longer under any reſtraint of the articles, they may more freely preach their Socinian doctrins, deny the ever bleſſed Trinity, aſſert Jeſus Chriſt to be little more than a mere man, and take away all the merits of his ſacrifice and atonement. In the Act of Toleration itſelf there is a clauſe that the benefits of that act ſhall not extend to "any perſon that ſhall deny in his "preaching or writing the doctrin of the bleſſed Trinity, as it is declared "in the Articles of Religion." There is another Act of the 9, 10 *Will.* III. for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs, which ſubjects to the ſevereſt penalties "any perſon or perſons who ſhall by writ-"ing, printing, teaching or adviſed ſpeaking, deny any one of the per-"ſons in the Holy Trinity to be God." And God forbid, my Lords, that this Houſe ſhould ever, contrary to ſo many acts of Parlament, contrary to the whole tenor of the Goſpel, give their ſanction and authority to men, who not *privily* as the Apoſtle ſays, but publicly *bring in damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them.*

APPENDIX.

No. II.

The SENTIMENTS of a MODERATE MAN concerning TOLERATION. 1779.

TOLERATION is now the great ſubject of debate both in parlament and out of it. Neither papiſts nor diſſenters allow any kind of toleration. Wherever they have the power in their own hands, they deny it to all others; and yet expect it themſelves from whatever government they may live under. Hiſtory is full of their perſecutions and oppreſſions of men of different perſuaſions: and in our own annals, the civil war and uſurpation in the laſt century, and the reign of Queen Mary in the century preceding, exhibit but too flagrant proofs on the one ſide and on the other. Popery, it is to be hoped, is growing milder, here at leaſt in England: but the ſpirit of intolerance in the diſſenters appears as ſtrong as ever, from the late inſtances in America, of their ſeiſing the effects and impriſoning and baniſhing the perſons of the clergy and friends of the church of England; and from the later inſtances in Scotland, of the violences committed againſt the papiſts, plundering their houſes, deſtroying their goods, and pulling down or ſetting fire to their places of worſhip; at the ſame time that their brethren are applying to parlament for an unlimited toleration; ſo little do theſe men conſider, and ſo contrary do they act to the golden rule of the goſpel, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them; for this is the law and the prophets.*

A moderate man would avoid all extremes, and would allow a free and open toleration to all the different ſects of religion, but under certain limitations and reſtrictions for the ſafety and ſecurity of the government eſtabliſhed by law. An apoſtle thought fit to declare, *Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy*; and what preſumption is it then for any perſon uninſpired to pretend to ſuch an authority, and to arrogate and uſurp a power which the apoſtles diſclaimed? We neither have nor can have ſuch a power, but we may ſtill be *helpers of joy* one to another.

APPENDIX.

Faith cannot be controlled by human laws, thought and conſcience will ſtill be free; but words and actions are liable to the cogniſance, and ſubject to the juriſdiction of men. A moderate man therefore, as I was ſaying, would not refuſe what he cannot hinder, a free exerciſe of faith; but yet would allow it with ſuch reſtraints upon public preaching, as may be neceſſary for the peace and ſafety of the ſtate.

Every man ſhould be at liberty within his own houſe and within his own family, without the admiſſion of others, to exerciſe any religion that he pleaſes. When a ſect is grown ſo numerous as to want a place of public worſhip, they ſhould apply to the magiſtrates of the place, or to the juſtices of the peace at their quarter ſeſſions, for a licence to build ſuch a chapel or meeting houſe, paying a certain ſum for the ſame, and at the ſame time declaring of what religion they are, and by what denomination they would be diſtinguiſhed; all which particulars ſhould be entered in a public regiſter book kept for that purpoſe. When the building is finiſhed, and before it is opened for public ſervice, the teacher or teachers ſhould apply in the ſame manner for a licence to officiate therein, paying a certain ſum for the ſame: and as the papiſts, in order to obtain the indulgence which has been granted to them, have been obliged to renounce and abjure ſome of their religious and political principles; ſo every diſſenting miniſter, beſides taking the cuſtomary oaths, ſhould be obliged to write with his own hand in the regiſter book, and to ſubſcribe with his own name ſome ſuch declaration as the following: "I A B, now to be admitted to perform duty in ſuch a "place, do here, in the preſence of Almighty God, and before this wor-"ſhipful aſſembly, without any evaſion, equivocation, or mental reſerva-"tion whatever, renounce and abjure the principles of the Antinomians, "Levelers, Fifth-monarchy men, Republicans, and all others hoſtile to "the preſent government; and in grateful return for the free exerciſe of "my own religion, I ſolemnly promiſe and engage never upon any account "to revile or diſturb the religion eſtabliſhed by law. So help me God." At the ſame time the proprietors and owners of the building ſhould likewiſe attend, and be bound in a bond with their miniſters for their quiet and orderly behaviour in compliance with theſe conditions, under the penalties following: For the firſt offenſe or breach of oath, proved by the oaths of two credible witneſſes, they ſhould forfeit 50l. one half to be paid to the informers, and the other half to the poor of the pariſh: for the ſecond

offenſe

offenſe they ſhould forfeit 100l. to be divided in the ſame manner, and the miniſter ſhould be ſilenced for a whole twelvemonth: for the third offenſe the miniſter ſhould be deprived of his licence and ſilenced for life, and the building ſhould be ſhut up, or converted to ſome other uſe. And if any one at any time ſhould preſume to preach without a licence, he ſhould forfeit 100l. each time, and be committed to priſon till the money ſhall be paid.

The great object is the ſecurity of the preſent government, with indulgence to tender conſciences for the free enjoyment of their religion, neither diſturbed themſelves, nor diſturbing others. As the church ſhould not have it in their power to harraſs and oppreſs other ſects, ſo neither ſhould other ſects be permitted to revile and moleſt the church; but exerciſe mutual forbearance and charity. Government ought to defend and protect itſelf, as well as its ſubjects: and nothing certainly is more fitting and reaſonable, than that if any are ſuſpected of bearing enmity to it, at the ſame time that they enjoy protection, they ſhould give ſecurity for their good behaviour. A Republican is without doubt as great an enemy to the preſent government as a Jacobite ever was. Nay he is a much greater, for the Jacobite wiſhed only for changing the governors, the Republican is for ſubverting the whole form of government: And if an oath of abjuration was thought proper to ſecure us againſt the one, it is at leaſt as neceſſary to ſecure us againſt the other, who is now the greater and more dangerous enemy of the two. It would be the higth of abſurdity and madneſs, to licence as public preachers any of thoſe rank Republicans, who declare publicly for no King, no Biſhop, no Houſe of Lords, who maintain that all human legiſlation is oppreſſive to conſcience, that every one is his own governor and legiſlator, and thus are not only profeſſed enemies to the Engliſh conſtitution both in church and ſtate, but alſo propagate principles, which, if purſued to their conſequences, would be deſtructive of all civil government and ſociety.

No. III.

A LETTER to the NEW PARLAMENT, with HINTS of ſome Regulations which the Nation hopes and expects from them.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

YOU are called at a very important criſis to a very important truſt. We are become a moſt degenerate and wicked people. The judgments of God are hanging over the nation; and it is your duty ſeriouſly to conſider how they may be prevented and averted. It is not talking and haranguing, but ſetting to work in earneſt, that will ever produce any good. The church and the ſtate, religion and morality, law and liberty, all look up to you, as their guardians and protectors.

I. The firſt ſubject that naturally offers itſelf to conſideration is that of the late riots in London. Such a ſcene was never before exhibited in this country, nor I believe in any other; and the nation has an entire confidence in your wiſdom, that you will take ſome effectual meaſures to prevent any return of the like dreadful calamities. The laws relating to riots were little underſtood, till they were explained upon this occaſion with great ability by Lord Mansfield. But they ſhould be made ſo plain, that there can be no doubt about them; and they ſhould alſo be ſtrengthened and enforced by new laws and penalties, or things will daily grow worſe and worſe, and we ſhall fall a prey to a licentious and unruly mob. If the parlament will not interpoſe, the mob will aſſuredly govern. The evil ſpirit is got among them, and you only can lay it, and you muſt lay it, or will yourſelves be the firſt ſufferers. It has been obſerved, that in moſt other countries injuſtice and oppreſſion begin from above, and the people are trampled on by their ſuperiors, but in England on the contrary the abuſe begins from the bottom, and riſes higher and higher; there prevailing among us univerſally ſuch an impatience of all rule and authority, ſuch a diſpoſition to moleſt and pull down thoſe above us, as is not to be found in any other nation. I wiſh there may not be too much truth in this obſervation.

obſervation. Lawleſs liberty is the demon that poſſeſſes our people. Religion and morality have ſcarce any influence. Honeſty and fidelity are rare among them. They deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities. They are ripe for any miſchief, and you ſhould not only reſtrain them by good laws, but alſo ſet them a better example. Let goodneſs deſcend from heaven above, and not wickedneſs riſe over all, as from hell beneath.

II. Another evil, that requires an immediate remedy, is growing apace by the means of aſſociations and committees of correſpondence in different counties. Theſe under the pretence of preſerving are really undermining our happy conſtitution, by ſetting up a new unauthorized *fourth* eſtate to overawe and overrule the *three* old eſtabliſhed eſtates of the realm, King Lords and Commons. Such as theſe were the beginnings of the civil commotions in the laſt century, but with this difference, that then the parlament and people were againſt the king, whereas now the people are againſt both king and parlament. The cauſe being ſo much worſe, we cannot look for any better effects than they experienced at that time, anarchy and confuſion in the beginning, and in the end a military government and tyrannical uſurpation, till the people wearied with continual changes, and oppreſſed beyond all patience, were happy at any rate to return to their old conſtitution. The people cannot now complain of a corrupt parlament, for they have juſt made choice of their own repreſentatives. If the parlament is corrupt, the whole nation is corrupt, and the aſſociators as corrupt and as much under undue influence as any others. The old Barons were unwilling to have the laws of England changed, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; but theſe men are for changing both the laws and the law-givers, and erect their own tribunal over all. Aſſert therefore your dignity, maintain your authority, enforce the execution of old laws, and enact new laws for new occaſions. Without your exertions there will be an utter end of all law and of all government. All ſuch aſſociations ſhould be ſuppreſſed and ſtrictly forbidden in future, and all ſuch committee men ſhould be puniſhed as traitors to their king and country, and enemies to the beſt conſtitution of government in the whole world.

III. It is the undoubted right of Britiſh ſubjects to petition the King and either Houſe of Parlament, but ſurely this liberty has been carried too far in ſeveral inſtances of late years. Some regulations ſhould be made both as to the matter of the petitions, and as to the manner of preſenting them.

For

For how often have the Corporation of London, for inſtance, preſented petitions about matters, whereof they were by no means competent judges, and wherein they had little or no concern? Nay, after acts have paſſed both Houſes, have they not ſtill petitioned againſt them, as if it was wiſe or prudent in His Majeſty to pay greater attention to the Common Council of London than to the Great Council of the nation aſſembled in Parlament? Petitions ſhould alſo be preſented as petitions, and not be carried up by ſuch numbers, as if they meant to obtain them by force and violence. The freedom of debate is not to be impeded or incroached upon by *ſturdy beggars*. If I miſtake not, the number of petitioners is by law limited to *twelve*, and if they exceed that number, as they have of late by hundreds and by thouſands, all ſuch petitions ſhould for that very reaſon, if for nothing elſe, be rejected. Much more ſhould they be rejected, when the perſons, who preſent and ſupport them, threaten recourſe to arms; and whoever they are who hold ſuch language, they ſhould be confined and proſecuted as the ſtirrers up of rebellion.

IV. With regard to the Papiſts it was for the reaſon juſt mentioned and other good reaſons, that the late act made for their relief was not repealed at the clamors of a riotous multitude; but though it would have been improper to give way at that time, yet it may be prudent to reſume the ſubject, and to lay ſome foundation for our future peace and ſecurity. In my humble opinion no better courſe can be taken, than to deſire my Lords the Biſhops to reduce all the different acts relating to popery into one ſingle bill. They may be preſumed to be the beſt judges in theſe matters, but however ſome hints may not improperly be ſuggeſted for their conſideration. I take it for granted that they and all good chriſtians are for allowing an univerſal toleration to the different ſects of religion, as far as it may conſiſt with the ſafety of the ſtate: and therefore that the papiſts are to be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion upon certain conditions. An univerſal toleration is allowed in ſome foreign ſtates without any diſturbance of the public peace; and ſhall We be more narrow-minded, or will it produce worſe effects here at home? Such bigotted papiſts as the Houſe of Auſtria have granted the free exerciſe of their religion to the proteſtants; and ſhall any proteſtants deny it to the papiſts, and return evil for their good will? If not influenced by theſe examples, yet convinced by the reaſon of the thing, and in obedience to the goſpel rule of doing unto others as we

would they ſhould do unto ourſelves, we ſhould allow this liberty to the papiſts, and the terms and conditions may be ſome ſuch as the following; all papiſts to take the oaths preſcribed in the late act, and to give good ſecurity to government for their peaceable behaviour; all their places of public worſhip to be licenſed and regiſtered, and none others to be ſuffered; their prieſts to wear no kind of diſguiſe, but to be diſtinguiſhed by their habit; their prieſts alſo to be licenſed and regiſtered, and none others to dare to officiate; all their rites and ceremonies to be performed within doors, no proceſſions, no carrying of the hoſt in the ſtreets; all ſchools and ſeminaries for the education of their children to be licenſed and regiſtered, and none others allowed; their teachers likewiſe, whether male or female, to be licenſed or regiſtered, and none elſe to preſume to teach; no papiſts to ſend their children abroad for education; no proteſtants to ſend their children for education to any popiſh ſchool or academy; no papiſts to proſelyte or endevor to proſelyte any proteſtant, content to enjoy their own religion and not to moleſt others; all livings in the patronage of papiſts, not to be conſigned over to others, but without reſerve to be diſpoſed of by the two univerſities; theſe licenſes to be granted by the juſtices at their quarter ſeſſions, and a certain ſum to be paid for each licenſe; theſe regiſters to be faithfully kept by the juſtices, ready to be produced and laid before the King and Council and Parlament, as often as they ſhall be required, and for the inſpection of any perſon paying a ſmall fee; all theſe articles and conditions to be ſtrictly obſerved, and the leaſt violation of any of them to be ſubject to ſuch penalties, as to the wiſdom of Parlament may ſeem expedient, and ſufficiently enforce due obedience to theſe and other additional articles, which may be thought for the good and ſafety of the nation.

V. With regard to the Diſſenters, I ſpeak not of all but of many, and am ſorry to ſay but the truth compels me, that they are no leſs enemies to the conſtitution in church and ſtate than the Papiſts themſelves. Nay, it may be queſtioned whether the danger is not greater at preſent ariſing from the Diſſenters than from the Papiſts. The number of the Papiſts too appears to be decreaſing, but that of the Diſſenters and Republicans is rather increaſing; at leaſt they ſhow themſelves more, and more openly avow their principles. The Papiſts are no declared enemies to royalty and nobility, but the Diſſenters are for leveling all degrees, and have laid the crown

and

and nobility all in the duſt. When Jacobitiſm ſubſiſted, the Papiſts were for changing the family that governed, but the Diſſenters are for ſubverting the whole form and order of government. Since Jacobitiſm became in a manner extinct, the Papiſts have generally behaved as quiet and peaceable ſubjects; they have not raiſed ſuch diſturbances and oppoſition to government as the Diſſenters have. The Papiſts would change the religion of the country, but the Diſſenters both the religion and government, the civil as well as eccleſiaſtical polity. No Papiſts have taught and propagated more pernicious political doctrins than ſome favorite authors among the Diſſenters, who would reduce all ranks and orders to an equality, would conſtitute every man his own legiſlator and governor, and transform a civilized nation into worſe than Hottentots and Savages, without any law or government whatever. The Diſſenters nearly reſemble the Papiſts in their very worſt features, intolerance and perſecution of all others of different perſuaſions: but the ſpirit ſeems to be growing every where milder among the Papiſts, here it is grown fiercer and more furious among the Diſſenters, as appears from the violent inſurrections and horrid devaſtations committed laſt year in Scotland, and this year in England. But though they deny liberty of conſcience to others, they expect it to be conceded to themſelves; and let it be conceded, but it ſhould be upon ſuch terms and conditions as to the Papiſts. Some reſtrictions and limitations of this kind are every day growing more and more neceſſary, no proper teſts having yet been required or given, and that forbearance and indulgence much abuſed, liberty turned into licentiouſneſs, and religion into faction. Wherefore before they obtain their licenſes from the magiſtrates, they ſhould deliver in a ſummary of their doctrins, and alſo declare by what name they would be diſtinguiſhed, for there are ſo many hydra heads among them, that it is not eaſy to know what religion they are of, or whether of any; whereas the Papiſts are much more uniform, and better agree in one and the ſame faith, in one and the ſame profeſſion. As the Papiſts, in order to obtain the privileges granted by the late act, are obliged publicly in court to renounce and abjure ſome of their religious and political principles; ſo the Diſſenters ſhould in like manner be required to make a public and ſolemn renunciation and abjuration of their republican leveling principles. For being as much enemies to the ſtate as the others, they ſhould equally be bound to take oaths, and to give good and ſufficient ſecurities to govern-

ment for their orderly and peaceable behaviour, their obedience to the laws, and ſubmiſſion to the powers lawfully eſtabliſhed.

VI. Another thing particularly incumbent upon you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, is to take into conſideration the qualifications of the members. The qualifications are rated too low for the preſent times; and yet low as they are, how many evade and fall ſhort even of theſe qualifications? An attempt was made in the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt parlament to raiſe them; the public highly approved it, and were much diſappointed that ſo reaſonable a deſign did not ſucceed. The qualifications ſhould not only be raiſed from 300 to 600l. a year at leaſt for the repreſentative of a city or borough, and from 600 to 1000l. a year at leaſt for the repreſentative of a county; but as I think it was propoſed in the ſaid bill, they ſhould alſo be clearly proved and aſcertained at the beginning of every ſeſſion without ſubterfuge and evaſion. Any member having mortgaged or ſpent his eſtate, ſhould alſo forfeit his ſeat, and another be choſen in his room. Something of the ſame kind ſhould now be reſumed for the better ſupport of the weight and importance, of the honor and dignity of the Houſe, which have ſunk in general eſtimation, and are ſinking lower every day for want of ſome ſuch regulations. There have been times when Members have been returned, not only for boroughs, but for cities, and even for counties, who were men of deſperate fortunes, and owed more thouſands, than they were able to pay: And how was it poſſible for ſuch men to be properly qualified? and with what face could they ſwear to their qualifications? and if Members ſwear falſely at firſt ſetting out, what truſt or confidence can be placed in them afterwards? In the preſent Houſe of Commons it is to be hoped that there are no ſuch perjured wretches, as are indebted more than they are worth, and having ruined their own fortunes, ſubſiſt by gaming and defrauding others, infamous as men, more infamous as members of parlament. It would likewiſe add to the dignity and importance of the city of London, if every Alderman and Common Councilman was obliged to have ſuch or ſuch a qualification, without which he could not be choſen or continue in the corporation. The honors and offices of the city would not then have fallen into ſuch diſgrace, as to be occupied by ſo many low tradeſmen and bankrupts, and to be refuſed by ſo many wealthy merchants, chooſing to pay a conſiderable fine rather than engage in ſuch ſervices with ſuch company. It is commonly ſaid that

Miniſters

Miniſters of ſtate are againſt making any ſuch regulations, it better ſuiting their purpoſe to keep people poor in order to keep them dependent. But theſe are narrow paltry politics far below any wiſe or good Miniſter. At this preſent-time ſome of the moſt neceſſitous perſons in the kingdom are the moſt clamorous in oppoſition: and generally they are the moſt troubleſome, whether in place or out of place, in this caſe continually oppoſing, and in that continually craving to have their exigencies ſupplied.

VIII. Some conſideration ſhould alſo be had of the qualifications of the electors as well as of the elected; and theſe perhaps ſhould be raiſed as well as the others. For when forty ſhillings a year was the ſum fixed for the qualification of a freeholder, money was then of much higher valuation than now; and ſhould not that ſum therefore receive an augmentation agreeable to the preſent ſtandard? But it is urged, that we have by no means a juſt and equal repreſentation, that taxation follows repreſentation, that none ought to be taxed who are not repreſented, and conſequently that every man is intitled to a vote, every man contributing one way or other to the payment of taxes and to the ſupport of government. But by the ſame rule women ſhould have votes as well as men, minors as well as grown perſons; and what a dreadful ſcene of riot and confuſion would be here? and how could ſuch elections, if they were poſſible, be made practicable? The Romans ſoon found the inconvenience of ſuch popular aſſemblies, and therefore Servius Tullius, one of the beſt and wiſeſt of their kings, divided the tribes into centuries, by which means the people were diſtinguiſhed into higher and lower claſſes according to their condition and circumſtances, and the higher obtained a greater number of votes, and prevailed over the lower by their wealth and importance. Your wiſdom ſhould adopt ſome ſimilar plan for the benefit of this country. For if it is not a juſt and equal repreſentation, becauſe all are not repreſented; neither is it a juſt and equal repreſentation, when a man of 40s. a year, and another of 400l. a year, and a third of 4000l. a year are all upon the ſame footing, and have each only a ſingle vote. The greater the property, the greater in proportion ſhould be the number of votes. It cannot be fitting or proper, that the needy and neceſſitous ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges and prerogatives as the rich and opulent. Men are uſually governed by their intereſt, and who are the moſt deeply intereſted in the peace and welfare of their country, who are the moſt likely to promote, and who to diſturb it, gentlemen

men of conſiderable eſtates and property, or low vulgar people, who have little or nothing to loſe, and may gain ſomething by the general wreck and ruin? The pooreſt boroughs are always the moſt corrupt and venal; and generally ſpeaking, the more numerous the electors, the worſe the election, and the moſt worthleſs and improper perſons are elected, as it might be proved in ſeveral inſtances. In all ſocieties there are and muſt be different ranks and orders of men, and if high and low rich and poor were all to be put upon the ſame level, no ſociety could ſubſiſt. The power and influence of the populace have increaſed, and are increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed rather than inlarged.

VIII. It is wiſely ordered by our laws, that ſoldiers ſhould be removed from the places where they are quartered during the time of holding elections there, that the polling may be free and open and carried on without diſturbance or interruption. But is there not the ſame or a greater neceſſity for removing the mobility to a diſtance at ſuch times from ſuch places? For inſtances are much more numerous of the mobility's than of the ſoldier's interfering and influencing elections. A general election never paſſes without ſome riots and tumults. The candidates themſelves have often been inſulted and ill-treated. Their friends in going to vote have run the hazard of their lives. There have been broken heads and broken bones without number, and ſometimes murder committed. And where the rioters have not proceeded to theſe outrages, yet many perſons have been hindered and deterred from voting by the vaſt crouds aſſembled, by the groans and hiſſes and exclamations of the oppoſite party; and by theſe means the moſt unworthy candidates have frequently been returned. Doth it not therefore become the wiſdom and the juſtice of Parlament to promote a remedy for theſe evils, and to ſecure the peace and freedom of elections, by enacting a law that only voters ſhall have acceſs to the huſtings or place of election, that the mobility ſhall be removed to a certain diſtance, and if any of them approach nearer, they ſhall be taken up as vagrants, be committed to the houſe of correction, and ſuffer a ſevere flogging. Even thoſe who have votes, after they have given them, ſhould preſently retire, not ſtaying longer on the place than their buſineſs requires, by which means free ingreſs and egreſs would be better preſerved, and the poll be much ſooner taken and cloſed for the benefit and eaſe of all parties. If either of the candidates ſhould call in and encourage a mob, let his election be made void, and himſelf

ſelf be rendered incapable of ever being choſen again. All elections, even the moſt populous, ſhould be limited in time, as in the city of London they are confined to a week, and not be protracted to I know not what length by the idle harangues of lawyers and attorneys more to the expenſe than to the advantage of any of the candidates. Your wiſdom may propoſe better remedies, but ſome proviſions of this ſort ſhould be made, or thoſe who have no votes will in effect become our electors. Good men are of themſelves too indolent and inactive, and if added to their natural love of eaſe, difficulties and diſcouragements are thrown in their way, wickedneſs that ſeiſes all advantages will be ſure to prevail and proſper.

IX. How the ſupplies are to be raiſed for the next and the following years, and what funds are to be provided for the payment of intereſt, are matters which ſo far ſurpaſs my comprehenſion, that I may expreſs myſelf improperly with relation to them. It would perhaps be the moſt prudent method to raiſe the ſupplies of the year within the year, by a poll-tax according to mens rank and value, and thereby to ſtop the farther increaſe of the national debt, and prevent an univerſal bankruptcy. All ranks of men can find money for their private pleaſures, let them raiſe it to ſupply the public neceſſities, and to ſave themſelves and their country. One thing there is which, it is to be hoped, will not make a part of ways and means; and that is, depriving the Members of the privilege of franking. Some time ago you offered up ſome of your privileges at the ſhrine of juſtice, but you ſhould be cautious how you proceed farther in the ſum of ſubſtraction. The men of theſe times are too much actuated by a leveling principle. You ſhould rather oppoſe the ſpirit than comply with it. You ſhould be careful to keep up and maintain your honorable diſtinctions, and by no means deſcend from your dignity, and reduce yourſelves to the common level. And yet, I think, the liberty of franking is ſtill too much abuſed, and ſhould be confined and limited to the perſons of Peers and Members. It ſhould be allowed upon honor to their own individual uſe, and no way employed for the benefit of others. They ſhould direct only ſuch letters as are of their own writing or ſigning, and ſhould receive ſuch only as are addreſſed immediately to themſelves, without fraud and evaſion. All others under their covers ſhould be charged as double letters. If their honor will not reſtrain them, and there is reaſon to ſuſpect fraudulent practices, a diſcovery may eaſily be made at the poſt-office. By theſe means a conſi-

derable

derable addition would be made to the public revenue, and a proper diſtinction would be preſerved between different orders.

X. All theatres, and houſes, and gardens, and places of public entertainment, whether in town or country, in ſummer or winter, by day or night, are certainly proper ſubjects for taxation. In former times their number was inconſiderable, but of late years they have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that they may fitly be made to contribute to the ſupport of government. But the taxes ſhould not be ſuch as amount to a prohibition, for people muſt have their diverſions, or their minds will grow ſour and ſplenetic and ill affected. If ſome other places were rated in ſuch a manner as amounted almoſt to a prohibition, I conceive that more good than bad conſequences would enſue; I mean *the ſchools of oratory*, which are adverti ſed in the public papers for the diſcuſſion of ſuch and ſuch ſubjects every evening. Men aſſemble and harangue and argue in imitation of the debates in Parlament. Women alſo laying aſide the natural modeſty of the ſex hold forth among them. It is eaſy to gueſs what kind of women they are; and all whether men or women, who take ſuch delight in expoſing themſelves, ſhould be made to pay dearly for it. It would have a good effect either way, by curing them of their fooleries, or by turning them to the benefit of the public. No better fruits can poſſibly grow from ſuch meetings than nonſenſe and folly, the love of prating and diſputation, vanity and ſelf-conceit, arrogance and impudence, turbulence and faction. But there are ſtill worſe evils, *the promenades* and converſations and diſputations at Carliſle-Houſe and other public rooms on Sunday evenings, ſo contrary to the law and cuſtom of our country, and ſo very offenſive to all religious good chriſtians. The reaſonable ſervice of the church is neglected in the day, and money is paid for admiſſion into theſe places in the evening. I have heard that application was made to Sir John Fielding to ſuppreſs theſe meetings, and he ſaid that there was indeed an expreſs law againſt them made in the reign of Charles the IId.; but as it had never yet been carried, he was afraid to carry it into execution, as it had never been carried into execution, we may conclude that there was never the like occaſion for it. If therefore you have any love and regard for God and religion, ſtrengthen the hands of juſtice, and under ſevere penalties * totally prohi-

* This propoſal, has ſince paſſed into a law, and the proprietors of Carliſle Houſe had the impudence to make application to Parlament for the reimburſement of their expenſes.

bit

bit ſuch impious meetings. Men who have it in their power to ſuppreſs evils, and do it not, may be ſaid in ſome meaſure to encourage them.

XI. No juſter or fairer improvement can be made of the public revenue than by an equal land tax. The great argument urged againſt it is, that in ſome diſtant counties they bought their eſtates at a higher price in conſideration of the lowneſs of the land tax, and to raiſe theirs equal to the reſt would be a manifeſt hardſhip and injuſtice to ſuch purchaſers. It is allowed that a great national convenience can ſcarce ever be obtained without an inconvenience to ſome individuals. But for the prevention of a temporary miſchief to ſome part, is a perpetual heavy load to be laid on the greateſt part of the kingdom? Their eſtates have been eaſed, while all others have been burdened, for near a century; and after ſo long an indulgence is it fitting that this inequality ſhould be continued, and the evil entailed from generation to generation? Some inſtances of this inequality are made more conſpicuous by their contiguity. For where is the juſtice, or equity, that the city of London ſhould pay the full four ſhillings, all parts of Weſtminſter pay much leſs, and ſome parts of Weſtminſter and Marybone pay not ſo much as ſix-pence in the pound? Among the many petitions, which the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council men have preſented to the King and to both Houſes of Parlament, it is aſtoniſhing that they have never applied for a remedy in this caſe, which more nearly concerns them than any petition they ever preſented. What praiſes would be due to the Miniſters and the Parlament, who diſregarding the clamors of a few ſhould have the courage to render equal juſtice to all? Some individuals might complain, but the generality would applaud the meaſure, and their names and memories be tranſmitted with honor to the lateſt poſterity.

XII. Agriculture and population are great national objects, which particularly deſerve the favor and encouragement of the Parlament. For we want people, otherwiſe our fleets would ſooner be manned, our armies would more eaſily be raiſed and recruited, ſo many villages would not be deſerted, and ſo many waſte lands would not lie uncultivated. All obſtacles and difficulties in the way to marriage ſhould be removed, premiums ſhould be given to thoſe who marry, privileges and exemptions be granted to thoſe who have ſuch a number of children, and waſte lands apportioned for their cultivation, and the ſuſtenance of themſelves and their families. A heavy tax ſhould be laid upon all bachelors paſt ſuch an age, that they may con-

tribute one way or other to the good of the ſtate. Eſtates ſhould be divided into leſſer farms, and not one great farmer be ſuffered to rent (as it ſometimes is done) lands to the value of three thouſand pounds a year, the greater parts whereof are laid down in paſture and ſheep walks, which employ very few hands in compariſon with arable or corn fields. It is eaſier without doubt for landlords to receive their rents in one large ſum from a ſubſtantial farmer, than to collect it in different ſums from different quarters: but this method is very detrimental to the public, as it depopulates whole villages, and greatly enhances the price of the neceſſaries of life. At the leſſer farms they were were glad to ſell their poultry and eggs and other commodities to their neighbours; but the great farmers ſell nothing of this kind, conſume all in their own families, live as well or better than their landlords, at their clubs and meetings fix the market-prices, and after a plentiful harveſt, when they cannot make thoſe advantages, rather repine than rejoice at the bleſſings of providence.

XIII. Some attention ſhould alſo be paid to the ſtate and condition of ſervants. A good ſervant is a good treaſure, and ought accordingly to be duly kept and valued. Servants uſed formerly to live many years in a family, and afterwards received legacies and annuities, as a reward for their good and faithful ſervices. But now they delight in change, ſeldom ſtay long in a place, during that ſhort ſtay behave very ill, if you find fault with them give you warning, and perhaps leave you, or force you to turn them out, at the very inſtant, and the more they are in the wrong, the more paſſionate they are and provoking, as if their anger and impudence were a juſtification and not an aggravation of their crimes. What is the reaſon that Swiſs and other foreign ſervants are taken into ſo many families, but becauſe they are found more ſteddy and faithful, performing more, and expecting leſs? Aſk any friend, or any honeſt tradeſman with whom you deal, to recommend to you a good ſervant, their anſwer is, they know of none ſuch, they cannot pretend to recommend any. In almoſt every family you hear complaints of the badneſs and degeneracy of ſervants, of their want of truth and fidelity, of their ſaucineſs and inſolence, of their waſte and conſumption of their maſters property, inſomuch that many families are ruined, not more by any cauſe than by the number and negligence and frauds of their ſervants. If they had any principle, and were not blind to their own intereſt, they would pay regard to the favor

and

and eſteem of their maſters and miſtreſſes which may prove a permanent benefit for life, rather than unite in caballing and colluding with their fellow ſervants, who are here to day and gone to morrow. Several families, who have little elſe to diſturb and trouble them, are yet often plagued and diſtreſſed by the perverſeneſs and profligacy of their ſervants. When they leave your ſervice, they expect you to give them a good character, and you are tender and unwilling to deprive them of the means of getting their bread; at the ſame time that they return evil for good, ſay all they can to the prejudice of your place, and do all they can to hinder your getting another ſervant. Your own experience may convince you of the truth of all that is here ſaid: And is there to be no redreſs for theſe grievances, which are daily growing worſe and worſe, like all other irregularities which are not reſtrained in time? If maſters are guilty of ill uſage to their ſervants, they have their remedy at law: but what power has a good maſter over a bad ſervant, but to turn him away and take another perhaps as bad or worſe? Should not ſome law therefore be framed for the better regulation of ſervants, and for granting to maſters a juſt authority over them, that the head may no longer be as the tail, nor the tail prepoſterouſly as the head? Suppoſe a ſervant to behave very ill, and to be ſaucy and impudent upon the occaſion, which is often more than a ſuppoſition, ſhould not the maſter or miſtreſs be allowed to go with their complaint to the next Juſtice of peace; and if the complaint be found juſt and reaſonable, ſhould not the magiſtrate have the power directly to ſend the fellow for a ſoldier or a ſailor, and to commit the woman to hard labor in Bridewell, ſo that if they will not ſerve other ways, they may ſome way be made ſerviceable to the public? When ſervants refuſe or neglect to perform the work which they were hired and agreed to perform, it is ſurely juſt and fitting for the maſter to have the power of making a ſuitable deduction from their wages; and on complaint of either ſide let the appeal be made to the next magiſtrate. It may alſo deſerve conſideration, whether ſome corporal correction, ſo many blows, ſo many laſhes, may not be properly inflicted under certain regulations for certain faults, and have as good an effect in domeſtic as in military diſciplin? for there is no ſufficient reaſon why gentlemen ſoldiers ſhould be treated with greater harſhneſs and ſeverity than ſervants, good order being as neceſſary in one ſtate as in the other. The tax upon ſervants, inſtead of being paid by the maſters, ſhould have been laid

upon the ſervants themſelves, the more to humble and the better to retain them in due ſubjection; the maſters ſhould only ſee that the tax be regularly paid. I have heard it advanced in company, that a proper check and reſtaint upon the licentiouſneſs of ſervants would be a law obliging them to offer themſelves to no ſervice without a written character from their laſt place upon a five ſhillings ſtamp paid by themſelves, and no maſter to receive them without ſuch a certificate and atteſtation, the law inflicting due penalties in caſe of failure on either ſide. The little trouble attending it would amply be recompenſed by the good effects of it. Servants would then be more careful of their behaviour, they would not be ſo forward to change from place to place, their duty and their intereſt would be more united, the peace and quiet of families be better preſerved, and ſome addition made to the public revenue. Better heads may deviſe better laws: but ſome reform ſhould be made, or there is an utter end of all domeſtic peace and happineſs.

XIV. So many ſervants lying out of place, with other diſorderly perſons of both ſexes, fill all quarters with ſtreet walkers and ſhoplifters, robbers and ſwindlers, highwaymen and houſebreakers, incendiaries and murderers; inſomuch that in an evening people can ſcarce walk in the ſtreets, or travel on the roads, or keep open ſhop, or lie in their houſes with ſafety and ſecurity. Such a number of capital offenders neceſſarily occaſion many proſecutions, which being carried on at the expenſe of the proſecutors, they ſometimes grudge the money after their former loſs and injury, and ſuffer the priſoner to eſcape rather than be at the charge and trouble of appearing againſt him. Some ſocieties therefore have been inſtituted for defraying theſe expenſes out of a joint ſtock raiſed by ſubſcription for their mutual aid and benefit. But would it not be better, to eaſe thoſe who have already ſuſtained a loſs which perhaps they cannot well bear, and to lay the charge upon the county or city where the fact was committed? It is a common intereſt, and ſhould be made a common expenſe, to detect rogues, and bring them to condign puniſhment.

XV. Some ſins reign more at one time, ſome at another. Fornication, adultery, and a crime almoſt too horrid to name, never abounded ſo much in this country, as they have of late and do at preſent. They are either not puniſhed at all, or puniſhed ſo ſlightly as rather to give encouragement to them. Fornication is looked upon only as a petty offenſe if any; is ſo

far

far from being attended with any diſgrace, that it is made a matter of glory and triumph; and the gallant, who has ſeduced numbers, is not therefore the leſs, but perhaps the more eſteemed for it. Adultery is treated with much leſs diſregard and more indulgence than it deſerves; when bills have been propoſed to reſtrain the practice, they have not paſſed into laws; a divorce is perhaps obtained fraudulently by the colluſion of the parties; no damages are ſued for, and if given are not duly paid; a large ſettlement is made upon the woman, and ſometimes her whole fortune is reſtored as if nothing amiſs had been committed; and ſhe herſelf to her unſpeakable joy is releaſed from the man ſhe hates, and marries the man ſhe loves. Theſe things are rather an encouragement than any check to adultery, and it has increaſed and multiplied in proportion. The other crime is too ſhocking to claim any kind of favor, but either it eſcapes proſecution by the force of huſh-money, or is ſeldom proſecuted ſo far as to the pillory. In God's own law given to his own peculiar people, the man who deflowered a virgin was obliged to marry her; the adulterer and adultreſs were both to be ſtoned to death; and for the third unnatural ſin, it was not only forbidden on pain of death, but God was alſo pleaſed to deſtroy a whole people, and to lay a country waſte with the moſt horrible deſtruction, the viſible effects whereof are remaining even to this day. How far the judicial laws of the Jews are obligatory, and to be received in other nations, is a queſtion that I will leave to the determination of Divines; but ſurely they deſerve ſome regard and attention on account of their author and origin, and eſpecially when they alſo partake of a moral nature. The man who debauches a young woman, if he refuſes to marry her, ſhould at leaſt be bound to give her and ſecure to her by law a ſuitable maintenance for life. The adulterer and adultreſs, if not to ſuffer capital puniſhment, as is injoined by the laws of the Greeks and Romans and other antient nations as well as by the law of God, ſhould at leaſt be branded with infamy, ſhould be ſubjected to conſiderable loſſes and forfeitures, ſhould really pay large damages to the party injured, and themſelves be compelled to live, as a proper penance, ſeparately in obſcurity, poverty, and mortification. And the injured huſband, after the crime has been clearly proved in a court of judicature, beſides receiving ample damages, ſhould have alſo the benefit of a divorce without the charge and trouble of an act of parlament. When the huſband and the wife are both equally guilty, no divorce ſhould take place; the fitteſt puniſhment

niſhment for ſuch offenders is, that they ſhould live to plague each other. And without doubt or heſitation, death, and not the piilory, ſhould be the portion of thoſe who are convicted of the laſt abominable ſin, for which God himſelf made the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, as St. Peter ſays, *an enſample unto them that after ſhould live ungodly*, or as St. Jude expreſſes it, *an example, ſuffering the vengeance of eternal fire.*

XVI. There is another judicial law of the Jews, which might be well worth adopting in this and other countries, the *lex talionis* as it is called, *an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.* It may be thought that our Saviour has repealed this law by ſaying, *You have heard that it hath been ſaid An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I ſay unto you that ye reſiſt not evil.* But as our Saviour had immediately before been giving directions concerning oaths in private converſation, ſo here he is treating of private injuries and private retaliations; and we may obſerve that he does not ſay in this as in ſome other caſes, *You have heard that it was ſaid by them of old times*, but only *You have heard that it hath been ſaid*, as if this was a modern interpretation. Our Saviour in oppoſition to the falſe gloſſes of the ſcribes and to the common practice of the people, who took upon themſelves to revenge their own quarrels, and to retaliate the injuries they had received in the ſame meaſure and manner they had received them; in oppoſition, I ſay, to theſe notions and to this practice he charges his diſciples, that they ſhould not avenge their own cauſe, and return injury for injury, but ſhould rather lay aſide their animoſities, and exerciſe mutual forbearance and forgiveneſs. He corrects only the private abuſes of the law, he prohibits not the law itſelf, which was a public law, and deſigned for the public uſe and benefit of the ſtate under the judgment and authority of the magiſtrate; and as ſuch it may be fitly transferred to other ſtates and kingdoms. *Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla.* Our laws are very deficient in this reſpect. Crimes and puniſhments, which ſhould be made exactly equal, are without all juſt equality and proportion. Different crimes receive the ſame puniſhment, different degrees of the ſame crime are puniſhed in the ſame manner; whereas not only different puniſhments ſhould be appointed for different crimes, but alſo different degrees of puniſhment ſhould be apportioned to the different degrees of the ſame crime, the penalties eaſier or heavier according to the nature of the guilt. It has long been a wiſh that puniſhments were made equal to crimes.

—Adſit

——————Adſit
Regula peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas:

And nothing could better anſwer this purpoſe than the law of retaliation here recommend. A man is juſtly hanged for committing a murder, and tho' the circumſtances may vary, yet the puniſhment is all the ſame; but if he commits the murder with any additional circumſtances of cruelty, hanging is too good for him, he ſhould be put to death in the very ſame manner that he killed the other. If a man is not content with robbing, but ſhould beſides barbarouſly cut and mangle the perſon whom he has robbed; he ſhould not be puniſhed as a robber only, but ſhould be cut and mangled in the very ſame manner; as the ſcripture ſays, *burning for burning, wound for wound, ſtripe for ſtripe; as he hath done, ſo ſhall it be done unto him.* Nothing, I conceive, would be more effectual to put a ſtop to theſe frequent and ſtill increaſing barbarities and cruelties ſo contrary to the good nature and uſual temper of Engliſhmen.

XVII. The liberty of the preſs is one of the moſt glorious of our liberties, and the palladium of all the reſt; but the licentious abuſe of this liberty has of late prevailed to ſuch an enormous degree, that all parties and perſons in their turns complain of it, and wiſh it to be reſtrained and confined within proper bounds. Where to draw the line is the great difficulty, but one line, I think, might eaſily be drawn, and that is, draw the line round the King, let the perſon and character of the King be held ſacred and inviolable. Oppoſite parties may teaze and tear and worry one another to pieces as long as they pleaſe, and poſſibly there may be ſome truth and argument on both ſides. Private perſons, if injured, have legal remedies againſt libels, and may obtain damages from the libelers. We are all hurt and feel ourſelves, but who manifeſts any zeal or ſpirit in vindication of the majeſty and authority of the King? What indignities and inſults are daily offered to the beſt of men as well as the beſt of princes? What ſcurrilous and ſcandalous invectives in pamphlets and periodical papers! What indecent and ſhocking repreſentations in prints and drawings, and theſe publicly ſold and eagerly bought, to the ſhame and diſgrace of government, to the annoyance and offenſe of all good people among ourſelves, and to the reproach and infamy of our country among all foreign nations! Whatever may be pretended, libels againſt the King are nothing leſs than treaſonable, and ought to be puniſhed accordingly.

XVIII.

XVIII. Eccleſiaſtical power in former reigns was grown to ſuch an exorbitant highth, that it was neceſſary to lop the branches, and to cut it ſomewhat lower; but many have been of opinion that it was cut down rather too low. After the cauſe had ceaſed, the jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſted; church authority was almoſt as much dreaded in the hands of Proteſtants as of Papiſts, and by degrees has been ſo far reduced that little more than the ſhadow remains. Cenſures, penances, excommunications have loſt their force; the canons are become no more than *bruta fulmina*, and are no more regarded. If proceſſes are commenced in the ſpiritual court, they are ſoon removed by appeals to the civil courts, which are forward enough to graſp at the double advantage of inlarging their own juriſdiction and retrenching the others. I have been informed, and I believe upon good authority, that a Biſhop may call the prebendaries of his church, may call the rectors of his dioceſe, to reſidence: but the queſtion is, whether like Owen Glendower's ſpirits they will come at the call. He may exhort, he may admoniſh, but the ſtatutes give him not a power to compel. Vicars are ſworn to reſidence, unleſs diſpenſed with by their Ordinary; but yet I have heard of ſome, who notwithſtanding their oaths have refuſed to pay canonical obedience: and what ſtronger ties and reſtraints can be laid upon ſuch men? A clergyman has fought no leſs than three duels, and perhaps he may be cited into the Biſhop's court; but what farther ſteps are to be taken? what law is there for inflicting an exemplary and adequate puniſhment? It is proper therefore that ſomething ſhould be done to revive and reſtore eccleſiaſtical diſciplin, or at leaſt that the Biſhops ſhould not be blamed for not doing what it is not in their power to do. But the worſt of it is, that all temporal authority is ſinking as well as ſpiritual, and the ſtate is in danger of being in ſome meaſure involved in the ruins of the church.

XIX. A good Juſtice of peace is one of the moſt uſeful, and moſt valuable members of ſociety. No gentleman is a greater benefactor to his country, or more like a guardian angel to his neighbours all around him. To preſerve the reſpect due to their order, the Juſtices ſhould have received the benefits of a liberal education, ſhould have acquired a competent knowlege of the laws, ſhould poſſeſs a good eſtate of their own, and ſhould beſides have a handſome ſalary paid by the public, but yet without any additional burthen to the public, as many inſignificant and uſeleſs places being

ing aboliſhed as may eſtabliſh a ſufficient fund for theſe more juſt and neceſſary occaſions, that ſo being honored and rewarded for their ſervices, they may the better attend to the duties of their ſtation, without regarding the little fees and perquiſites of office: and if any of them ſhould happen to commit any error in practice, the courts in Weſtminſter Hall ſhould not be ſevere in their animadverſions upon them, but ſhould rather protect and favor them, as being their ſecondaries and coadjutors. Such men may be ſafely intruſted with farther diſcretionary powers, as to your wiſdom may ſeem fitting, and may likewiſe be authorized to proceed in a more ſummary way for the readier diſpatch of buſineſs, and for the ſpeedier execution of juſtice and judgment. They ſhould be impowered to act upon their own certain knowlege and diſcovery of any enormity, without waiting for the formalities of an information from any quarter. They ſhould be impowered to ſuppreſs or regulate, as they ſhall ſee moſt proper, the ſchools of oratory before mentioned, as being nurſeries of much idle diſcourſe at beſt, but more commonly of faction and ſedition. They ſhould be likewiſe impowered to ſend and ſeiſe and burn all lewd immodeſt prints, ſuch as are exhibited daily in the windows of print ſhops, attract multitudes together to look upon them, and tend greatly to corrupt the minds, and debauch the morals of the people. They ſhould be likewiſe impowered to diſperſe, by the civil officers if they can, but if they cannot by calling in the military, all unruly mobs aſſembled together for the purpoſes of bull and bear baitings, or boxing matches eſpecially on Sunday mornings, or drinking and revelings at unſeaſonable hours, or gaming and other unlawful diverſions. They ſhould likewiſe be impowered to prevent and put a ſtop to bonfires and illuminations, eſpecially ſuch as we have had of late for no cauſe or for unworthy cauſes; for they are a great inconvenience to many, a benefit to none but tallow-chandlers and glaziers, draw mobs together, produce riots and tumults, occaſion the breaking of windows, ſpread the danger and alarms of fire, and perhaps terminate in burning houſes and priſons, if our lords the mob ſhould again be ſo diſpoſed. All occaſions of bringing a concourſe of people together ſhould be carefully avoided, for which reaſon private executions are preferable to public ones. Public executions were deſigned for an example and to ſtrike terror, but inſtead of being any example or ſtriking any terror, they only make a holiday for the mob, no work is done, no good and much miſchief enſues,

they commit robberies even under the gallows, and return if poſſible more hardened and emboldened than they were before. Executions would have a more forcible effect, and ſtrike more terror into offenders, if they were performed in private, with only the friends and relations of the criminal admitted. It is to be wiſhed too that trials could be brought on ſooner, and convicts be ſooner executed. A remarkable inſtance there is at preſent of a young Baronet in Warwickſhire ſuppoſed to be poiſoned, and a perſon committed to priſon upon ſuſpicion. The fact was committed, I think, at the latter end of Auguſt or beginning of September, but the trial cannot come on till the Lent aſſiſes in the ſpring following. Speedy executions too, as in caſes of murder, would have ſome effect in deterring offenders. The reaſon of the delay is to give time for repentance; but God alone knows their hearts, and if the repentance be ſincere as the penitent thief's, it will avail as much in a day as in a fortnight. But the time allotted, I am afraid, is as often perverted to contrive the means for an eſcape, or poſſibly they may entertain hopes of being reſcued by force and violence, as the condemned felons were lately releaſed out of Newgate. Scarce any one was ever known to grow better, thouſands have grown worſe by lying in priſon. The ſociety there is ſuch an hell upon earth, that there is ſcarce a poſſibility of eſcaping the contagion, but by the priſoners being kept ſeparate, which is a regulation much to be deſired, if the number of criminals in this age did not ſo far exceed the number of rooms in the largeſt priſons. For which reaſon the deſign of the penitentiary houſes, as beſt calculated to promote reformation, is very meritorious, and it is to be hoped, will in time be fully completed and eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom.

XX. But what avail good laws without good morals? *Quid leges ſine moribus Vanæ proficiunt?* We are arrived at ſuch a pitch of luxury and prodigality, that all the powers of Europe ſeem to be conſpiring againſt us, to pluck us and to humble us; but the greateſt and heavieſt dead weight upon the nation are our immorality and infidelity, our irreligion and impiety, which if not repented of and reformed in time, muſt ſoon ſink us into perdition. But it is not my buſineſs to declame againſt the vices of the age. I will leave that topic for thoſe to whom it more properly belongs, the Clergy. I will only cry out as the Roman orator did upon the like occaſion of Catiline's conſpiracy, *O tempora! O mores! O the times! O the manners!* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the degeneracy of the times, than

than the brighteſt example of virtue that ever ſat upon the throne being ſo little imitated and regarded. You, my Lords and Gentlemen, who live nearer the ſun, and more within its warmth and influence, ought to produce better fruits than thoſe who dwell more in the ſhade and at a greater diſtance. A public and national reformation is too arduous a work for any private hands. It muſt be begun, it muſt be carried on, it muſt be accompliſhed, if ever accompliſhed, by the joint authority of the whole legiſlature. Set therefore the example, beginning with yourſelves. Let no lawgiver be a lawbreaker. Honor God, and he will honor you. Aſſert the dignity of the crown, and ſo you will beſt maintain your own rank and dignity. You muſt ſtand or fall together. If neither laws nor morals will avail ſingly, let their force be tried united. Laws indeed we have more than any nation and worſe executed; but it is in your power to diminiſh their number and augment their force, by reducing laws of the ſame kind into one act, and by obliging the magiſtrates to look more ſtrictly to their execution. Laws not executed are a dead letter, and in conſequence of this neglect our ſtate is almoſt reduced to a ſtate of deſperation. All our meaſures have in truth been too temporizing and timid, remiſs where they ſhould have been vigorous, irreſolute where they ſhould have been determined. Lenity has been employed, where ſeverity would have been the greater mercy. Connivence has taken the place of examination, and trials have been waved when puniſhments were due. Our want of courage has emboldened our domeſtic traitors as well as our foreign enemies. If we had ſeen more ſpirited exertions, we ſhould not have ſeen all order confounded, and all authority trampled under foot. It is now therefore the more neceſſary for you to make a full ſtand, to be ſteddy, to be reſolute, to give way to no factions, to ſuffer no innovations. If aſſociations and committees of correſpondence are to direct and govern us, there is an end of all law and lawful authority, King Lords and Commons become mere ſhadows and empty names. I would therefore apply to the Miniſter thoſe lines of Virgil,

Nate dea, potes hoc ſub caſu ducere ſomnos?
Nec, quæ circumſtent te deinde pericula, cernis?

and to the whole legiſlature I would addreſs that beautiful paſſage of Horace,

O quiſquis volet impias
Cædes, aut rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quæret pater urbium
Subſcribi ſtatuis; indomitam audeat
Refrænare licentiam,
Clarus poſt genitis.

XXI. Before I conclude, ſuffer me to mention another particular. I lately read a paragraph in one of the news-papers, that our miniſtry were treating of peace with our enemies, and propoſed as the main condition of the treaty, that we would declare our colonies free and independent, provided the French and Spaniards would make the ſame declaration with regard to their colonies. It would have been happy for this country, if we had never colonized in America; it has drained us of our people, it has drained us of our treaſure; where we have received hundreds, we have expended thouſands: and how to carry on the war with ſucceſs, or how to conclude it with honor, are conſiderations on either ſide attended with difficulties. Our empire is too large and extended, it had better perhaps be contracted. But it is amazing that the Americans are ſo blind to their own intereſt as not to ſee that they are riveting their own chains, by exchanging the legal government of a proteſtant, for the arbitrary dominion of a popiſh prince. They ſhould remember the folly of the horſe who called in the man as his auxiliary and ally, to help him againſt the ſtag, who had moloſted him in his paſture. And what was the conſequence? The horſe became ever after ſubſervient to the man.

Non equitem dorſo, non frenum depulit ore.

The condition here propoſed I am afraid is not true. I wiſh it was true, for as far as I can comprehend, the miniſtry could not propoſe any condition more honorable to themſelves, or more beneficial to their country. Could any action be greater and more glorious and more godlike (as I may ſay) than to reſtore all men to their native liberty, and thereby eſtabliſh a free and open commerce throughout all the parts of the world? Could any proof be given more expreſſive of the liberality of our ſentiments, and

of

of our benevolence and beneficence to the whole race of men? Could any courſe be taken more conducive to leſſen the prejudices, and to conciliate the affections of all other nations? How much more extenſive would be this benefit, and more worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity, than that which is ſo much celebrated in hiſtory, of the Romans reſtoring the different republics of Greece to their liberty? This philanthrophy, this univerſal charity would do honor to human nature itſelf, and bleſſings muſt ever reſt upon the heads of ſuch friends and benefactors to all mankind.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Theſe are only hints humbly ſubmitted to your conſideration. Other particulars might have been mentioned, but I fear that I have been too long and tedious. However I have exonerated my own mind, and paid my laſt duty to my country. I am an old man, and God be praiſed I want for nothing. I have nothing to aſk. I am totally independent. I am of no party, but for truth, and virtue, and religion. I may perhaps be too viſionary in my notions, and indeed though I may wiſh, yet I cannot expect that you ſhould approve and adopt them all. Some, I hope, may be thought not altogether unworthy of your acceptation and improvement. If you reject them all, I will be bold to ſay, that you are wanting in your duty to your God, to your King, to your country, to yourſelves, to your wives and children, to your families, and to all who ſhall be born hereafter.

CONTENTS.

THE CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

p. 9—12.

Prophecies one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of revelation; p. 9. A hiſtory of prophecy deſired by Lord Bacon; p. 9. The conſequence plain from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation; p. 9. The objection that the prophecies were written after the events, groundleſs, and betrays great ignorance, or ſomething worſe; p. 10. The truth of prophecy may be proved by inſtances of things fulfilling at this very time; p. 10, 11. The evidence drawn from prophecy, a growing evidence; p. 11. Miracles the great proofs of revelation to the firſt ages, Prophecies to the laſt; p. 11. The neceſſity to which infidels are reduced, either to renounce their ſenſes, or to admit the truth of revelation; p. 12. Moſt of the principal prophecies of ſcripture will be comprehended in this work, as well as ſeveral of the moſt material tranſactions in hiſtory; p. 12.

DISSERTATION I.

NOAH's *prophecy.*

p. 13—27.

Very few prophecies till Noah; p. 13. Noah's drunkenneſs, and the behaviour of his ſons thereupon; p. 13, 14. In conſequence of their different behaviour he was enabled to foretel the different fortunes of their families; p. 14. The prophecy; p. 15. Not to be underſtood of particular perſons, but of whole nations; p. 15, 16. The curſe upon Canaan, a curſe upon the Canaanites for their wickedneſs; p. 16. The wickedneſs of the Canaanites very great; p. 16, 17. The curſe particularly implies the ſubjection of the deſcendents of Canaan to the deſcendents of Shem and Japheth; p. 17, 18. The completion of this ſhown from the time of Joſhua to this day; p. 18, 19. A different reading propoſed of Ham the father of Canaan inſtead of Canaan; p. 19, 20. The curſe in this larger ſenſe alſo ſhown to be ful-

filled from the earlieſt times to the preſent; p. 20, 21. The promiſe to Shem of the Lord being his God, how fulfilled; p. 21, 22. The promiſe of inlargement to Japheth, an alluſion to his name; p. 22. How fulfilled both in former and in later times; p. 22, 23. The following clauſe, And he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem, capable of two ſenſes, and in both punctually fulfilled; p. 23, 24. Concluſion; p. 24. A miſtake of Mr. Mede corrected; p. 24, 25. Lord Bolingbroke cenſured for his indecent reflections on this prophecy; p. 25. His ignorance about the Codex Alexandrinus; p. 25, 26. His blunder about the Roman hiſtorians; p. 26. His ſneer about believers refuted; p. 26. Condemned by himſelf; p. 26, 27. Had great talents but miſapplied them; p. 27.

DISSERTATION II.

The prophecies concerning ISHMAEL.

p. 28—41.

Abraham favored with ſeveral revelations; p. 28. Thoſe concerning Iſhmael or the Iſhmaelites; p. 28. The promiſe of a numerous poſterity; how fulfilled; p. 29. The promiſe of twelve princes, how fulfilled; p. 29. The promiſe of a great nation, how fulfilled; p. 30. The ſaying that he ſhould be a wild man, how fulfilled; p. 30, 31. The ſaying that his hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him, how fulfilled; p. 31. The ſaying that he ſhould dwell in the preſence of all his brethren, how fulfilled; p. 31, 32. The Iſhmaelites or Arabians have from firſt to laſt maintained their independency; p. 32, 33. Againſt the Egyptians and Aſſyrians; p. 33. Againſt the Perſians; p. 33, 34. Againſt Alexander and his ſucceſſors; p. 34. Againſt the Romans; p. 35, 36. Their ſtate under Mohammed, and ſince his time, and now under the Turks; p. 36, 37. Dr. Shaw's account of them; p. 37, 38. Bp. Pococke's; p. 38. And Mr. Hanway's; p. 38, 39. Concluſion; p. 39. Wonderful, that they ſhould retain the ſame manners for ſo many ages; p. 39, 40. More wonderful that they ſhould ſtill remain a free people; p. 40, 41. The Jews and Arabs in ſome reſpects reſemble each other; p. 41.

DISSERTATION III.

The prophecies concerning JACOB *and* ESAU.

p 42—53.

More prophecies concerning the poſterity of Iſaac than of Iſhmael; p. 42. The promiſe of the bleſſed ſeed, how fulfilled; p. 42. The promiſe of the land of Canaan, how fulfilled; p. 42. The promiſe of a numerous poſterity, how fulfilled; p. 43.

The

The promiſes concerning Eſau and Jacob; p. 43, 44. Not verified in themſelves, but in their poſterity; p. 44, 45. Comprehend ſeveral particulars; p. 45. I. The families of Eſau and Jacob two different people and nations; p. 45, 46. II. The family of the elder ſubject to that of the younger; p. 46, 47, 48. III. In ſituation and other temporal advantages much alike; p. 48, 49. IV. The elder branch delighted more in war and violence, but ſubdued by the younger; p. 49, 50. V. The elder at one time ſhook off the dominion of the younger; p. 50, 51. VI. In all ſpiritual gifts and graces the younger ſuperior, and the happy inſtrument of conveying the bleſſing to all nations; p. 51, 52. Concluſion; p. 52. The prophecies fulfilled in the utter deſtruction of the Edomites; p. 52, 53.

DISSERTATION IV.

JACOB'S *prophecies concerning his ſons, particularly* JUDAH.

p. 53—68.

An opinion of great antiquity, that the ſoul near death grew prophetic; p. 53, 54. Jacob upon his death-bed foretold his ſons what ſhould befall them in the laſt days, the meaning of that phraſe; p. 54, 55. Jacob bequeaths the temporal bleſſing to all his ſons, the ſpiritual to Judah; p. 55. The prophecies concerning ſeveral tribes, how fulfilled; p. 55, 56. The temporal bleſſing how fulfilled to Judah; p. 56, 57. The ſpiritual bleſſing; p. 57. I. An explanation of the words and meaning of the prophecy; p. 58—63. The ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah, explained; p. 58, 59. Nor a law-giver from between his feet, explained; p. 59, 60. Shiloh in all the various ſenſes of the word ſhown to be the Meſſiah; p. 60, 61. Le Clerc's ſingular interpretation; p. 61. Jews as well as Chriſtians have by Shiloh generally underſtood the Meſſiah; p. 62. And unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be, capable of three different conſtructions; p. 62. II. The completion of the prophecy; p. 63—68. Judah hereby conſtituted a tribe or body politic, and ſo continued till the coming of the Meſſiah and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; p. 63, 64, 65. The latter clauſe fulfilled in the firſt ſenſe, and the people gathered to Judah; p. 65, 66. Fulfilled in the ſecond ſenſe, and the people gathered to the Meſſiah; p. 66. Fulfilled in the laſt ſenſe, and the people gathered to the Meſſiah before the ſcepter's departure; p. 66, 67. The prophecy with regard to Benjamin fulfilled; p. 67, 68. Concluſion that Jeſus is the Meſſiah; p. 68.

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION V.

BALAAM'S *prophecies.*

p. 68—90.

The gift of prophecy not always confined to the choſen ſeed, or to good men; p. 68, 69. Balaam both a Heathen, and an immoral man; p. 69, 70. A ceremony among the Heathens to curſe their enemies; p. 70. The ſtory of Balaam's aſs conſidered; p. 70, 71, 72. A proper ſign to Balaam, and the prophecies render the miracle more credible; p. 72. The ſtile of his prophecies beautiful; p. 72, 73. His prophecy of the ſingular character of the Jewiſh nation, how fulfilled even to this day; p. 73, 74. His prophecy of their victories much the ſame as Jacob's and Iſaac's; p. 74, 75. His prophecy of a king higher than Agag, how fulfilled; p. 75, 76. His preface to his latter prophecies explained; p. 76, 77. His prophecy of a ſtar and ſcepter to ſmite the princes of Moab, how fulfilled by David; p. 77. Who meant by the ſons of Sheth; p. 78, 79. His prophecy againſt the Edomites, how fulfilled by David; p. 79. This prophecy of the ſtar and the ſcepter applied by moſt Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers to the Meſſiah; p. 79—82. But principally to be underſtood of David; p. 82. His prophecy againſt the Amalekites, how fulfilled; p. 82—84. His prophecy againſt the Kenites, and who the Kenites were; p. 84, 85. How fulfilled; p. 85. His prophecy of ſhips from the coaſt of Chittim; p. 85. The land of Chittim ſhown to be a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean; p. 85--88. How afflict Aſhur; p. 88. How afflict Eber, and who meant by Eber; p. 88, 89. How periſh for ever; p. 89, 90. Concluſion; p. 90.

DISSERTATION VI.

MOSES's *prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf.*

p. 90--100.

Moſes hath not only preſerved ſeveral ancient prophecies, but hath likewiſe inſerted ſeveral of his own; p. 90. His prophecy of another prophet like unto himſelf; p. 90, 91. I. What prophet was here particularly intended; p. 91, 92. The Meſſiah principally, if not ſolely; p. 92. Proved from the concluſion of the book of Deuteronomy; p. 92, 93. From God's declaration to Miriam and Aaron; p. 93. From the text itſelf, p. 93. From this prophet's being a lawgiver; p. 94. From fact; p. 94, 95. II. The great likeneſs between Moſes and Chriſt; p. 95--99. Chriſt reſembled Moſes in more reſpects than any other perſon ever did; p. 95.

The

The compariſon between them as drawn by Euſebius; p. 95, 96. As inlarged and improved by Dr Jortin; p. 96—99. His concluſion from thence; p. 99. III. The puniſhment of the people for their infidelity and diſobedience to this prophet; p. 99, 100.

DISSERTATION VII.

Prophecies of MOSES *concerning the* JEWS.

p. 101—113.

Prophecies of Moſes abound moſt in the latter part of his writings; p. 101. The 28th of Deuteronomy a lively picture of the ſtate of the Jews at preſent; p. 101, 102. Prophecy of their enemies coming from far, how fulfilled; p. 102. Prophecy of the cruelty of their enemies, how fulfilled; p. 102, 103. Of the ſieges of their cities; p. 103, 104. Of their diſtreſs and famin in the ſieges; p. 104, Of women eating their own children; p. 104---106. Of their great calamities and ſlaughters; p. 106. Of their being carried into Egypt, and ſold for ſlaves at a low price; p. 106, 107. Of their being plucked from off their own land; p. 107, 108. Of their being diſperſed into all nations; p. 108, 109. Of their ſtill ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people; p. 109. Of their finding no reſt; p. 109, 110. Of their being oppreſſed and ſpoiled; p. 110. Of their children taken from them; p. 110, 111. Of their madneſs and deſperation; p. 111. Of their ſerving other gods; p. 111. 112. Of their becoming a proverb, and by-word; p. 112, 113. Of the long continuance of their plagues; p. 113. Concluſion; p. 113.

DISSERTATION VIII.

Prophecies of other prophets concerning the JEWS.

p. 114—137.

Other prophecies relative to the preſent ſtate of the Jews; p. 114. I. The prophecies concerning the reſtoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the diſſolution of the ten tribes; p. 114—121. The reſtoration of the two tribes foretold to be after 70 years; p. 114, 15. Fulfilled at three periods; p. 115. The ten tribes to ceaſe from being a people within 65 years; p. 115. The prophecy how fulfilled; p. 115, 16, 17. What is become of them ſince, and where are they at preſent; p. 117. Vain conjectures of the Jews thereupon; p. 117, 18. Not all returned with the two tribes; p. 118, 19. Not all ſwallowed up and loſt among the heathen nations; p. 119. Whether they remained, or whether they returned, they ceaſed from being a diſtinct people, and were all comprehended under the name of

of Jews; p. 119, 20, 21. The reaſon of this diſtinction between the two tribes and the ten tribes; p. 121. II. The preſervation of the Jews, and the deſtruction of their enemies; p. 121. The preſervation of the Jews one of the moſt illuſtrious acts of divine providence; p. 122, 23. Nor leſs the providence of God in the deſtruction of their enemies; p. 123. Not only nations but ſingle perſons; p. 123, 24. III. The deſolation of Judea another memorable inſtance of the truth of prophecy; p. 124—129. Foretold by the prophets; p. 124, 25. The preſent ſtate of Judea anſwerable to the prophecies; p. 125. No objection from hence to its having been a land flowing with milk and honey; p, 125. The ancients, Heathens as well as Jews, teſtify it to have been a good land; p. 126. Mr. Maundrell's account of its preſent ſtate; p. 126, 27, 28. Dr. Shaw's; p. 128, 29. IV. The prophecies of the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, how fulfilled; p. 129, 30, 31. V. Of the calling and obedience of the Gentiles; p. 131, 32. This revolution effected by incompetent perſons, and in a ſhort time; p. 133, 34. The prophecies concerning the Jews and Gentiles have not yet received their entire completion; p. 134. What hath been accompliſhed a ſufficient pledge of what is to come; p. 134. 35. Concluſion diſſuading all perſecution, and recommending humanity and charity to the Jews; p. 135, 36, 37.

DISSERTATION IX.

The prophecies concerning NINEVEH.

p. 137—152.

Some prophecies relating to other nations, which had connections with the Jews; p. 137. Want of ancient eaſtern hiſtorians to clear up the prophecies; p. 138. The Aſſyrians terrible enemies to both Iſrael and Judah; p. 138, 39. Iſaiah's prophecy againſt the Aſſyrians; p. 139, 40. Nineveh, the capital of the Aſſyrian empire, a moſt ancient city; p. 140, 41. An exceeding great city likewiſe, and the ſcripture account confirmed by heathen authors; p. 141, 142. Like other great cities very corrupt, but king and people repented, at the preaching of Jonah; p. 143. Some inquiry who this king was, and at what time Jonah propheſied; p. 143, 44. Their repentance of ſhort continuance, for Nahum not long after foretold the deſtruction of the city; p. 144. Some inquiry when Nahum prophecied; p. 144, 45. Nineveh accordingly deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; p. 145. Some inquiry, by whom particularly; p. 145, 46, 47. Nahum's prophecies of the manner of its deſtruction exactly fulfilled according to the accounts of Diodorus Siculus; p. 147, 48. Nahum and Zephaniah foretold its total deſtruction contrary to all probability; p. 149, 50. Theſe predictions fulfilled according to the accounts of the ancients; p. 150, 51. According to the accounts of the moderns; p. 151, 52. Concluſion; p. 152.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION X.

The prophecies concerning BABYLON.

p. 153—173.

Babylon as well as Nineveh an enemy to the people of God; p. 153. A very great and very ancient city; p. 153, 54. Conſiderably improved by Nebuchadnezzar; p. 154. One of the wonders of the world; p. 154, 55. Iſaiah and Jeremiah foretold its deſtruction; p. 155. Prophecies of Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon, fulfilled; p. 156. The time of the reduction of Babylon foretold; p. 156, 57. Several circumſtances of the ſiege foretold; 157. Beſieged by the Medes and Elamites or Perſians; p. 157, 58. Armenians and other nations united againſt it; p. 158. The Babylonians hide themſelves within their walls; p. 158, 59. The river dried up; p. 159. The city taken during a feaſt; p. 159, 60. The facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore no room for ſcepticiſm; p. 160. The prophets foretold its total deſolation; p. 160, 61, 62. Theſe prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees; p. 162. Its ſtate under Cyrus; p. 162. Under Darius; p. 163, 64. Under Xerxes; p. 164, 65. Under Alexander and afterwards; p. 165, 66. The accounts of it ſince that time, by Diodorus; p. 166. Strabo; p. 166. Pliny; p. 166. Pauſanias; p. 166. Maximus Tyrius and Lucian; p. 166. Jerome; p. 167. Accounts of later authors, of Benjamin of Tudela; p. 167. Texeira; p. 167. Rauwolf; p. 168. Peter de la Valle; p. 168, 69. Tavernier; p. 169. Mr. Salmon; 169, 70. Mr. Hanway; p. 170. By theſe accounts it appears how punctually the prophecies have been fulfilled; p. 170, 71. Concluſion; ſuch prophecies a convincing argument of the divinity of the ſcriptures, and likewiſe inſtances of fine writing, and of the ſpirit of liberty; p. 171, 72.

DISSERTATION XI.

The prophecies concerning TYRE.

p. 173—93.

Tyre, another enemy of the Jews, its fall predicted by Iſaiah and Ezekiel; p. 173. The prophecies relate to both old and new Tyre; p. 173, 74. A very ancient city; p. 174, 75. The daughter of Sidon, but in time excelled the mother, and became a mart of nations; p. 175, 76. In this floriſhing condition, when the prophets foretold her deſtruction for her pride, and wickedneſs, and cruelty to the Jews; p. 176, 77, 78. Several particulars included in the prophecies; p. 178. I. The city to be taken and deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans; p. 178, 79, 80. II. The inhabitants to paſs over the Mediterranean, but to find no reſt; p. 180, 81, 82.

82. III. The city to be reſtored after 70 years; p. 182, 83, 84. IV. To be taken and deſtroyed again; p. 184, 85, 86. V. The people to forſake idolatry, and become converts to the true religion; p. 186, 87, 88. VI. The city at laſt to be totally deſtroyed, and become a place for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon; p. 188. Theſe prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees; p. 188, 89. A ſhort account of the place from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the preſent; p. 189, 90. Huetius's account of it; p. 190. Dr. Shaw's; p. 190, 91. Mr. Maundrell's p. 191. Concluſion with ſome reflections upon trade; p. 192, 93.

DISSERTATION XII.

The prophecies concerning EGYPT.

p. 193—217.

Egypt famous for its antiquity; p. 193, 94. No leſs celebrated for its wiſdom; p. 194. The parent of ſuperſtition as well as the miſtreſs of learning; p. 194. Had ſuch connections with the Jews, that it is made the ſubject of ſeveral prophecies; p. 194, 95. The phraſe of the burden of Egypt conſidered and explained; p. 195, 96. I. Its conqueſt by Nebuchadnezzar foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; p. 196, 97. How fulfilled; 197, 98, 99. II. Its conqueſt by the Perſians foretold by Iſaiah, and how fulfilled; p. 199—202. III. Its conqueſt by Alexander foretold by Iſaiah, and at the ſame time the ſpreading of the true religion in the land; p. 202, 203. How fulfilled; p. 204—207. IV. The prophecy of Ezekiel that it ſhould be a baſe tributary kingdom; p. 207, 208. The truth of it ſhown by a ſhort deduction of the hiſtory of Egypt from that time to this; p. 208—215. Its ſtate under the Babylonians; p. 208. Under the Perſians; p. 209—211. Under the Macedonians; p. 211. Under the Romans; p. 211, 12. Under the Saracens with the burning of the Alexandrian library; p. 212, 13. Under the Mamalucs; p. 213, 14. Under the Turks; p. 214, 15. No one could have foretold this upon human conjecture; p. 215. Concluſion with ſome reflections upon the character of the Egyptians as drawn by ancient and modern authors; p. 216, 217.

DISSERTATION XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S *dream of the great empires.*

p. 217—239.

Some prophecies relating to more remote nations; p. 217, 18. The genuinneſs of Daniel's prophecies denied by Porphyry, and Collins, but ſufficiently vindicated; p. 218, 19. The credit of Daniel as a prophet eſtabliſhed by prophecies fulfilling at this time; p. 219. Daniel's firſt prophecy, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with

with the occaſion of it; p. 219, 20, 21. A great human figure not an improper emblem of human power, and the various parts and metals ſignify various kingdoms; p. 221, 22. I. The head of fine gold, or the Babylonian empire; p. 222, 23. The extent of it ſhown from heathen authors; p. 223, 24. II. The breaſt and arms of ſilver, or the Medo-Perſian empire; p. 224. Why ſaid to be inferior, and how long it laſted; p. 224. III. The belly and thighs of braſs, or the Macedonian empire; p. 225. Why ſaid to bear rule over all the earth; p. 225. The kingdom of Alexander and of his ſucceſſors not two different kingdoms; p. 225, 26. Spoken of as one and the ſame by ancient authors; p. 226, 27. IV. The legs of iron, and feet part of iron and part of clay, or the fourth empire; p. 227. Farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ cannot be the fourth kingdom; p. 227, 28. This deſcription applicable only to the Roman empire; p. 228, 29. So St. Jerome explains it, and all ancient writers both Jewiſh and Chriſtian; p. 229, 30. V. The ſtone that brake the image, or the fifth empire; p. 230. Cannot be the Roman; p. 230, 31. Can be underſtood only of the kingdom of Chriſt; p. 231, 32. Repreſented in two ſtates, as a ſtone, and as a mountain; p. 232. This interpretation confirmed by ancient writers, both Jews and Chriſtians, and particularly by Jonathan Ben Uziel, who made the Chaldee paraphraſe upon the prophets; p. 233. The ſenſe of Joſephus with Biſhop Chandler's reflections upon it; p. 233, 34, 35. The ancient Chriſtians give the ſame interpretation; p. 235. St. Chryſoſtom's comment; p. 235, 36. The expoſition of Sulpicius Severus; p. 236, 37. Concluſion; p. 237. Hence we are enabled to account for Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy, and the Delphic oracle; p. 237, 38. Hence the diſtinction of four great empires, and why only theſe four predicted; p. 238, 39.

DISSERTATION XIV.

DANIEL'S *viſion of the ſame.*

p. 240—269.

What was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was repreſented to Daniel in the ſhape of great wild beaſts, and why; p. 240, 41. I. The Babylonian empire why compared to a lion; p. 241. Why with eagle's wings; p. 241, 42. Why with a man's heart; p. 242. II. The Perſian empire, why compared to a bear; p. 242, 43. How raiſed up itſelf on one ſide, and had three ribs in the mouth; p. 243. Its cruelty; p. 243, 44. III. The Macedonian empire why compared to a leopard; p. 244, 45. Why with four wings and four heads, and dominion given to it; p. 245. IV. The Roman empire compared to a terrible beaſt without a name; p. 245, 46. The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ can in no reſpect anſwer to this deſcription; p. 246. The Roman empire anſwers exactly; p. 247. A memorable quotation to this purpoſe from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus;

carnaſſus; p. 248. This beaſt had ten horns or kingdoms, and the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were never ſo divided; p. 248, 49. The notions of Porphyry, Grotius, and Collins, refuted; p. 249, 50. The ten kingdoms to be ſought amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire; p. 250. The ten kingdoms according to Machiavel; p. 250. According to Mr. Mede; p. 250. According to Biſhop Lloyd; p. 250, 51. According to Sir Iſaac Newton; p. 251. The ſame number ſince; p. 251. How they ſtood in the eighth century; p. 251, 52. A little horn to riſe up among the ten; p. 252. The notion of Grotius and Collins, that Antiochus Epiphanes was the little horn, refuted; p. 252, 53. An inquiry propoſed into the ſenſe of the ancients; p. 253. The opinion of Irenæus; p. 253, 54. Of St. Cyril of Jeruſalem; p. 254, 55. Of St. Jerome with Theodoret and St. Auſtin; p. 255. The fathers had ſome miſtaken notions concerning Antichriſt, and how it came to paſs they had ſuch; p. 255, 56. The little horn to be ſought among the ten kingdoms of the weſtern Roman empire; p. 256, 57, 58. Machiavel himſelf points out a little horn ſpringing up among the ten; p. 258. Three of the firſt horns to fall before him; p. 25 . The three according to Mr. Mede; p. 258, 59. According to Sir Iſaac Newton; p. 259. Something to be approved, and ſomething to be diſapproved in both their plans; p. 259, 60. The firſt of the three horns, the exarchate of Ravenna; p. 260, 61. The ſecond, the kingdom of the Lombards; p. 261. The third, the ſtate of Rome; p. 261, 62, 63. The character anſwers in all other reſpects; p. 263, 64. How long Antichriſt to continue; p. 264, 65. V. All theſe kingdoms to be ſucceeded by the kingdom of the Meſſiah, p. 265, 66, 67. This and the former prophecy compared together; p. 267, 68. They extend from the reign of the Babylonians to the conſummation of all things; p. 268. Will caſt light upon the ſubſequent prophecies, and the ſubſequent prophecies reflect light upon them again; p. 269. Concluſion; p. 269.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION to the Lecture founded by the Honorable ROBERT BOYLE.

p. 275—285.

How and by whom the author was appointed to preach the Boyle's lecture; p. 275, 76. Previous to the farther explanation of Daniel, a vindication is propoſed of the genuinneſs of his prophecies againſt the principal objections of unbelievers; p. 276. Collins's eleven objections particularly conſidered and refuted; p. 276, &c. His firſt objection, relating to the age of Daniel, refuted; p. 276, 77. His ſecond objection, relating to the miſtake of the kings names, and to Nebuchadnezzar's madneſs,

neſs, refuted; p. 277, 78. His third objection, relating to Greek words found in Daniel, refuted; p. 278. His fourth objection, relating to the verſion of the Seventy, refuted; p. 278, 79. His fifth objection, drawn from the clearneſs of Daniel's prophecies to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, refuted; p. 279. His ſixth objection, drawn from the omiſſion of Daniel in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, refuted; p. 279, 80. His ſeventh objection, relating to Jonathan's making no Targum on Daniel, refuted; p. 280. His eighth objection, drawn from the ſtile of Daniel's Chaldee, refuted; p. 280, 81. His ninth objection, drawn from the forgeries of the Jews, refuted; p. 281. His tenth objection, drawn from Daniel's uncommon punctuality in fixing the times, refuted; p. 281, 82. His eleventh objection, relating to Daniel's ſetting forth facts very imperfectly and contrary to other hiſtories, and to his dark and emblematical ſtile, refuted; p. 282, 83. The external and internal evidence for the genuinneſs of the book of Daniel; p. 283. The diviſion of the remainder of this work, agreeable to the deſign of the honorable founder; p. 283, 84. From the inſtance of this excellent perſon, and ſome others, it is ſhown that philoſophy and religion may well conſiſt and agree together; p. 284, 85.

DISSERTATION XV.

DANIEL's *viſion of the Ram and He-goat.*

p. 286—319.

The former part of the book of Daniel written in Chaldee, the reſt in Hebrew; p. 286. The time and place of the viſion; p. 286, 87. Like viſions have occurred to others; p. 287, 88. The ram with two horns repreſents the empire of the Medes and Perſians; p. 288, 89. Why with two horns and one higher than the other; p. 289. Why this empire likened to a ram; p. 289. The conqueſts of the ram, and the great extent of the Perſian empire; p. 289, 90. The he-goat, repreſents the Grecian or Macedonian empire; p. 290. Why this empire likened to a goat; p. 290, 91. The ſwiftneſs of the he-goat, and the notable horn between his eyes, what ſignified thereby; p. 291, 92. An account of the conqueſts of the goat, and of the Grecians overthrowing the Perſian empire; p. 292, 93, 94. Theſe prophecies ſhown to Alexander the great, and upon what occaſion; p. 294, 95. The truth of the ſtory vindicated; p. 295, 96. Anſwer to the objection of its being inconſiſtent with chronology; p. 296, 97. Anſwer to the objection taken from the ſilence of other authors, beſides Joſephus; p. 297, 98. Other circumſtances which confirm the truth of this relation; p. 298, 99. How four horns ſucceeded to the great horn; or how the empire of the goat was divided into four kingdoms; p. 300, 301. The little horn commonly underſtood of Antiochus Epiphanes, but capable of another and better application; p. 301, 302. A horn doth not ſignify a ſingle king but a kingdom, and here the Roman empire rather than Antiochus Epiphanes; p. 302, 303. The particular properties and actions of the little horn agree better with the Romans,

as well as the general character; p. 303, 304. Reaſon of the appellation of the little horn; p. 304. The time too agrees better with the Romans; p. 304, 305. The character of a king of fierce countenance, and underſtanding dark ſentences, more applicable to the Romans than to Antiochus; p. 305—307. Other actions likewiſe of the little horn accord better with the Romans; p. 307. Waxing exceeding great; p. 307. Toward the ſouth; p. 307. Toward the eaſt; p. 307, 308. And toward the pleaſant land; p. 308. The property of his power being mighty, but not by his own power, can no where be ſo properly applied as to the Romans; p. 308, 309. All the particulars of the perſecution and oppreſſion of the people of God more exactly fulfilled by the Romans than by Antiochus; p. 309, 10, 11. It deſerves to be conſidered whether this part of the prophecy be not a ſketch of the fate and ſufferings of the Chriſtian as well as of the Jewiſh church; p. 311, 12. Farther reaſon of the appellation, of the little horn; p. 312. The little horn to come to a remarkable end, which will be fulfilled in a more extraordinary manner in the Romans, than it was even in Antiochus; p. 312, 313. It will farther appear that the application is more proper to the Romans by conſidering the time allotted for the duration and continuance of the viſion; p. 313—317. The 2300 days or years can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes; p. 313, 14, 15. How they are to be computed; p. 315, 16, 17. Daniel's concern and affliction for his country, and this a farther argument that not the calamities under Antiochus, but thoſe brought upon the nation by the Romans were the ſubject of this prophecy; p. 317, 18. From this and other examples it may be inferred, that the ſcriptures will never abate but rather encourage our love for our country; p. 318, 19.

DISSERTATION XVI.

DANIEL'S *prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth.*

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

p. 319—355.

This latter prophecy a comment upon the former; p. 319, 20. Imparted to Daniel after faſting and prayer; p. 320. A prophecy for many days or years; p. 320. Of the Perſian empire; p. 320, 21, 22. The three firſt kings of Perſia after Cyrus; p. 321. The fourth far richer than all; p. 321. His ſtirring up all againſt the realm of Grecia; p. 321, 22. Why no more kings of Perſia mentioned; p. 322. A ſhort ſketch of Alexander's great dominion; p. 322. His family ſoon extinct, and his kingdom divided into four kingdoms; p. 323, 24. Of theſe four two only have a place in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria, and why; p. 324.

Why

Why called the kings of the ſouth and the north; p. 324, 25. Ptolemy king of the ſouth or Egypt, very ſtrong, but Seleucus king of the north or Syria, ſtrong above him; p. 325. The tranſactions between Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt and Antiochus Theus of Syria; p. 326, 27. Ptolemy Euergetes of Egypt revenges the wrongs of his family upon Seleucus Callinicus of Syria; p. 328, 29. The ſhort and inglorious reign of Seleucus Ceraunus of Syria; p. 329, 30. Succeeded by his brother Antiochus the great who gained great advantages over the king of Egypt; p. 330. But Ptolemy Philopator obtains a ſignal victory over Antiochus at Raphia; p. 330, 31. His vicious and ſhameful conduct afterwards, and cruelty to the Jews; p. 331, 32, 33. Antiochus prepares again to invade Egypt in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes; p. 333, 34. Philip king of Macedon, and the Jews aſſociate with him; p. 334, 35. His ſucceſs againſt the king of Egypt; p. 335, 36, 37. His favor to the Jews; p. 337, 38. His ſchemes to ſeiſe upon the kingdom of Egypt fruſtrated; p. 338, 39. His unhappy war with the Romans; p. 339, 40. The latter end of his life and reign inglorious; p. 340, 41. The mean reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor Seleucus Philopator; p. 341, 42. Antiochus Epiphanes the brother of Seleucus, obtains the kingdom by flatteries; p. 343. His freaks and extravagancies; p. 344. His ſucceſſes againſt his competitors, and removal of the high prieſts of the Jews; p. 334, 35. His liberality and profuſion; p. 345, 46. The claims of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt upon him, and his preparations againſt Egypt; p. 346, 47. He invades and makes himſelf maſter of all Egypt except Alexandria, chiefly by the treachery of Ptolemy Philometor's own miniſters and ſubjects; p. 347, 48, 49. Ptolemy Philometor and Antiochus Epiphanes ſpeak lies at one table; p. 349, 50. Antiochus returns with great ſpoils; p. 350. His cruelty to the Jews; p. 350, 51. He invades Egypt again, and is hindered from totally ſubduing it by an embaſſy from the Romans; p. 351, 52, 53. He returns therefore, and vents all his anger upon the Jews; p. 353. Aboliſhes the Jewiſh worſhip by the inſtigation of the apoſtate Jews; p. 353, 54. Concluſion to ſhow that this prophecy is more exact and circumſtantial than any hiſtory; p. 354, 55.

DISSERTATION XVII.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART II.

p. 356—391.

More obſcurity in the remaining part of the prophecy; p. 356. Polluting the ſanctuary, taking away the daily ſacrifice, and placing the abomination of deſolation, more properly applicable to the Romans than to Antiochus Epiphanes, with the reaſons for paſſing from Antiochus to the Romans; p. 357—360. What follows more truly

truly applicable to the afflicted ſtate of the primitive Chriſtians after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem than to the times of Antiochus; p. 360, 61. The little help and the perſecutions afterwards cannot be applied to the times of the Maccabees, but to the emperor's becoming Chriſtian, and the ſucceeding perſecutions; p. 361—364. The Antichriſtian power, the principal ſource of theſe perſecutions, deſcribed; p. 364, &c. How long to proſper; p. 365, 66. Deſcribed here as exerted principally in the eaſtern empire; p. 366. His not regarding the god of his fathers, nor the deſire of women, falſly affirmed by Antiochus, but truly of this Antichriſtian power; p. 366, 67, 68. His honoring Mahuzzim with precious gifts, and who they are; p. 368—371. Other inſtances of his regard to Mahuzzim, in glorifying their prieſts and miniſters; p. 372, 73, 74. The remaining parts more applicable to other events than to the tranſactions of Antiochus; p. 374, 75. After the account of the degeneracy of the church follows a prediction of its puniſhment, eſpecially in the eaſtern part of it by the Saracens and Turks; p. 374, 75, 76. Judea and the neighbouring countries to be ſubdued, but the Arabians to eſcape, not verified by Antiochus but by the Turks; p. 377, 78. The Turks could never ſubdue the Arabians, but on the contrary pay them an annual penſion; p. 378, 79, 80. The total ſubjection of Egypt together with Libya and Ethiopia, not accompliſhed by Antiochus, but by the Turks; p. 380, 81. The reſt of the prophecy yet to be fulfilled; p. 382, 83. Cannot be applied to Antiochus, but belongs to the Othman empire; p. 383. What the tidings from the eaſt and north; p. 384. What meant by going forth to deſtroy and utterly to make away many; p. 385. What by planting his camp between the ſeas in the glorious holy mountain; p. 385. The ſame things foretold by Ezekiel in his prophecy concerning Gog of the land of Magog; p. 385. The great tribulation and the ſubſequent reſurrection cannot be applied to the times of the Maccabees; p. 385, 86, 87. An inquiry into the times of theſe events; p. 387, 88, 89. A conjecture about the different periods of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years; p. 389, 90. Concluſion to ſhow the vaſt variety and extent of this prophecy, and from thence to prove that Daniel was a true prophet; p. 390, 91.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

Our SAVIOUR's *prophecies relating to the deſtruction of* JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

p. 392—415.

Prophecies and miracles continued longer in the Jewiſh church than in the Chriſtian, and why; p. 392. No Chriſtian prophecies recorded, but ſome of our Saviour and his apoſtles, particularly St. Paul and St. John; p. 393. A ſhort ſummary of our Saviour's

Saviour's prophecies; p. 393, 94. None more remarkable than thoſe relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which were written and publiſhed ſeveral years before that event; p. 394, 95, 96. Our Saviour's tenderneſs and affection for his country ſhown in his lamenting and weeping over Jeruſalem; p. 396. The magnificence of the temple, and particularly the prodigious ſize of the ſtones; p. 396, 97. The total and utter deſtruction of the city and temple foretold, and both deſtroyed accordingly; p. 397, 98, 99. The purport of the diſciples queſtion, and the phraſes of the coming of Chriſt and of the end of the world ſhown to ſignify the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; p. 399, 400, 401. The diſciples aſk two things, firſt the time of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and ſecondly the ſigns of it; our Saviour anſwers the laſt firſt; p. 401. Falſe Chriſts the firſt ſign; p. 401, 402. The next ſigns wars and rumours of wars; p. 402, 403. Nation riſing againſt nation, and kingdom againſt kingdom; p. 403, 404. Famins, peſtilences, and earthquakes in divers places; p. 404, 405. Fearful ſights and great ſigns from heaven; p. 406, 407, 408. Theſe the beginning of ſorrows; p. 408. From the calamities of the nation he paſſeth to thoſe of the Chriſtians in particular; p. 408. As cruel perſecutions; p. 408, 409. Apoſtates and traitors of their own brethren; p. 410. Falſe teachers and falſe prophets, p. 410. Lukewarmneſs and coolneſs among Chriſtians; p. 410, 11. But ſtill he who ſhall endure to the end, the ſame ſhall be ſaved; p. 411. The goſpel to be univerſally publiſhed before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and was ſo in Britain as well as other parts; p. 411, 12, 13. Reflections upon what hath been ſaid; p. 413. The firſt upon the ſurprizing manner in which theſe prophecies have been fulfilled; p. 413. Another upon the ſincerity and ingenuity of Chriſt, and the courage and conſtancy of his diſciples; p. 413. A third on the ſudden and amazing progreſs of the goſpel; p. 413, 14. A fourth on the ſignals and preſages of the ruin of ſtates; p. 414, 15.

DISSERTATION XIX.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART II.

p. 415—436.

After the circumſtances which paſſed before the ſiege, we are to treat of thoſe which happened during the ſiege and after it; p. 415. The abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, the Roman army beſieging Jeruſalem; 415, 16. Then the Chriſtians to fly into the mountains; p. 416, 17. Their flight muſt be ſudden and haſty; p. 417. Woe unto them that are with child and that give ſuck in thoſe days, exemplified particularly in the ſtory of a noble woman, who killed and eat her own ſucking child; p. 417, 18. To pray that their flight be not in the winter, neither on the ſabbath day; p. 419. Providentially ordered that there were ſuch favorable opportunities for eſcaping, before the city was cloſely beſieged; p. 419.

p. 419, 20. The great calamities and miſeries of the Jewiſh nation in thoſe days; p. 420, 21, 22. None of the Jews would have eſcaped deſtruction, had not the days been ſhortened for the ſake of the Chriſtian Jews; p. 422, 23. A more particular caution againſt falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets about the time of the ſiege and deſtruction of Jeruſalem; p. 424. Their pretending to work miracles; p. 424, 25. Their conducting their followers into the deſert, or into the ſecret chambers; p. 425, 26. But the coming of Chriſt will not be in this or that particular place; he will be taking vengeance of the Jews every where; p. 427, 28. Some conſiderations upon the conduct of theſe falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets; p. 428, *&c.* It may reaſonably be inferred from hence, that there hath been a true prophet, a true Chriſt; 428, 29. The Meſſiah particularly expected about the time of our Saviour; p. 429. The Meſſiah to work miracles; p. 429, 30. Jeſus alone hath performed the miracles, which the Meſſiah was to perform; p. 430. The difference between the conduct and ſucceſs of theſe deceivers and of Jeſus Chriſt; p. 431, 32. The force of ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm in their deluding ſuch numbers; p. 432, 33. All are not to be credited, who pretend to work miracles; p. 433. How we are to judge of miracles; p. 433. What we are to think of the Pagan; p. 433, 34. And what of the popiſh miracles; p. 434, 35, 36.

DISSERTATION XX.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART III.

p. 436—454.

The final deſtruction of Jeruſalem foretold in very figurative language; p. 436, 37. The like figures uſed by the ancient prophets: p. 437. The ſame figurative ſtile in the following verſes; p. 438. Dr. Warburton's account of this figurative language; p. 438, 39, 40. The number of thoſe who fell by the edge of the ſword; p. 440, 41. An account of thoſe who were led away captive into all nations; p. 441, 42. Jeruſalem troden down of the Gentiles; p. 442. A deduction of the hiſtory of Jeruſalem from the deſtruction by Titus to the preſent time; p. 443—453. Its ruined and deſolate ſtate under Veſpaſian and Titus; p. 443. Rebuilt by Adrian, and the Jews rebellion thereupon, and final diſperſion; p. 443, 44, 45. Repaired by Conſtantine, and adorned with many ſtately edifices and churches, with a farther diſperſion of the Jews; p. 445, 46. Julian's purpoſe to ſettle the Jews, and his attempt to rebuild the temple miraculouſly defeated; p. 446, 47. State of Jeruſalem under the ſucceeding emperors; p. 447, 48. Taken and plundered by the Perſians; p. 448. Surrendered to the Saracens; p. 448, 49. Paſſes from the Saracens to the Turks of the Selzuccian race, and from the Turks to the Egyptians; p. 449. Taken from the Egyptians by the Franks or Latin Chriſtians; p. 450. Recovered by

by the Sultans of Egypt; p. 450, 51, 52. Comes under the dominion of the Mamalucs; p. 452. Annexed to the dominions of the Turks of the Othman race, in whoſe hands it is at preſent; p. 452, 53. Likely to remain in ſubjection to the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled; p. 454. What the fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles; p. 455.

DISSERTATION XXI.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART IV.

p. 455—466.

From the ſigns our Saviour proceeds to treat concerning the time of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; p. 455. He affirms that it would be in the preſent generation; p. 455, 56. Some then living would behold and ſuffer theſe calamities; p. 456. But ſtill the exact time unknown to all creatures; p. 456, 57, 58. According to St. Mark unknown to the Son; p. 458. The genuinneſs of that text vindicated, and the ſenſe explained; p. 458, 59. The deſtruction of Jeruſalem typical of the end of the world; 459, 60. Reflections upon the whole; 460, &c. The exact completion of theſe prophecies a ſtrong proof of revelation; p. 460, 61. Theſe prophecies plain and eaſy, taken from Moſes and Daniel, but improved and inlarged; p. 461. Veſpaſian and Titus wonderfully raiſed up and preſerved for the completion of theſe prophecies, and Joſephus for the illuſtration of their completion; p. 462, 63. The great uſe and advantage of his hiſtory in this reſpect; p. 463. The cauſe of theſe heavy judgments on the Jews, their crucifying of Jeſus; p. 464. Some correſpondence between their crime and their puniſhment; p. 464. Application to us Chriſtians; p. 464, 65, 66.

DISSERTATION XXII.

St. PAUL'S *Prophecy of the Man of Sin.*

p. 466—502.

St. Paul's and St. John's prophecies copied from Daniel with ſome improvements; p. 466. Two moſt memorable prophecies of St. Paul, the firſt of the man of ſin; p. 466, 67. I. The ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage; p. 467—475. The coming of Chriſt in this place, and the day of Chriſt, not meant of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but of the end of the world; p. 467, 68, 69. Other memorable events to take place before; p. 469, 70. What the apoſtaſy; p. 470. Who the man of ſin; p. 470, 71. His exalting himſelf; p. 471, 72. His ſitting in the temple of God; p. 472. Theſe things communicated before to the Theſſalonians; p. 473.

What hindered the revelation of the man of ſin; p. 473. His deſtruction foretold before his other qualifications; p. 473, 74. His other qualifications deſcribed; p. 474, 75. II. This prophecy ſtrangely miſtaken and miſapplied by ſome famous commentators; p. 475—485. Grotius's application of it to Caligula and Simon Magus refuted; p. 475, 76, 77. Hammond's application of it to Simon Magus and the Gnoſtics, refuted; p. 477, 78, 79. Le Clerck's application of it to the rebellious Jews and Simon the ſon of Gioras, refuted; p. 479, 80. Whitby's application of it to the Jewiſh nation with their high-prieſt and Sanhedrim, refuted; p. 480, 81. Wetſtein's application of it to Titus and the Flavian family, refuted; p. 482, 83. They bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply it to events after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; p. 483. Application of it to Mohammed, refuted; p. 483, 84. Application of it to the Reformation, refuted; p. 484, 85. Application of it to the future Antichriſt of the papiſts, refuted; p. 485. III. The true application of this prophecy; p. 485, &c. The apoſtaſy charged upon the church of Rome; p. 486. The pope ſhown to be the man of ſin; p. 486, 87, 88. How theſe things came to be mentioned in an epiſtle to the Theſſalonians rather than to the Romans; p. 488, 89. The ſeeds of popery ſown in the apoſtle's time; p. 489, 90. The empire of the man of ſin raiſed on the ruins of the Roman empire; p. 490. Machiavel cited to ſhow how this was effected; p. 490, 91, 92. Miracles pretended in the church of Rome; p. 492, 93. The empire of the man of ſin will be totally deſtroyed; p. 493, 94. The man of ſin the ſame as the little horn or mighty king in Daniel; p. 494, 95. Generally both by ancients and moderns denominated Antichriſt; p. 495. The ancient fathers give much the ſame interpretation of this whole paſſage; p. 495. Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian in the ſecond century; p. 495, 96. Origen in the third century; p. 496. Lactantius, Cyril, and Ambroſe in the fourth century; p. 496, 97. Jerome, Auſtin, and Chryſoſtom in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century; p. 497, 98. Whoſoever affected the title of univerſal biſhop, he was Antichriſt, in the opinion of pope Gregory the great; p. 498, 99, 500. How the true notion of Antichriſt was ſuppreſſed, and revived again with the reformation; p. 500, 501. How this doctrine afterwards became unfaſhionable, but is now growing into repute again; p. 501. Concluſion; ſuch a prophecy at once a proof of revelation, and an antidote to popery; the blindneſs of the papiſts in this particular; p. 501, 502.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

St. PAUL's *Prophecy of the Apoſtaſy of the latter times.*

p. 502—528.

St. Paul much affected with the foreſight of the great apoſtaſy of Chriſtians; p. 502, 503. Deſcribed here more particularly; p. 503, 504. I. The apoſtaſy ſhown to be idolatry; p. 504, 505. *Some* in ſcripture often ſignifies *many*; p. 505, 506. The

The apoſtaſy to be great and general; p. 506, 507. The ſame in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian church; p. 507. II. Shown more particularly to conſiſt in the worſhipping of demons; p. 507, 508. Demons in the Gentile theology middle powers and mediators between the Gods and men; p. 508, 509. Two kinds of demons, ſouls of men deified or canonized after death, and ſeparate ſpirits; p. 509, 510. Good and bad demons; p. 510. The Gentile notion of demons has ſometimes place in ſcripture; p. 511, 12, 13. A paſſage in Epiphanius, that much confirms and illuſtrates the foregoing expoſition; p. 513, 14, 15. The worſhip of ſaints and angels now the ſame as the worſhip of demons formerly; p. 515. The riſe of this worſhip; p. 515, 16. Too much promoted and encouraged by the fathers from Conſtantine's time, and particularly by Theodoret; p. 516, 17, 18. The conformity between the Pagan and Popiſh worſhip; p. 518, 19. III. The worſhip of the dead to take place in the latter times; p. 519. What theſe latter times are; p. 519, 20. IV. The worſhip of demons foretold expreſly by the Spirit in Daniel; p. 520, 21, 22. V. Propagated and eſtabliſhed through the hypocriſy of liars; p. 522, 23. VI. Forbidding to marry, a farther character of theſe men; p. 524. Who firſt recommended the profeſſion of ſingle life; p. 524, 25. The ſame perſons who prohibited marriage, promoted the worſhip of the dead; p. 525, 26. VII. The laſt note of theſe men, commanding to abſtain from meats; p. 526. The ſame perſons, who propagated the worſhip of the dead, impoſe alſo abſtinence from meats; p. 526, 27. This abſtinence perverting the purpoſe of nature; p. 527. All creatures to be received with thankſgiving; p. 528.

DISSERTATION XXIV.

An ANALYSIS *of the* REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

p. 533—643.

Very uſeful to trace the riſe and progreſs of religions and governments; p. 533. None more wonderful than that of Rome in its ſucceſs and prevalence; p. 533, 34. This ſignified beforehand by the Spirit of prophecy, and particularly in the Revelation; p. 534. The objections made to this book by ſeveral learned men; p. 534. This book difficult to explain; p. 534, 35. A memorable ſtory to this purpoſe, of Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter; p. 535. This book not therefore to be deſpiſed or neglected; p. 536. The right method of interpreting it; p. 536. What helps and aſſiſtances are requiſite; p. 536, 37. Hard fate of the beſt interpreters of this book; p. 537. Great encouragement however in the divine benediction; p. 537.

CHAP. I. ver. 1, 2, 3: contain the title of the book, the ſcope and deſign of it, and the bleſſing on him that readeth, and on them that attend to it; p. 538. Ver. 4, 5, 6, 7,

7, 8: the dedication to the ſeven churches of Aſia, and a ſolemn preface to ſhow the great authority of the divine revealer; p. 538, 39. Ver. 9--20: the place, the time, and manner of the firſt viſion; p. 539--44. The place, Patmos, whither St. John was baniſhed in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian; p. 540. The arguments for this opinion; p. 540--543. The Revelation given on the Lord's day; p. 543. The manner and circumſtances of the firſt viſion; p. 544.

CHAP. II. III. contain the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches of Aſia; p. 544--556. Why theſe ſeven addreſſed particularly; p. 549. Theſe epiſtles not prophetical, but peculiar to the church of that age; p. 549. The excellent form and ſtructure of theſe epiſtles; p. 549. In what ſenſe they may be ſaid to be prophetical; p. 550. Preſent ſtate of the ſeven churches; p. 550--556. Of Epheſus; p. 550, 51. Of Smyrna; p. 551, 52. Of Pergamus; p. 552. Of Thyatira; p. 552, 53. Of Sardis; p. 553, 54. Of Philadelphia; p. 554, 55. Of Laodicea; p. 555, 56. Uſe that we are to make of theſe judgments; p. 556.

CHAP. IV. the preparatory viſion to things which muſt be hereafter; p. 556, 57, 58. The ſcenery drawn in alluſion to the incampment of the children of Iſrael in the wilderneſs, and to the tabernacle or temple; p. 557, 58.

CHAP. V. a continuation of the preparatory viſion in order to ſhow the great importance of the prophecies here delivered; p. 559, 60, 61. Future events ſuppoſed to be written in a book; p. 560. This book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, ſignifying ſo many periods of prophecy; p. 560. The Son of God alone qualified to open the ſeals; p. 561. Whereupon all creatures ſing praiſes to God and to Chriſt; p. 561.

CHAP. VI. ver. 1, 2: contain the firſt ſeal or period, memorable for conqueſt; p. 561. This period commences with Veſpaſian, includes the conqueſt of Judæa, and continues during the reigns of the Flavian family and the ſhort reign of Nerva; p. 561, 62. Ver. 3, 4: the ſecond ſeal or period noted for war and ſlaughter; p. 563. This period commences with Trajan; p. 563. Comprehends the horrid wars and ſlaughters of the Jews and Romans in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian; p. 563, 64. Continues during the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors by blood or adoption; p. 565. Ver. 5, 6: the third ſeal or period, characterized by the ſtrict execution of juſtice, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; p. 565, 66. This period commences with Septimius Severus; p. 566. He and Alexander Severus juſt and ſevere emperors, and no leſs celebrated for procuring corn and oil, &c.; p. 566, 67. This period continues during the reigns of the Septimian family; p. 567. Ver. 7, 8: the fourth ſeal or period, diſtinguiſhed by a concurrence of evils, war, and famin, and peſtilence, and wild beaſts; p. 567. This period commences with Maximin; p. 568. The wars of this period; p. 568. The famins; p. 568. The peſtilences; p. 569, 70. The wild beaſts; p. 570. This period from Maximin to Diocletian; p. 570. Ver. 9, 10, 11: the fifth ſeal or period, remarkable for a dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians; p. 570, 71. This the tenth and laſt general perſecution, begun by Diocletian; p. 571, 72. From hence a memorable æra, called the æra of Diocletian, or æra of martyrs; p. 572. Ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17: the ſixth ſeal or period remarkable for great changes and revolutions, expreſſed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens; p. 572. No change greater

greater than the ſubverſion of the Heathen, and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion; p. 572, 73. The like figures of ſpeech uſed by other prophets; p. 5, 3, 74. The ſame thing expreſſed afterwards in plainer language; p. 574, 75.

CHAP. VII. a continuation of the ſixth ſeal or period; p. 575--579. A deſcription of the peace of the church in Conſtantine's time; p. 577, 78. And of the great acceſſion of converts to it; p. 578. Not only of the Jews, but of all nations; p. 578, 79. This period from the reign of Conſtantine the great to the death of Theodoſius the great; p. 579.

CHAP. VIII. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: The ſeventh ſeal or period comprehends ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of ſeven trumpets; p. 579, 80. The ſilence of half an hour previous to the ſounding of the trumpets; p. 580. As the ſeals foretold the ſtate of the Roman empire before and till it became Chriſtian, ſo the trumpets foreſhow the fate of it afterwards; p. 581. The deſign of the trumpets to rouſe the nations againſt the Roman empire; p. 581. Ver. 7: At the ſounding of the firſt trumpet Alaric and his Goths invade the Roman empire, twice beſiege Rome, and ſet fire to it in ſeveral places; p. 581, 82. Ver. 8, 9: At the ſounding of the ſecond trumpet Attila and his Huns waſte the Roman provinces and compel the eaſtern emperor, Theodoſius the ſecond, and the weſtern emperor, Valentinian the third, to ſubmit to ſhameful terms; p. 582, 83, 84. Ver. 10, 11: At the ſounding of the third trumpet Genſeric and his Vandals arrive from Africa, ſpoil and plunder Rome, and ſet ſail again with immenſe wealth and innumerable captives; p. 584, 85. Ver. 12: At the ſounding of the fourth trumpet Odoacer and the Heruli put an end to the very name of the weſtern empire; p. 585, 86. Theodoric founds the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths in Italy; p. 586. Italy made a province of the eaſtern empire, and Rome governed by a duke under the exarch of Ravenna; p. 586. Ver. 13: The three following trumpets are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the woe-trumpets, and the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eaſtern empire, as the foregoing did to the downfall of the weſtern empire; p. 586, 87.

CHAP. IX. Ver. 1—12: a prophecy of the locuſts or the Arabians under their falſe prophet Mohammed; p. 587. At the ſounding of the fifth trumpet a ſtar fallen from heaven opens the bottomleſs pit, and the ſun and air are darkened; p. 588, 89. Mohammed fitly compared to a blazing ſtar, and the Arabians to locuſts; p. 588. A remarkable coincidence, that at this time the ſun and air were really darkened; p. 589. The command not to hurt any green thing, or any tree, how fulfilled; p. 589. Their commiſſion to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians, how fulfilled; p. 589, 90. To torment the Greek and Latin churches, but not to extirpate either; p. 590. Repulſed as often as they beſieged Conſtantinople; p. 590. Theſe locuſts deſcribed ſo as to ſhow that not real but figurative locuſts were intended; p. 591, &c. Likened unto horſes, and the Arabians famous in all ages for their horſes and horſemanſhip; p. 591. Having on their heads as it were crowns like gold; p. 591, 92. Their faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women; p. 592. Their teeth as the teeth of lions, their breaſt-plates as it were breaſt-plates of iron, and the ſound of their wings as the ſound of chariots; p. 592. Like unto ſcorpions; p. 593. Their king called the deſtroyer; p. 593. Their hurting

hurting men five months, how to be underſtood; p. 593, &c. Fulfilled in every poſſible conſtruction; p. 594, 95. Concluſion of this woe; p. 595, 96. Ver. 13—21: a prophecy of the Euphratéan horſemen or Turks and Othmans; p. 596—603. At the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet the four angels or four ſultanies of the Turks and Othmans are looſed from the river Euphrates; p. 596, 97, 98. In what ſenſe they are ſaid to be prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, to ſlay the third part of men; p. 598, 99, 600. Their numerous armies, and eſpecially their cavalry; p. 600. Their delight in ſcarlet, blue, and yellow; p. 600, 601. The uſe of great guns and gun-powder among them; p. 601. Their power to do hurt by their tails, or the poiſonous train of their religion; p. 601, 602. The miſerable condition of the remains of the Greek church among them; p. 602. The Latin or weſtern church not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek or eaſtern church, but ſtill perſiſt in their idolatry and wickedneſs; p. 602, 603.

CHAP. X. a preparatory viſion to the prophecies relating to the weſtern church; p. 603—606. The angel with the little book or codicil to the larger book of the Apocalyps; p. 604. This properly diſpoſed under the ſixth trumpet, to deſcribe the ſtate of the weſtern church after the deſcription of the ſtate of the eaſtern; p. 604. Cannot be known what things were meant by the ſeven thunders; p. 604, 605. Though the little book deſcribes the calamities of the weſtern church, yet it is declared that they ſhall all have a happy period under the ſeventh trumpet; p. 605. St. John to publiſh the contents of this little book as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps; p. 605, 606.

CHAP. XI. Ver. 1—14: the contents of the little book; p. 606, &c. The meaſuring the temple to ſhow that during all this period there were ſome true Chriſtians, who conformed to the rule and meaſure of God's word; p. 607. The church to be troden under foot by the Gentiles in worſhip and practice forty and two months; p. 607, 608. Some true witneſſes however to proteſt againſt the corruptions of religion; p. 608. Why ſaid to be two witneſſes; p. 608. To propheſy in ſackcloth, as long as the grand corruption itſelf laſted; p. 608, 609. The character of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effect of their preaching; p. 609. The paſſion, and death, and reſurrection, and aſcenſion of the witneſſes; p. 609, 10, 11. Some apply this prophecy of the death and reſurrection of the witneſſes to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whoſe doctrin revived after their death in their followers; p. 611, 12. Others to the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg, but upon the change of affairs the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Paſſau to allow them the free exerciſe of their religion; p. 612, 13. Some again to the maſſacre of the proteſtants in France, and to Henry III's afterwards granting them the free exerciſe of their religion; p. 613. Others again to later events, Peter Jurieu to the perſecution of the proteſtants by Lewis XIV, Biſhop Lloyd and Whiſton to the Duke of Savoy's perſecution of the proteſtants in the valleys of Piedmont, and his re-eſtabliſhing them afterwards; p. 613, 14. In all theſe caſes there may be ſome reſemblance, but none of theſe is the laſt perſecution, and therefore this prophecy remains yet to be fulfilled; p. 614, 15. When it ſhall be accompliſhed, the ſixth trumpet and the ſecond woe ſhall end; p. 615. An hiſtorical deduction to ſhow that there have been ſome true witneſſes, who have

have profeſſed doctrines contrary to thoſe of the church of Rome, from the ſeventh century down to the Reformation; p. 615, &c. Witneſſes in the eighth century; p. 616, 17. The emperors Leo Iſauricus and Conſtantine Copronymus, and the council of Conſtantinople; p. 616. Charlemain and the council of Francfort; p. 616. The Britiſh churches and Alcuin; p. 616, 17. The council of Forojulio; p. 617. Paulinus biſhop of Aquileia; p. 617. Witneſſes in the ninth century; p. 617, 18, 19. The emperors of the eaſt, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, &c. and the emperors of the weſt, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious; p. 617. The council of Paris; p. 617. Agobard archbiſhop of Lyons; p. 617. Tranſubſtantiation firſt advanced by Paſchaſius Radbertus, and oppoſed by many learned men; p. 617, 18. Abanus Maurus; p. 618. Bertramus; p. 618. Johannes Scotus; p. 619. Angilburtus and the church of Milan; p. 619. Claude biſhop of Turin; p. 619. Witneſſes in the tenth century; p. 620, 21, 22. State of this century; p. 620. The council of Troſly; p. 620, 21. Athelſtan; p. 621. Elfere earl of Mercia; p. 621. Heriger and Alfric; p. 621, 22. The council of Rheims; and Gerbert archbiſhop of Rheims; p. 622. Witneſſes in the eleventh century; p. 622—625. State of this century; p. 622, 23. William the Conqueror, and William Rufus; p. 623. Heretics of Orleans; p. 623. Heretics in Flanders; p. 623. Berengarius and his followers; p. 624. Eccleſiaſtics in Germany, &c; p. 624. The council of Wincheſter; p. 624, 25. Witneſſes in the twelfth century; p. 625—631. The conſtitutions of Clarendon; p. 625. Fluentius; p. 625. St. Bernard; p. 625. Joachim of Calabria; p. 626. Peter de Bruis and Henry his diſciple; p. 626. Arnold of Breſcia; p. 626, 27. The Waldenſes and Albigenſes; p. 627. Their opinions; p. 628, 29. Teſtimonies concerning this ſect; p. 629, 30, 31. Of Reinerius, the inquiſitor-general; p. 629, 30. Of Thuanus; p. 630, 31. Of Mezeray; p. 631. Witneſſes in the thirteenth century; p. 631—633. Farther account of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes; p. 631. Almeric and his diſciples; p. 632. William of St. Amour; p. 632. Robert Groſthead or Greathed, biſhop of Lincoln; p. 632, 33. Matthew Paris; p. 633. Witneſſes in the fourteenth century; p. 633. Dante and Petrarch; p. 633. Peter Fitz Caſſiodor; p. 633. Michael Cæſenas and William Occam; p. 634. Marſilius of Padua; p. 634. In Germany and England the Lollards; p. 634. The famous John Wickliff; p. 634, 35. The Lollards remonſtrance to the parliament; p. 635, 36. Witneſſes in the fifteenth century; p. 636—640. The followers of Wickliff; p. 636. William Sawtre; p. 636. Thomas Badby; p. 636, 37. Sir John Oldcaſtle; p. 637. In Bohemia John Huſs and Jerome of Prague; p. 637. Opinions of the Bohemians or Huſſites; p. 638, 39. Jerome Savonarola; p. 640. In the ſixteenth century the Reformation; p. 640, 41. Hence an anſwer to the popiſh queſtion, Where was your religion before Luther; p. 641. Ver. 15, 16, 17, 18: a ſummary account of the ſeventh trumpet and the third woe, the particulars will be inlarged upon hereafter; p. 641, 42, 43. Concluſion of the firſt part; p. 643.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXV.

An ANALYSIS *of the* REVELATION.

PART II.

p. 643—739.

The right diviſion of the Revelation into two parts; p. 643, 44. This latter part an inlargement and illuſtration of the former; p. 644, 45. Ver. 19. of the eleventh chapter ſhould have been made ver. 1. of the twelfth chapter; p. 645, 46.

CHAP. XII. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: the church perſecuted by the great red dragon; p. 646---649. The church repreſented as a mother bearing children unto Chriſt; p. 646, 47. The great red dragon the Heathen Roman empire; p. 647, 48. His jealouſy of the church from the beginning; p. 648. But yet the church brought many children unto Chriſt, and in time ſuch as were promoted to the empire; p. 648. Conſtantine particularly, who ruled all nations with a rod of iron; p. 648. The woman's flight into the wilderneſs here anticipated, cometh in properly afterwards; p. 649. Ver. 7---12: the war in heaven repreſents the conteſts between the Heathen and Chriſtian religions; p. 649---652. The Chriſtian prevails over the heathen religion; p. 650, 51. Conſtantine himſelf and the Chriſtians of his time deſcribe his conqueſts under the ſame image; p. 651. Still new woes, though but for a ſhort time, threatened to the inhabiters of the earth; p. 652. Ver. 13---17 The dragon depoſed ſtill perſecutes the church; p. 652---654. Attempts to reſtore the Pagan, and ruin the Chriſtian religion; p. 652, 653. The church now under the protection of the empire; p. 653. Her flight afterwards into the wilderneſs; p. 653. Inundations of barbarous nations excited to overwhelm the Chriſtian religion; p. 653, 54. But on the contrary the Heathen conquerors ſubmit to the religion of the conquered Chriſtians; p. 654. Another method of perſecuting the church; p. 654.

CHAP. XIII. Ver. 1---10: the deſcription of the ten-horned beaſt ſucceſſor to the great red dragon; p. 654---662. All, both papiſts and proteſtants, agree that the beaſt repreſents the Roman empire; p. 655, 56. Shown to be not Pagan but Chriſtian, not imperial but papal Rome; p. 656, 57. How ſucceſſor to the great red dragon; p. 657. How one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed; p. 657, 58. The world in ſubmitting to the religion of the beaſt did in effect ſubmit again to the religion of the dragon; p. 658. The beaſt perfectly like the little horn in Daniel; p. 659. A general account of his blaſphemies and exploits, and how long to prevail and proſper; p. 659, 60. A particular account of his blaſphemies; p. 660. His making war with the ſaints, and overcoming them, and ſo eſtabliſhing his authority; p. 660, 61. An admonition to engage attention; p. 661. Something added by way of conſolation to the church; p. 662. Ver. 11--18: the deſcription of the two-horned beaſt; p. 662---71. The ten-horned beaſt, the Roman

Roman ſtate in general, the two-horned beaſt the Roman clergy in particular; p. 663. His riſe, and power, and authority; p. 663, 64. His pretended miracles; p. 664, 65. His making an image to the beaſt; p. 665. What this image of the beaſt is; p. 665, 66. His interdicts and excommunications; p. 666, 67, 68. The number of the beaſt explained; p. 668---671.

CHAP. XIV. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: the ſtate of the true church in oppoſition to that of the beaſt; p. 671, 72, 73. Ver. 6, 7: the firſt principal effort towards a reformation in the public oppoſition of emperors and biſhops to the worſhip of ſaints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries; p. 673, 74, 75. Ver. 8: another effort by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, who pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, and denounced her deſtruction; p. 675, 76. Ver. 9—13: the third effort by Martin Luther and his fellow reformers, who proteſted againſt all the corruptions of the church of Rome, as deſtructive of ſalvation; p. 676, 77. A ſolemn declaration from heaven to comfort them; p. 677. How the dead were bleſſed from henceforth; p. 677—680. Ver. 14—20: repreſent the judgments of God upon the followers and adherents of the beaſt under the figures, firſt of harveſt, then of vintage; p. 680, 81. Theſe judgments yet to be fulfilled; p. 681.

CHAP. XV. a preparatory viſion to the pouring out of the ſeven vials; p. 682—685. The ſeven laſt plagues belong to the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, or the third and laſt woe trumpet, and conſequently are not yet fulfilled; p. 682, 83, 84. Seven angels appointed to pour out the ſeven vials; p. 684, 85.

CHAP. XVI. Ver. 1: the commiſſion to pour out the ſeven vials, which are ſo many ſteps of the ruin of the Roman church, as the trumpets were of the ruin of the Roman empire; p. 685. Rome reſembles Egypt in her puniſhments as well as in her crimes; p. 685. Ver. 2: the firſt vial or plague; p. 685, 86. Ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: the ſecond and third vials or plagues; p. 686, 87. Ver. 8, 9: the fourth vial or plague; p. 687. Ver. 10, 11: the fifth vial or plague; p. 688. Ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16: the ſixth vial or plague; p. 688, 89. Ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21: the ſeventh and laſt vial or plague; p. 689, 90, 91.

CHAP. XVII. Having ſeen how Rome reſembles Egypt in her plagues, we ſhall now ſee her fall compared to Babylon; p. 691, 92. Ver. 1—6: an account premiſed of her ſtate and condition; p. 692, &c. St. John called upon to ſee the condemnation and execution of the great whore; p. 692. This character more proper to modern than ancient Rome; p 693. Her ſitting upon a ſcarlet-coloured beaſt with ſeven heads and ten horns; p. 693, 94. Her ornaments of purple and ſcarlet color, with gold and precious ſtone, and pearls; p. 694, 95. Her inchanting cup; p. 695. Her inſcription upon her forehead; p. 696, 97. Her being drunken with the blood of the ſaints; p. 697, 98. Ver. 7—18: the angel explains the myſtery of the woman, and of the beaſt that carried her; p. 698, &c. A general account of the beaſt and his threefold ſtate; p. 699. The ſeven heads are explained primarily to ſignify the ſeven mountains on which Rome is ſituated; p. 699, 700. Alſo to ſignify ſeven forms of government; p. 700. What the five fallen; p. 700. What the ſixth; p. 700. What the ſeventh or eighth; p. 700, 701. The ten horns explained to ſignify ten kings or kingdoms; p. 702. Their giving their power and ſtrength

unto the beaſt; p. 702, 703. The extenſiveneſs of the power and dominion of Rome; p. 703. The ſame kings, who helped to raiſe her, to pull her down; p. 703, 704. The woman explained to ſignify the great city, or Rome; p. 704, 705.

CHAP. XVIII. Ver. 1—8: a deſcription of the fall and deſtruction of ſpiritual Babylon; p. 705, &c. To become the habitation of devils and foul ſpirits; p. 706. A warning to forſake her communion; p. 706. To be utterly burnt with fire; p. 706, 707. Ver. 9—20: the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome, and rejoicings of others; p. 707, 708, 709. Ver. 21—24: her utter deſolation foretold; p. 709, 710.

CHAP. XIX. Ver. 1—10: the church exhorted to praiſe God for his judgments upon her; p. 711, 12. Her ſmoke to riſe up for ever and ever; p. 712. God alſo to be praiſed for the happy ſtate of the reformed church in this period; p. 712. St. John prohibited to worſhip the angel; p. 713. Ver. 11—21; the victory and triumph of Chriſt over the beaſt and falſe prophet; p. 713, 14, 15.

CHAP. XX. Ver. 1—6. Satan is bound, and the famous millennium commences, or the reſurrection of the ſaints and their reign upon earth for a thouſand years; p. 715, 16, 17. The millennium not yet fulfilled, though the reſurrection be taken figuratively; p. 717, 18. But the reſurrection to be underſtood litterally; p. 718. Other prophets have foretold, that there ſhall be ſuch a happy period as the millennium; p. 718, 19. St. John only, that the martyrs ſhall riſe to partake of it, and that it ſhall continue a thouſand years; p. 719. The Jewiſh and Chriſtian church have both believed, that theſe thouſand years will be the ſeventh millennary of the world; p. 719. Quotations from Jewiſh writers to this purpoſe; p. 719, 20. From Chriſtian writers, St. Barnabas, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, &c. p. 720—723. How this doctrin grew afterwards into diſrepute; p. 724. Great caution required in treating of it; p. 724. Ver. 7---10: Satan to be looſed again, and to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog; p. 724, &c. How Gog and Magog are to be underſtood; p. 725, 26. The final overthrow of Satan; p. 726, 27. Ver. 11---15: the general reſurrection and judgment, and end of the world; p. 727, 28.

CHAP XXI. Ver. 1---8: the new heaven, the new earth, and the new Jeruſalem; p. 728, 29, 30. The new heaven and the new earth to take place after the millennium; p. 730, 31. Ver. 9---27: a more particular deſcription of the new Jeruſalem; p. 731---734.

CHAP. XXII. Ver. 1---5: a continuation of the deſcription of the new Jeruſalem; p. 734, 35. Ver. 6, 7: a ratification and confirmation of the foregoing particulars, with a bleſſing upon thoſe who keep the ſaying of this book; p. 735, 36. Ver. 8---21: in the concluſion ſeveral particulars to confirm the divine authority of this book; p. 736, 37, 38. This book that ſure word of prophecy mentioned by St. Peter; p. 738, 39. A double bleſſing upon thoſe who ſtudy and obſerve it; p. 739.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

Recapitulation of the Prophecies relating to Popery.

p. 739—763.

Popery being the great corruption of Chriſtianity, there are more prophecies relating to that than to almoſt any other diſtant event; p. 739, 40. It is thought proper to repreſent theſe in one view; p. 740. I. It is foretold that there ſhould be ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome uſurped in the Chriſtian world; p. 740, &c. A tyrannical, idolatrous, and antichriſtian power foretold; p. 740. A great apoſtaſy in the church foretold; p. 740, 41. This apoſtaſy to conſiſt chiefly in the worſhipping of demons, angels and departed ſaints; p. 741. The ſame church, that is guilty of this idolatry, to forbid marriage and injoin abſtinence from meats; p. 741. The pope's making himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God; p. 741, 42. His extending his authority and juriſdiction over ſeveral countries and nations; p. 742. The power and riches of the clergy; p. 742. The pomp and ſplendor of their ceremonies and veſtments; p. 742. Their policy, and lies, and pious frauds; p. 743. Their pretended viſions and miracles; p. 743. Their excommunications of heretics; p. 743. Their making war with the ſaints, and prevailing againſt them; p. 743, 44. Beſides theſe direct, other more oblique prophecies; p. 744, &c. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, the types of Rome; p. 744. More frequent intimations of popery in the New Teſtament; p. 744. In our Saviour's caution in giving honor to his mother, and in rebuking St. Peter; p. 744, 45. In his inſtitution of the laſt ſupper; p. 745. In his reproving ſo particularly the vices of the ſcribes and phariſees; p. 745, 46. In the prohibitions of implicit faith and obedience, of the worſhip of angels, of all pretenſions to works of merit and ſupererogation, of lording it over God's heritage, of the ſervice of God in an unknown tongue, &c.; p. 746. In St. Paul's admoniſhing the Romans to beware of apoſtaſy; p. 746. In St. Peter's and St. Jude's deſcription of falſe teachers; p. 746, 47. In St. Paul's prediction of the corruption of the laſt days; p. 747. II. Not only foretold that there ſhould be ſuch a power, but the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out; p. 747, &c. In Daniel's deſcription of the little horn which only one perſon in the world can fully anſwer; p. 747, 48. In Daniel's character of the blaſphemous king, which agrees better with the head of the Roman, than with the head of the Greek church; p. 748, 49. In St. Paul's portrait of the man of ſin; p. 749, 50. In St. John's viſion of the ten-horned beaſt, and of the woman riding upon the beaſt; p. 750, 51. Several arguments to ſhow that not pagan, but papal Rome was intended; p. 751, 52. III. Beſides the place and the perſons, the time alſo is ſignified of this tyrannical power, when, and how long, p. 752, &c. To ariſe in the latter days of the Roman empire; p. 753. To prevail 1260 years; p. 753, 54. The beginning of theſe 1260 years not to be dated too early; p. 754, 55. To be fixed in the eighth century, and probably in the year 727; p. 755. IV. The fall and deſtruction of this antichriſtian power; p. 755, &c. The ſecond woe of the Othman empire muſt end, before the third woe can be poured out upon the kingdom of

of the beaſt; p. 756, 57. The divine judgments upon the kingdom of the beaſt diſplayed under variety of figures and repreſentations; p. 757, 58. Antichriſt and his ſeat both to be deſtroyed by fire; p. 758. About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Chriſtian Antichriſt, the converſion and reſtoration of the Jews; p. 758, 59, 60. The proper order of theſe events; p. 760. After the deſtruction of Antichriſt the glorious millennium commences or the kingdom of Chriſt upon earth for a thouſand years; p. 760, 61, 62. Beſt to forbear all curious inquiries into this ſubject; p. 762. After the thouſand years and the general judgment, the world to be deſtroyed, and the new heaven and the new earth to ſucceed; p. 762, 63. Concluſion; the corruptions of popery being ſo particularly foretold, we have the leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed and offended at them; p. 763. The goſpel will finally prevail over all enemies and oppoſers; p. 763.

CONCLUSION.

p. 764—780.

From theſe inſtances of the truth of prophecy may be inferred the truth of revelation; p. 764. A ſummary view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world; p. 764, 65, 66. A large quotation from Dr. Clarke tending to confirm and illuſtrate the ſame ſubject; p. 766—775. No room for any poſſible forgery of the prophecies; p. 775. The harmony, variety, and beauty of the prophetic writings; p. 775, 76. Though ſome parts are obſcure for good reaſons, yet others are ſufficiently clear, and the perfect completion will produce a perfect underſtanding of all the prophecies, p. 776. Human learning requiſite to explain the prophecies, and particularly a competent knowlege of hiſtory; p. 776, 77. The patrons of infidelity are only pretenders to learning and knowlege; p. 777. Modern infidelity worſe even than that of the Jews; p. 777. So many inſtances of prophecies and their completions, the ſtrongeſt atteſtations of a divine revelation; p. 778, 79. Miracles and other proofs of the truth of Chriſtian religion; p. 779. Prophecies accompliſhed the greateſt of all miracles; p. 779. Concluſion; p. 779, 80

ERRATA in VOL. I.

For *ſome*,	p. 37. l. 2.	read *ſame*.
For *Numb.* XXII.	p. 74. l. 25.	read *Numb.* XXIII.
For *Siſhak*,	p. 104. l. 1.	read *Shiſhak*.
For (*Ezekiel*,	p. 176. l. 21.	read *Ezekiel* (
For 6,	p. 198. l. 29.	read 9.
For Αχαοιοι,	p. 225. l. 9.	read Αχαιοι.
For *become*,	p. 242. l. 19.	read *became*.
For *dominion*,	p. 269. l. 18.	read *dominions*.
For *ſon*,	p. 323. l. 13.	read *ſun*.
For *taken*,	p. 427. l. 22.	read *taking*.
For *ſpeaking*,	p. 437. l. 19.	read *ſpeaketh*.
For *object*,	p. 439. l. 5.	read *objection*.
For *dignity*,	p. 458. l. 30.	read *divinity*.
For *ver.* 9,	p. 673. l. 19.	read *ver.* 6.
For *poſſibly*,	p. 701. l. 23.	read *properly*.
For *propheſied*,	p. 770. l. 5.	read *propheſied of*.

DISSER-

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the world.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

TO HIS GRACE

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP

OF

CANTERBURY:

(DR. HERRING.)

May it pleaſe Your GRACE,

WITH Your wonted condeſcenſion and goodneſs, to accept this offering from my hands, as a teſtimony of my veneration for Your GRACE, and of my gratitude for your favors to me. A work of this kind I could not indeed addreſs to any one ſo properly as to Your GRACE, on account of your eminent ſtation, and much more on account of your amiable qualities, and more ſtill as I have the happineſs to live under your peculiar juriſ-

 diction:

diction: and Your GRACE is very kind in permitting me to inſcribe it to Your Name, which kindneſs I will not abuſe with the uſual ſtile of dedications. Your GRACE's virtues are ſo well known, and ſo univerſally eſteemed, as to ſtand in need of no commendation, and much leſs of mine.

I would rather beg leave to appriſe Your GRACE, and the reader, of the deſign of theſe diſſertations: which is not to treat of the prophecies in general, nor even of thoſe prophecies in particular, which were fulfilled in the perſon and actions of our Saviour; but only of ſuch as relate more immediately to theſe later ages, and are in ſome meaſure receiving their accompliſhment at this time. What firſt ſuggeſted the deſign, were ſome converſations formerly with a great General *, who had for many years the chief commands in the army, and was a man of good underſtanding, and of ſome reading, but unhappily had no great regard for revealed religion or the clergy. When the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, he conſtantly derided the notion, aſſerted that there was no ſuch thing, and that the prophecies which were pretended were written after the events. It was immediately replied, that though ſuch a thing might with leſs ſcruple and more confidence

* Marſhal *Wade*.

fidence be affirmed of ſome prophecies fulfilled long ago, yet it could never be proved of any, the contrary might be proved almoſt to a demonſtration: but it could not be ſo much as affirmed of ſeveral prophecies without manifeſt abſurdity; for there were ſeveral prophecies in ſcripture, which were not fulfilled till theſe later ages, and were fulfilling even now, and conſequently could not be framed after the events, but undeniably were written and publiſhed many ages before. He was ſtartled at this, and ſaid he muſt acknowlege, that if this point could be proved to ſatisfaction, there would be no arguing againſt ſuch plain matter of fact; it would certainly convince him, and he believed would be the readieſt way to convince every reaſonable man, of the truth of revelation.

It was this occaſion, my LORD, that firſt gave riſe to theſe diſſertations, which were originally drawn up in the form of ſome ſermons. But ſince that time they have been new-modeled, much altered and much inlarged, and confirmed by proper authorities. And though ſome of them only are here publiſhed, yet each diſſertation may be conſidered as a diſtinct treatiſe by itſelf. It is hoped indeed, that the whole, like an arch, will add ſtrength and firmneſs to each part; but at the ſame time care hath been taken,

that

that the parts ſhould have ſtrength in themſelves, as well as a relation to the whole, and a connection with each other. The publication therefore of ſome parts cannot be improper; and the others ſhall go to the preſs, ſo ſoon as an indifferent ſhare of health, conſtant preaching twice a day, and other neceſſary duties and avocations, will permit me to put the finiſhing hand to them.

Every reader muſt know, Your GRACE and every ſcholar muſt know more eſpecially, that ſuch works are not to be precipitated. They require time and learned leiſure, great reading and great exactneſs, being diſquiſitions of ſome of the moſt curious points of hiſtory, as well as explications of ſome of the moſt difficult paſſages of ſcripture. And I ſhould not preſume to offer any of them to Your GRACE, or to ſubmit them to the public cenſure, if they had not been firſt peruſed and corrected by ſome of my friends, and particularly by three of the beſt ſcholars, and ableſt critics of this age, Biſhop Pearce, Dr. Warburton, and Dr. Jortin; who were alſo my friendly coadjutors in my edition of Milton; and as they excel in all good learning themſelves, ſo they are very ready to promote and aſſiſt the well-meant endevors of others.

When

When the other parts ſhall appear, they ſhall likewiſe beg Your GRACE's patronage and protection. And in the mean time may Your GRACE's health be re-eſtabliſhed, and continue many years for the good of this church and nation! It is nothing to ſay that it is my earneſt wiſh: It is the wiſh of all mankind: but of none more ardently than,

May it pleaſe your GRACE,

Your GRACE's *moſt dutiful,*

and obliged,

and obedient Servant,

Oct. 5, 1754.

THOMAS NEWTON.

Secunda pars (hiſtoriæ eccleſiaſticæ) quæ eſt hiſtoria ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis conſtat, prophetia ipſa et ejus adimpletione. Quapropter tale eſſe debet hujus operis inſtitutum, ut cum ſingulis ex ſcripturis prophetiis eventuum veritas conjungatur; idque per omnes mundi ætates, tum ad confirmationem fidei, tum ad inſtituendam diſciplinam quandam et peritiam in interpretatione prophetiarum, quæ adhuc reſtant complendæ. Attamen in hac re, admittenda eſt illa latitudo, quæ divinis vaticiniis propria eſt et familiaris; ut adimpletiones eorum non fiant et continenter et punctualiter: referunt enim authoris ſui naturam; *cui unus dies tanquam mille anni, et mille anni tanquam unus dies:* Atque licet plenitudo et faſtigium complementi eorum, plerunque alicui certæ ætati, vel etiam certo momento deſtinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos et ſcalas complementi, per diverſas mundi ætates. Hoc opus deſiderari ſtatuo, verum tale eſt, ut magna cum ſapientia, ſobrietate, et reverentia tractandum ſit, aut omnino dimittendum.

Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Cap. 11.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the ſtrongeſt evidences for the truth of revealed religion is that ſeries of prophecies which is preſerved in the Old and New Teſtament; and a greater ſervice perhaps could not be done to Chriſtianity than to lay together the ſeveral predictions of ſcripture with their completions, to ſhow how particularly things have been foretold, and how exactly fulfilled. A work of this kind was deſired by the Lord Bacon in his (1) Advancement of Learning: and he intitleth it *the hiſtory of prophecy*, and therein would have "every prophecy of the ſcripture be ſorted with the event fulfilling the "ſame throughout the ages of the world both for the better confir-"mation of faith," as he ſaith, "and for the better illumination of the "church, touching thoſe parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: "allowing nevertheleſs that latitude which is agreeable and familiar "unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of the author with "whom a thouſand years are but as one day, and therefore they are "not fulfilled punctually at once, but have ſpringing and germinant "accompliſhment throughout many ages, though the highth or fulneſs "of them may refer to ſome one age."

Such a work would indeed be a wonderful confirmation of our faith, it being the prerogative of God alone, or of thoſe who are commiſſioned by him, certainly to foretel future events; and the conſequence is ſo plain and neceſſary, from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation, that an infidel hath no way of evading the concluſion but by denying the premiſes. But why ſhould it be thought at all incredible for God upon ſpecial occaſions to foretel future events? or how could a divine revelation (only ſuppoſing that there was a divine revelation) be better atteſted and confirmed than by prophecies? It is certain that God hath perfect and moſt exact knowlege of futurity, and foreſees all things to come as well as comprehends every

(1) Book the 2d. in Engliſh.

thing paſt or preſent. It is certain too that as he knoweth them perfectly himſelf, ſo he may reveal them to others in what degrees and proportions he pleaſeth; and that he actually hath revealed them in ſeveral inſtances, no man can deny, every man muſt acknowlege, who compares the ſeveral prophecies of ſcripture with the events fulfilling the ſame.

But ſo many ages have paſſed ſince the ſpirit of prophecy hath ceaſed in the world, that ſeveral perſons are apt to imagin, that no ſuch thing ever exiſted, and that what we call predictions are only hiſtories written, after the events had happened, in a prophetic ſtile and manner: which is eaſily ſaid indeed, but hath never been proved, nor is there one tolerable argument to prove it. On the contrary there are all the proofs and authorities, which can be had in caſes of this nature, that the prophets propheſied in ſuch and ſuch ages, and the events happened afterwards in ſuch and ſuch ages: and you have as much reaſon to believe theſe, as you have to believe any ancient matters of fact whatever; and by the ſame rule that you deny theſe, you might as well deny the credibility of all ancient hiſtory.

But ſuch is the temper and genius of infidels; "they underſtand "neither what they ſay; nor whereof they affirm;" and ſo betray their own ignorance, rather than acknowlege the force of divine truth; and aſſert things without the leaſt ſhadow or color of proof, rather than admit the ſtrongeſt proofs of divine revelation. It betrays ignorance indeed, altogether unworthy of perſons of liberal education, not to know when ſuch and ſuch authors floriſhed, and ſuch and ſuch remarkable events happened; and it muſt be ſomething worſe than ignorance to aſſert things without the leaſt ſhadow or color of proof, contrary to all the marks and characters by which we judge of the truth and genuinneſs of ancient authors, contrary to the whole tenor of hiſtory both ſacred and profane, which in this reſpect give wonderful light and aſſiſtance to each other: and yet theſe are the men, who would be thought to ſee farther and to know more than other people, and will believe nothing without evident proof and demonſtration.

The facts, ſay they, were prior to the predictions, and the prophecies were written after the hiſtories. But what if we ſhould be able to prove the truth of propheey, and conſequently the truth of revelation,

not

not by an induction of particulars long ago foretold and long ago fulfilled, the predictions whereof you may therefore ſuppoſe to have been written after the hiſtories, but by inſtances of things which have confeſſedly many ages ago been foretold, and have in theſe later ages been fulfilled, or are fulfilling at this very time; ſo that you cannot poſſibly pretend the prophecies to have been written after the events, but muſt acknowlege the events many ages after to correſpond exactly with the predictions many ages before? This province we will now enter upon, this taſk we will undertake, and will not only produce inſtances of things foretold with the greateſt clearneſs in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greateſt exactneſs in ages following, if there is any truth in hiſtory ſacred or profane; but we will alſo (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) inſiſt chiefly upon ſuch prophecies, as are known to have been written and publiſhed in books many ages ago, and yet are receiving their completion, in part at leaſt, at this very day.

For this is one great excellency of the evidence drawn from prophecy for the truth of religion, that it is a *growing* evidence; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more teſtimonies there are and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation. And in this reſpect we have eminently the advantage over thoſe, who lived even in the days of Moſes and the prophets, of Chriſt and his apoſtles. They were happy indeed in hearing their diſcourſes and ſeeing their miracles, and doubtleſs "many righteous men have deſired to ſee thoſe "things which they ſaw and have not ſeen them, and to hear thoſe "things which they heard and have not heard them:" (Mat. XIII. 17.) but yet I ſay we have this advantage over them, that ſeveral things, which were then only foretold, are now fulfilled; and what were to them only matters of faith, are become matters of fact and certainty to us, upon whom the latter ages of the world are come. God in his goodneſs hath afforded to every age ſufficient evidence of the truth. Miracles may be ſaid to have been the great proofs of revelation to the firſt ages who ſaw them performed, Prophecies may be ſaid to be the great proofs of revelation to the laſt ages who ſee them fulfilled. All pretence too for denying the prophecies of ſcripture is by theſe means abſolutely precluded; for how can it be pretended that the pro-

phecies were written after the events, when it appears that the lateſt of theſe prophecies were written and publiſhed in books near 1700 years ago, and the events have, many of them, been accompliſhed ſeveral ages after the predictions, or perhaps are accompliſhing in the world at this preſent time? You are therefore reduced to this neceſſity, that you muſt either renounce your ſenſes, and deny what you may read in your bibles, together with what you may ſee and obſerve in the world: or elſe muſt acknowlege the truth of prophecy, and in conſequence of that the truth of divine revelation.

Many of the principal prophecies of ſcripture will by theſe means come under our conſideration, and they may beſt be conſidered with a view to the ſeries and order of time. The ſubject is curious as it is important, and will be very well worth *my* pains and *your* attention: and though it turn chiefly upon points of learning, yet I ſhall endevor to render it as intelligible, and agreeable, and edifying as I can to all ſorts of readers. It is hoped the work will prove the more generally acceptable, as it will not conſiſt merely of abſtract ſpeculative divinity, but will be inlivened with a proper intermixture of hiſtory, and will include ſeveral of the moſt material tranſactions from the beginning of the world to this day.

NOAH's

I.

NOAH's PROPHECY.

THE firſt prophecy that occurs in ſcripture, is that part of the ſentence pronounced upon the ſerpent, which is, as I may ſay, the firſt opening of Chriſtianity, the firſt promiſe of our redemption. We read in Geneſis (III. 15.) "I will put enmity be-"tween thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed; "it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel." If you underſtand this in the ſenſe which is commonly put upon it by chriſtian interpreters, you have a remarkable prophecy and remarkably fulfilled. Taken in any other ſenſe, it is not worthy of Moſes, nor indeed of any ſenſible writer.

The hiſtory of the antediluvian times is very ſhort and conciſe, and there are only a few prophecies relating to the deluge. As Noah was a preacher of righteouſneſs to the old world, ſo he was a prophet to the new, and was enabled to predict the future condition of his poſterity, which is a ſubject that upon many accounts requires a particular diſcuſſion.

It is an excellent character that is given of Noah, (Gen. VI. 9.) "Noah was a juſt man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked "with God." But the beſt of men are not without their infirmities; and Noah (Gen. IX. 20, &c.) having "planted a vineyard, and drank "of the wine," became inebriated, not knowing perhaps the nature and ſtrength of the liquor, or being through age incapable of bearing it: and Moſes is ſo faithful an hiſtorian, that he records the failings and imperfections of the moſt venerable patriarchs, as well as their merits and virtues. Noah in this condition lay "uncovered within his tent: "and Ham the father of Canaan ſaw the nakedneſs of his father;" and inſtead of concealing his weakneſs, as a good-natured man or at leaſt a dutiful ſon would have done, he cruelly expoſed it "to his two "brethren without." But "Shem and Japheth," more compaſſionate to the infirmities of their aged father, "took a garment and went backward" with ſuch decency and reſpect, that they "ſaw not the naked-"neſs of their father" at the ſame time that they "covered it." When

"Noah

" Noah awoke from his wine," he was informed of " what his younger " ſon had done unto him." The (1) word in the original ſignifies his *little* ſon: and ſome (2) commentators therefore, on account of what follows, have imagined that Canaan joined with his father Ham in this mockery and inſult upon Noah; and the (3) Jewiſh rabbins have a tradition, that Canaan was the firſt who ſaw Noah in this poſture, and then went and called his father Ham, and concurred with him in ridiculing and expoſing the old man. But this is a very arbitrary method of interpretation; no mention was made before of Canaan and of what he had done, but only of " Ham the father of Canaan;" and of him therefore muſt the phraſe of *little ſon* or *youngeſt ſon* be naturally and neceſſarily underſtood.

In conſequence of this different behaviour of his three ſons, Noah as a patriarch was inlightened, and as the father of a family who is to reward or puniſh his children was impowered, to foretel the different fortunes of their families: for this prophecy relates not ſo much to themſelves, as to their poſterity, the people and nations deſcended from them. He was not prompted by wine or reſentment; for neither the one nor the other could infuſe the knowlege of futurity, or inſpire him with the preſcience of events, which happened hundreds, nay thouſands of years afterwards. But God, willing to manifeſt his ſuperintendence and government of the world, indued Noah with the ſpirit of prophecy, and enabled him in ſome meaſure to diſcloſe the purpoſes of his providence towards the future race of mankind. At the ſame time it was ſome comfort and reward to Shem and Japheth, for their reverence and tenderneſs to their father, to hear of the *bleſſing* and *inlargement* of their poſterity; and it was ſome mortification and puniſhment to Ham, for his mockery and cruelty to his father, to hear of the *malediction* and *ſervitude* of ſome of his children, and that as he was a wicked ſon himſelf, ſo a wicked race ſhould ſpring from him.

This then was Noah's prophecy: and it was delivered, as (4) moſt of

(1) קטן *katan*, parvus, minor, minimus.

(2) Hinc probabiliter colligitur eum fuiſſe paternæ iniquitatis ſocium. Piſcator apud Polum.

(3) Vid. Origen. in Geneſim. p. 33. vol. 2. Edict. Benedict. Operosè quæritur, cur Chami maledictionem in caput filii Chanaan contorſerit. Reſpondet Theodoretus in Geneſ. quæſt. 57. ab Hebræo quodam ſe didiciſſe primum Chanaan avi ſui verenda animadvertiſſe, et patri oſtentaſſe, tanquam de ſene ridentem. Et vero tale quid legitur in Bereſith Rabba ſect.

of the ancient prophecies were delivered, in metre for the help of the memory. (Gen. IX. 25, 26, 27.)

" Curſed be Canaan.
" A ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren.
" Bleſſed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
" And Canaan ſhall be their ſervant.
" God ſhall inlarge Japheth.
" And ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem,
" And Canaan ſhall be their ſervant.

Canaan was the fourth ſon of Ham according to the order wherein they are mentioned in the enſuing chapter. And for what reaſon can you believe that Canaan was ſo particularly marked out for the curſe? for his father Ham's tranſgreſſion? But where would be the juſtice or equity to paſs by Ham himſelf with the reſt of his children, and to puniſh only Canaan for what Ham had committed? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections; and we may ſay in this caſe what was ſaid in another, (Gen. XVIII. 25.) " Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" The curſe was ſo far from being pronounced upon Canaan for his father Ham's tranſgreſſion, that we do not read that it was pronounced for his own, nor was executed till ſeveral hundred years after his death. The truth is, the curſe is to be underſtood not ſo properly of Canaan, as of his deſcendents to the lateſt generations. It is thinking meanly of the ancient prophecies of ſcripture, and having very imperfect, very unworthy conceptions of them, to limit their intention to particular perſons. In this view the ancient prophets would be really what the Deiſts think them, little better than common fortune-tellers; and their prophecies would hardly be worth remembring or recording, eſpecially in ſo conciſe and compendious a hiſtory as that of Moſes. We muſt affix a larger meaning to them, and underſtand them not of ſingle perſons, but of whole nations; and thereby a nobler ſcene of things, and

ſect. 37. qui liber ſcriptus fuit diu ante Theodoretum. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 37. Col. 308.

(4) The reader may ſee this point proved at large in the very ingenious and learned Mr. Archdeacon Lowth's poetical Prælections (particularly Prælect. 18.) &c. a work that merits the attention of all who ſtudy the Hebrew language, and of the clergy eſpecially.

(5) Noa

and a more extenſive proſpect will be opened to us of the divine diſpenſations. The *curſe* of *ſervitude* pronounced upon Canaan, and ſo likewiſe the promiſe of *bleſſing* and *inlargement* made to Shem and Japheth, are by no means to be confined to their own perſons, but extend to their whole race; as afterwards the prophecies concerning Iſhmael, and thoſe concerning Eſau and Jacob, and thoſe relating to the twelve patriarchs, were not ſo properly verified in themſelves as in their poſterity, and thither we muſt look for their full and perfect completion. The curſe therefore upon Canaan was properly a curſe upon the Canaanites. God foreſeeing the wickedneſs of this people, (which began in their father Ham, and greatly increaſed in this branch of his family) commiſſioned Noah to pronounce a curſe upon them, and to devote them to the ſervitude and miſery, which their more than common vices and iniquities would deſerve. And this account was plainly written by Moſes, for the encouragement of the Iſraelites, to ſupport and animate them in their expedition againſt a people, who by their ſins had forfeited the divine protection, and were deſtined to ſlavery from the days of Noah.

We ſee the purport and meaning of the prophecy, and now let us attend to the completion of it. "Curſed be Canaan;" and the Canaanites appear to have been an abominably wicked people. The ſin and puniſhment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain are too well known to be particularly ſpecified: and for the other inhabitants of the land, which was promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed, God bore with them "till their iniquity was full." (Gen. XV. 16.) They were not only addicted to idolatry, which was then the caſe of the greater part of the world, but were guilty of the worſt ſort of idolatry; "for every abomination to the Lord, which "he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their ſons and "their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods." (Deut. XII. 31.) Their religion was bad, and their morality (if poſſible) was worſe; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals uſually generate each other,

(5) Noa Chamum execratus prædixerat fore ut ejus poſteri ſervi eſſent ſervorum: atque id impletum in Chananæis, tum cum ſubire coacti ſunt Iſraelitarum jugum qui Ægyptiis diu ſervierant. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Col. 3, 4.

(6) S. Pompeius, ſtudiis rudis, libertorum ſuorum

other, and go hand in hand together. Read the 18th and the 20th chapters of Leviticus, and you will find that unlawful marriages and unlawful luſts, witchcraft, adultery, inceſt, ſodomy, beaſtiality, and the like monſtrous enormities were frequent and common among them. And was not a *curſe* in the nature of things, as well as in the juſt judgment of God, deſervedly intailed upon ſuch a people and nation as this? It was not "for their own righteouſneſs *that* the Lord brought "*the Iſraelites in* to poſſeſs the land: *but* for the wickedneſs of theſe "nations did the Lord drive them out:" (Deut. IX. 4.) and he would have driven out the Iſraelites in like manner for the very ſame abominations. (Levit. XVIII. 24, &c.) "Defile not you yourſelves in any of "theſe things; for in all theſe the nations are defiled which I caſt out "before you. And the land is defiled; therefore I do viſit the "iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itſelf vomiteth out her inha-"bitants. Ye ſhall therefore keep my ſtatutes and my judgments, and "ſhall not commit any of theſe abominations—That the land ſpue "not you out alſo when ye defile it, as it ſpued out the nations that "were before you. For whoſoever ſhall commit any of theſe abomi-"nations, even the ſouls that commit them, ſhall be cut off from "among their people."

But the curſe particularly implies ſervitude and ſubjection. "Curſed "be Canaan; a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren." It is very well known that the word *brethren* in Hebrew comprehends more diſtant relations. The deſcendents therefore of Canaan were to be ſubject to the deſcendents of both Shem and Japheth: and the natural conſequence of vice, in communities as well as in ſingle perſons, is ſlavery. The ſame thing is repeated again and again in the two following verſes, "and Canaan ſhall be ſervant to them, *or* their ſer-"vant;" ſo that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some (5) critics take the phraſe of "ſervant of ſervants" ſtrictly and litterally, and ſay that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became ſervants to the Iſraelites, who had been ſervants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much; the phraſe of (6) "ſervant

ſuorum libertus, *ſervorumque ſervus*; ſpecioſis invidens ut pareret humillimis. Velleius Paterc. II. 73. Hic vero valet *poſtremus ſervorum*. Vid. Salluſt. Fragm. Id. Velleius II. 83. Infra ſervos cliens.—From ſome M. S. notes of Mr. Waſſe's in the hands of Dr. Jortin.

(7) Mede's

" of ſervants" is of the ſame turn and caſt as " holy of holies, king " of kings, ſong of ſongs," and the like expreſſions in ſcripture; and imports that they ſhould be the loweſt and baſeſt of ſervants.

We cannot be certain as to the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for the hiſtory of Moſes is ſo conciſe, that it hath not gratified us in this particular. If the prophecy was delivered ſoon after the tranſactions, which immediately precede in the hiſtory, Noah's *beginning to be a huſbandman, and planting a vineyard*, it was ſoon after the deluge, and then Canaan was propheſied of before he was born, as it was propheſied of Eſau and Jacob (Gen. XXV. 23.) " the " elder ſhall ſerve the younger," before the children " were born " and had done either good or evil," as St. Paul ſaith. (Rom. IX. 11.) If the prophecy was delivered a little before the tranſactions, which immediately follow in the hiſtory, it was a little before Noah's death, and he was inlightened in his laſt moments as Jacob was, to " foretel " *what* ſhould befall *his poſterity* in the latter days." (Gen. XLIX. 1.) However this matter be determined, it was ſeveral centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Iſraelites, who were deſcendents of Shem, under the command of Joſhua invaded the Canaanites, ſmote above thirty of their kings, took poſſeſſion of their land, ſlew ſeveral of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others ſervants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards ſubdued the reſt. (2 Chron. VIII. 7, 8, 9.) " As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, " and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the " Jebuſites, which were not of Iſrael; but of their children who " were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael con- " ſumed not; them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day.

" But

(7) Mede's Works B. 1. Diſc. 50. p. 284. Livy Lib. 27. in fine.

(8) Maledictus pater Canaan &c. Arab.

(9) Les Septante dans quelques exemplaires au lieu de Canaan, liſent Cham, comme ſi le texte qui porte Canaan etoit corrompu. Calmet on the text. So Ainſworth too.

(1) Quidam ſubaudiunt אבי *pater*, quod paulo ante bis expreſſum eſt, Maledictus Cham pater Chananæorum. Vatab. in locum.

(2) My ſuſpicion hath ſince been confirmed by the reverend and learned Mr. Green, fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge; who is admirably well ſkilled in the Hebrew language and Hebrew metre, and hath given abundant proofs of his knowlege and judgment in theſe matters in his new tranſlation and commentary on the ſong of Deborah, the prayer of Habakuk, &c. He aſſerts, that according to Biſhop Hare's metre, the words *ham abi* are neceſſary to fill up the verſe. He propoſes a farther emendation of the text, by the omiſſion of one line, and the tranſpoſition of another, and would read the whole prophecy thus, according to the metre.

And Noah ſaid,
Curſed be Ham the father of Canaan;
A ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be to his brethren.

And

" But of the children of Iſrael did Solomon make no ſervants for " his work: but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, " and captains of his chariots and horſemen." The Greeks and Romans too, who were deſcendents of Japheth, not only ſubdued Syria and Paleſtine, but alſo purſued and conquered ſuch of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for inſtance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. " This fate," ſays (7) Mr. Mede, " was it that made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with " the amazement of his ſoul *Agnoſco fortunam Carthaginis, I ac-* " *knowlege the fortune of Carthage.*" And ever ſince the miſerable remainder of this people have been ſlaves to a foreign yoke, firſt to the Saracens, who deſcended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who deſcended from Japheth; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

Hitherto we have explained the prophecy according to the preſent copies of our bible: but if we were to correct the text, as we ſhould any ancient claſſic author in a like caſe, the whole perhaps might be made eaſier and plainer. " Ham the father of Canaan" is mentioned in the preceding part of the ſtory; and how then came the perſon of a ſudden to be changed into *Canaan?* The (8) Arabic verſion in theſe three verſes hath *the father of Canaan* inſtead of *Canaan.* Some (9) copies of the Septuagint likewiſe have *Ham* inſtead of *Canaan*, as if Canaan was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others (1) by *Canaan* underſtand *the father of Canaan*, which was expreſſed twice before. And if we regard the metre, this line " Curſed be Canaan," is much ſhorter than the reſt, (2) as if ſomething

And he ſaid,
Bleſſed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
For he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem.
God ſhall inlarge Japheth;
And Canaan ſhall be their ſervant.

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you muſt allow it to be probable and ingenious, to render the ſenſe clearer and plainer, and to give to every part its juſt weight and proportion. Or the whole may, with only a tranſpoſition and without any omiſſion, be repreſented thus;

And Noah ſaid,
Curſed be Ham the father of Canaan,
A ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be to his brethren.
And he ſaid,
Bleſſed be the Lord God of Shem,
For he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem;
And Ham the father of Canaan ſhall be their ſervant.
God ſhall inlarge Japheth,
And Ham the father of Canaan ſhall be their ſervant.

(3) Cham

thing was deficient. May we not ſuppoſe therefore, (without taking ſuch liberties as Father Houbigant hath with the Hebrew text) that the copyiſt by miſtake wrote only *Canaan* inſtead of *Ham the father* " *of Canaan*, and that the whole paſſage was originally thus? " And " Ham the father of Canaan ſaw the nakedneſs of his father, and told " his two brethren without.—And Noah awoke from his wine, and " knew what his younger Son had done unto him. And he ſaid, Curſed " be *Ham the father of* Canaan; a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto " his brethren. And he ſaid, Bleſſed be the Lord God of Shem; and " *Ham the father of* Canaan ſhall be ſervant to them. God ſhall inlarge " Japheth; and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem; and *Ham the* " *father of* Canaan ſhall be ſervant to them."

By this reading all the three ſons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwiſe Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only puniſhed in one of his children. Ham is characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Iſraelites, who were going to invade the land of Canaan: and when it is ſaid " Curſed be Ham the father of Canaan; a ſervant of " ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren;" it is implied that his whole race was devoted to ſervitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in proceſs of time, when they ſhould forfeit their liberties by their wickedneſs. Ham at firſt ſubdued ſome of the poſterity of Shem, as Canaan ſometimes conquered Japheth; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy: but in time they were to be ſubdued, and to become ſervants to Shem and Japheth; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curſe ſtill more viſible. Egypt was " the land of Ham," as it is often called in ſcripture; and for many years it was a great and floriſhing kingdom: but it was ſubdued by the Perſians, who deſcended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who deſcended from Japheth; and from that time to this it hath conſtantly been in ſubjection to ſome or other of the poſterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole continent of (3) Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham: and for how

(3) Cham licet maledictus, non tamen fuit excluſus a terrenis benedictionibus—Quippe in mundi diviſione, illi præter Ægyptum atque Africam univerſam

how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks? in what wickedneſs, ignorance, barbarity, ſlavery, miſery, live moſt of the inhabitants? and of the poor negroes how many hundreds every year are ſold and bought like beaſts in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beaſts in another?

Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the ſentence upon *Ham* as well as upon *Canaan:* and now let us conſider the promiſes made to *Shem* and *Japheth*. "And he ſaid (ver. 26.) Bleſſed "be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan ſhall be his ſervant: *or* "*rather*, and Canaan ſhall be ſervant to them, *or* their ſervant," that is to his brethren; for that, as we obſerved before, is the main part of the prophecy, and therefore is ſo frequently repeated. A learned (4) critic in the Hebrew language, who hath lately publiſhed ſome remarks on the printed Hebrew text, ſaith that "if it ſhould be thought "preferable to refer the word *bleſſed* directly to *Shem*, as the word "*curſed* is to *Canaan*; the words may be (and perhaps more perti-"nently) rendered—*Bleſſed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem!* See Gen. "XXIV. 31." Or if we chooſe (as moſt perhaps will chooſe) to follow our own as well as all the ancient verſions, we may obſerve that the old patriarch doth not ſay "Bleſſed be Shem," as he ſaid, "Curſed by Canaan; for mens evil ſpringeth of themſelves, but their good from God: and therefore in a ſtrain of devotion breaketh forth into thankſgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem. Neither doth he ſay the ſame to Japheth; for God certainly may diſpenſe his particular favors according to his good pleaſure, and ſalvation was to be derived to mankind through Shem and his poſterity. God prefers Shem to his elder brother Japheth, as Jacob was afterwards preferred to Eſau, and David to his elder brothers, to ſhow that the order of grace is not always the ſame as the order of nature. The Lord being called *the God of Shem* particularly, it is plainly intimated that the Lord would be *his God* in a particular manner. And accordingly the church of God was among the poſterity of Shem for ſeveral generations;

verſam Syriæ magna pars obtigit &c. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Col. 203.

(4) See Kennicott's Diſſertation. p. 561.

(5) Bocharti

generations; and of " them (Rom. IX. 5.) as concerning the fleſh " Chriſt came."

But ſtill Japheth was not diſmiſſed without a promiſe. (ver. 47.) " God ſhall inlarge Japheth, and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem; " and Canaan ſhall be ſervant to them, *or* their ſervant." *God ſhall inlarge Japheth.* Some render the word (it is ſo rendered in the margin of our bibles) God ſhall *perſuade* or *allure* Japheth, ſo that he ſhall come over to the true religion, " and dwell in the tents of Shem." But the (5) beſt critics in the language have remarked, beſides other reaſons, that they who tranſlate the word by *perſuade* or *allure*, did not conſider, that when it is ſo taken, it is uſed in a bad ſenſe, and governs an accuſative caſe, and not a dative as in this place. *God ſhall inlarge Japheth*, or *unto Japheth* is the beſt rendring; and in the original there is a manifeſt alluſion to Japheth's name, ſuch as is familiar to the Hebrew writers. As it was ſaid of Noah, (Gen. V. 29.) " This ſame ſhall comfort us," the name of *Noah* being thought to ſignify *comfort:* As it is ſaid of Judah, (Gen. XLIX. 8.) " Thou art he whom thy brethren ſhall praiſe," and the name of *Judah* ſignifies *praiſe:* As it is ſaid of Dan, (ver. 16.) " Dan ſhall " judge his people," and the name of *Dan* ſignifies *judging:* As it is ſaid of Gad, (ver. 19.) " A troop ſhall overcome him," and the name of *Gad* ſignifies a *troop* or company: So it is ſaid here " God " ſhall inlarge Japheth," and the name of *Japheth* ſignifies *inlargement.* Was Japheth then more *inlarged* than the reſt? Yes he was both in territory and in children. The territories of Japheth's poſterity were indeed very large, for (6) beſides all Europe, great and extenſive as it is, they poſſeſſed the leſſer Aſia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and thoſe vaſt regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians inhabited, and now the Tartars inhabit; and it is not improbable that the new world was peopled by ſome of his northern deſcendents paſſing thither by the ſtraits of Anian. The *inlargement* of Japheth may alſo denote a numerous progeny as well as ample territory:

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149. Clericus in loc. &c.

(6)——iis omnino aſſentior, qui per hæc verba volunt Japhetho promitti fore ut in terræ diviſione ampliſſimam illi portionem habitandam Deus aſſignet. Quod Deum abunde præſtitiſſe ſtatim agnoſcet quiſquis, præter Europam quanta quanta eſt, ad Japhethi portionem pertinere cogitabit, Aſiam minorem,

territory: and if you conſult the genealogies of the three brothers compriſed in the following chapter, you will find that Japheth had *ſeven* ſons, whereas Ham had only *four*, and Shem only *five*: and the northern hive (as Sir William Temple denominates it) was always remarkable for its fecundity, and hath been continually pouring forth ſwarms, and ſending out colonies into the more ſouthern parts, both in Europe and in Aſia, both in former and in later times.

The following clauſe, "and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem," is capable of a double conſtruction; for thereby may be meant either that *God* or that *Japheth ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem*; *in the tents of Shem*, ſaith he ſpeaking according to the ſimplicity of thoſe times, when men dwelt in tents and not in houſes. They who prefer the former conſtruction, ſeem to have the authority of the original text on their ſide; for there is no other noun to govern the verbs in the period, but *God*; there is no pronoun in the Hebrew, anſwering to the *he* which is inſerted in our Engliſh tranſlation: and the whole ſentence would run thus, *God will inlarge Japheth, and will dwell in the tents of Shem*: and the Chaldee of (7) Onkelos alſo thus paraphraſeth it, *and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem.* They who prefer the latter conſtruction, ſeem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verſe wholly to Japheth, as they refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and eaſy conſtruction. Taken in either ſenſe, the prophecy hath been moſt punctually fulfilled. In the former ſenſe it was fulfilled litterally, when the *Shechinah* or divine preſence reſted on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews; and when "the Word "who was with God and was God (John I. 1.) εσκηνωσεν pitched his tent, "and dwelt among us." (ver. 14.) In the latter ſenſe it was fulfilled firſt, when the Greeks and Romans, who ſprung originally from Japheth, ſubdued and poſſeſſed Judea and other countries of Aſia belonging to Shem; and again ſpiritually, when they were proſelyted to the

minorem, et Mediam, et Armeniæ partem, et Iberiam, et Albaniam, et vaſtiſſimas illas regiones ad Boream, quas olim Scythæ, hodiæ Tartari obtinent. Ut de novo orbe taceam, in quem per fretum Anianis migraſſe Scythas vero non eſt abſimile. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149.

(7) Et habitare faciet gloriam ſuam in tabernaculis Sem.

(8) See

the true religion, and they who were not Iſraelites by birth, became Iſraelites by faith, and lived, as we and many others of Japheth's poſterity do at this day, within the pale of the church of Chriſt.

What think you now? Is not this a moſt extraordinary prophecy; a prophecy that was delivered near four thouſand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling thro' the ſeveral periods of time to this day! It is both wonderful and inſtructive. It is the hiſtory of the world as it were in epitome. And hence we are enabled to correct a miſtake of one author, and expoſe the petulance of another.

1. The firſt is the learned and excellent Mr. Mede, an author always to be read with improvement, and to be corrected with reverence: but yet I conceive, that he hath carried matters too far in aſcribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For diſcourſing of the diſperſions and habitations of the ſons of Noah, he (8) ſaith that "there hath never yet been a ſon of Ham, who hath ſhaken "a ſcepter over the head of Japheth: Shem hath ſubdued Japheth, "and Japheth hath ſubdued Shem, but Ham never ſubdued either:" and this paſſage hath been cited by ſeveral (9) commentators to illuſtrate this prophecy. But this worthy perſon ſurely did not recollect, that Nimrod, the firſt monarch in the world, was the ſon of Cuſh, who was the ſon of Ham. (Gen. X.) Miſraim was another ſon of Ham; he was the father of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians detained the Iſraelites in bondage ſeveral years. Shiſhak king of Egypt ſubdued Rehoboam king of Judah. (1 Kings XIV.) Seſoſtris king of Egypt (the ſame probably as Shiſhak) conquered great part of Europe and of Aſia, if there is any faith in ancient hiſtory. The Carthaginians too, who deſcended from the Canaanites, as we noted before, gained ſeveral victories over the Romans in Spain and Italy. It is a miſtake therefore to ſay that Ham never ſubdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally and for much the greateſt part of time been a ſervant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thouſand years, and continues at preſent. This ſufficiently verifies the prediction; and we ſhould exceed the limits of truth, if we ſhould extend it farther. We might almoſt as well ſay (as ſome have ſaid) that

(3) See Mede's Works, B. 1. Diſc. 49 and 50. p. 283. Edit. 1672.

(9) Patrick,

that the complexion of the blacks was in conſequence of Noah's curſe. But though Ham hath in ſome inſtances and upon ſome occaſions been ſuperior, yet this is memorable enough, that of the four famous monarchies of the world, the Aſſyrian, Perſian, Grecian, and Roman, the two former were of the deſcendents of Shem, as the two latter were of the ſons of Japheth.

2. The other is the famous author of the Letters on the ſtudy and uſe of hiſtory, who hath ſtrangely abuſed his talents in abuſing this prophecy. For the true meaning and exact completion of it rightly conſidered, what room is there for ridicule? and how abſurd and impertinent as well as groſs and indecent are his reflections? "The curſe, "ſays (1) he, pronounced in it contradicts all our notions of order "and of juſtice. One is tempted to think, that the patriarch was "ſtill drunk; and that no man in his ſenſes could hold ſuch language, "or paſs ſuch a ſentence." But ſuch will be the caſe, when men of more parts than judgment talk and write about things which they do not ſufficiently underſtand; and eſpecially in matters of religion, whereof they are by no means competent judges, having either never ſtudied them at all, or ſtudied them ſuperficially and with prejudice. All that he hath written relating to theſe ſubjects betrays great weakneſs in a man of his capacity, weakneſs great as his malice; and we might have an eaſy victory over aſſertions without proofs, premiſes without concluſions, and concluſions without premiſes. But I love not controverſy, and will only make two or three reflections, juſt to give a ſpecimen of the boaſted learning and abilities of this writer.

His lordſhip ſeemeth to take a particular pleaſure in railing at pedants, at the ſame time that he is himſelf one of the moſt pedantic of writers, if it be pedantry to make a vain oſtentation of learning, and to quote authors without either reading or underſtanding them, or even knowing ſo much as who and what they are. "The "Codex Alexandrinus, (2) ſaith he, we owe to George the monk." We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more uſually called Syncellus, for what is intitled *Vetus Chronicon* or an old chronicle. But the *Codex Alexandrinus* is quite another thing; it is, as all the learned know,

(9) Patrick, &c. (1) Lord Bolingbroke's Works. Vol. 2. Letter the 3d. p. 314. Edit. quarto.
(2) Letter the 1ſt. p. 262. Ibid.

(3) Letter

know, the famous Greek MS. of the Old and New Teſtament, brought originally from Alexandria, and preſented to Charles I, and now remaining in the King's library, of which it does not appear that George the monk knew any thing, and it is evident that his lordſhip knew nothing. If he meant to ſay the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, that is ſtill another thing, and the work of another author.

His lordſhip is of opinion, (3) that "Virgil in thoſe famous verſes "Excudent alii &c. might have juſtly aſcribed to his countrymen the "praiſe of writing hiſtory better than the Grecians." But which are the Roman hiſtories, that are to be preferred to the Grecian? Why, "the remains, the precious remains," ſays his lordſhip, "of Saluſt, of "Livy, and of Tacitus." But it happened that (4) Virgil died, before Livy had written his hiſtory, and before Tacitus was born. And is not this an excellent chronologer now to correct all ancient hiſtory and chronology ſacred and profane?

His lordſhip is likewiſe pleaſed to ſay, (5) that "Don Quixote be-"lieved, but even Sancho doubted:" and it may be aſſerted on the other ſide, that Sir Iſaac Newton believed the prophecies, though his lordſhip did not, the principal reaſon of which may be found perhaps in the different life and morals of the one and the other. Nay the wiſeſt politicians and hiſtorians have been believers, as well as the greateſt philoſophers. Raleigh, and Clarendon believed; Bacon, and Locke believed; and where then is the diſcredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? "A ſcorner," as Solomon ſaith, (Prov. XIV. 6.) "ſeeketh wiſdom, and findeth it not."

But there cannot be a ſtronger condemnation of his lordſhip's conduct, than his own words upon another occaſion in his famous Diſſertation upon parties. "Some men there are, the peſts of ſociety "I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, "but who take every opportunity of declaiming publickly againſt that "ſyſtem of religion, or at leaſt againſt that church-eſtabliſhment, "which is received in Britain. Juſt ſo the men, of whom I have been "ſpeaking, affect a great regard to liberty in general; but they diſlike ſo

(3) Letter the fifth. p. 340. &c.
(4) Virgil died A. U. C. 735. Livy according to Dodwell finiſhed his hiſtory in 745. Tacitus was conſul in 850. See Fabricius.
(5) Letter

" ſo much the ſyſtem of liberty eſtabliſhed in Britain, that they are " inceſſant in their endevors to puzzle the plaineſt thing in the " world, and to refine and diſtinguiſh away the life and ſtrength of " our conſtitution, in favor of the little, preſent, momentary turns, " which they are retained to ſerve. What now would be the conſe- " quence, if all theſe endevors ſhould ſucceed? I am perſuaded that " the great philoſophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians, who ex- " ert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new " religion, and of new conſtitutions in church and ſtate. We ſhould " find ourſelves therefore without any form of religion, or civil " government. The firſt ſet of theſe miſſionaries would take off all the " reſtraints of religion from the governed; and the latter ſet would " remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controlls, " which liberty hath preſcribed to thoſe that govern, and disjoint the " whole frame of our conſtitution. Entire diſſolution of manners, " confuſion, anarchy, or perhaps abſolute monarchy, would follow, " for it is poſſible, nay probable, that in ſuch a ſtate as this, and " amidſt ſuch a rout of lawleſs ſavages, men would chooſe this " government, abſurd as it is, rather than no government at all."

It is to be lamented that ſuch a genius ſhould be ſo employed: but the miſapplication of thoſe excellent talents with which God had intruſted him, was his reigning fault through every ſtage, through every ſcene of life. That which Lord (6) Digby ſaid of the great Lord Strafford, may with more truth and juſtice be affirmed of him, that the malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by thoſe rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the uſe, but the devil the application.

(5) Letter the 4th. p. 320.

(6) Ruſhworth. Vol. 4. p. 225.

II.

The prophecies concerning ISHMAEL.

ABRAHAM was the patriarch of greateſt renown next after the times of Noah. He was favored with ſeveral revelations; and from him two very extraordinary nations deſcended, the Iſhmaelites and Iſraelites, concerning each of whom there are ſome remarkable prophecies. Iſhmael, though the ſon of the bond-woman, and not properly the child of promiſe, was yet diſtinguiſhed by ſome expreſs predictions for the comfort and ſatisfaction of both his parents. In the 16th chapter of Geneſis, when Hagar "fled "from the face of her miſtreſs who had dealt hardly with her, the angel "of the Lord found her in the wilderneſs, and ſaid unto her, Return "to thy miſtreſs, and ſubmit thyſelf under her hands. And the angel "of the Lord ſaid unto her, I will multiply thy ſeed exceedingly, that "it ſhall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord "ſaid unto her, Behold thou art with child, and ſhalt bear a ſon, and "ſhalt call his name Iſhmael (that is God ſhall hear) becauſe the Lord "hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will "be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him; and he "ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his brethren." (ver. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12.) In the following chapter, when Iſaac was promiſed to Abraham, God ſtill reſerved a bleſſing for Iſhmael, "Behold I have bleſſed "him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: "twelve princes ſhall he beget, and I will make him a great nation." (ver. 20.) Afterwards when Hagar and Iſhmael were ſent forth into the wilderneſs, God ſaid unto Abraham, (Gen. XXI. 13.) "And alſo the "ſon of the bond-woman will I make a nation, becauſe he is thy ſeed." The ſame is repeated to Hagar, (ver. 18.) "I will make him a great "nation." And if we are curious to trace the courſe of events, we ſhall

(1) εκ μεν της Αιγυπτιας γενησαι υἱους ιϐ, ὲς δη εις Αραϐιαν απαλλαγεντας διελεσθαι την χωραν και πρωτους βασιλευσαι των ἐξχωριων. ὅθεν ἑως καθ ἡμας δωδεκα ειναι βασιλεις Αραϐων ὁμωνυμους εκεινοις. Ex Ægyptia liberos duodecim genuiſſe, qui in Arabiam profecti eam inter ſe diviſerint locique hominibus principes imperarint: ex quo factum ſit,

ſhall ſee how exactly theſe particulars have been fulfilled from the earlieſt down to the preſent times.

" I will multiply thy ſeed exceedingly, that it ſhall not be numbered " for multitude:" and again, " Behold I have bleſſed him, and will " make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly." Theſe paſſages evince that the prophecy doth not ſo properly relate to Iſhmael, as to his poſterity, which is here foretold to be very numerous. Iſhmael married an Egyptian woman, as his mother was likewiſe an Egyptian: (Gen. XXI. 21.) and in a few years his family was increaſed ſo, that in the 37th chapter of Geneſis we read of Iſhmaelites trading into Egypt. Afterwards his ſeed was multiplied exceedingly in the Hagarenes, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar; and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his ſon Nebaioth; and in the Itureans, who were ſo called from his ſon Jetur or Itur; and in the Arabs, eſpecially the Scenites, and the Saracens, who over-ran a great part of the world: and his deſcendents, the Arabs, are a very numerous people at this day.

" Twelve princes ſhall he beget." This circumſtance is very particular, but it was punctually fulfilled; and Moſes hath given us the names of theſe twelve princes. (Gen. XXV. 16.) " Theſe are the " ſons of Iſhmael, and theſe are their names, by their towns, and by " their caſtles; twelve princes according to their nations:" by which we are to underſtand, not that they were ſo many diſtinct ſovran princes, but only heads of clans or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs* as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes: and Melo, quoted by Euſebius from Alexander Polyhiſtor, a heathen hiſtorian, relates (1) that "Abraham of his Egyptian wife begat 12 ſons (he ſhould " have ſaid one ſon who begat 12 ſons) who departing into Arabia di- " vided the region between them, and were the firſt kings of the inha- " bitants; whence even to our days the Arabians have twelve kings of " the ſame names as the firſt." And ever ſince the people have been governed by phylarchs, and have lived in tribes; and ſtill continue to do ſo, as (2) Thevenot and other modern travelers teſtify.

" And

ſit, ut reges Arabum duodecim primis illis cognomines ad noſtra uſque tempora numerentur. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 19. p. 421. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) See Part 1. B. 2. C. 32. See likewiſe Harris's Voyages Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(2) Hierozoic

" And I will make him a great nation." This is repeated twice or thrice; and it was accompliſhed, as ſoon as in the regular courſe of nature it could be accompliſhed. His ſeed in proceſs of time grew up into a great nation, and ſuch they continued for ſeveral ages, and ſuch they remain to this day. They might indeed emphatically be ſtiled a *great nation*, when the Saracens had made thoſe rapid and extenſive conqueſts, and erected one of the largeſt empires that ever were in the world.

" And he will be a wild man." In the original it is a *wild aſs-man*, and the learned (3) Bochart tranſlates it *tam ferus quam onager*, as wild as a wild aſs; ſo that that ſhould be eminently true of him, which in the book of Job (XL. 12.) is affirmed of mankind in general, " Man is born like a wild aſſes colt." But what is the nature of the creature, to which Iſhmael is ſo particularly compared? It cannot be deſcribed better than it is in the ſame book of Job (XXXIX. 5, &c.) " Who hath ſent out the wild aſs free? or who hath looſed the bands " of the wild aſs? Whoſe houſe I have made the wilderneſs, and the " barren land his dwellings. He ſcorneth the multitude of the city, " neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the " mountains is his paſture, and he ſearcheth after every green thing." Iſhmael therefore and his poſterity were to be wild, fierce, ſavage, ranging in the deſerts, and not eaſily ſoftened and tamed to ſociety: and whoever hath read or known any thing of this people, knoweth this to be their true and genuin character. It is ſaid of Iſhmael, (Gen. XXI. 20.) that " he dwelt in the wilderneſs, and became an " archer:" and the ſame is no leſs true of his deſcendents than of himſelf. " He dwelt in the wilderneſs;" and his ſons ſtill inhabit the ſame wilderneſs, and many of them neither ſow nor plant (4) according to the beſt accounts ancient and modern. " And he became " an archer;" and ſuch were the Itureans, whoſe (5) bows and arrows are famous in all authors; ſuch were the mighty men of Keder in Iſaiah's time; (Iſ. XXI 17.) and ſuch the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time. It was late before they admitted the

(3) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 16. p. 14. Edit. Valeſii Paris 1681. Harris. Vol. 2. Col. 878.

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus. Lib. 14. Cap. 4.

(5)—Ityræos taxi torquentur in arcus. Virgil. Georg. Book 2. Chap. 9.

the uſe of fire arms among them; (6) the greater part of them are ſtill ſtrangers to them, and ſtill continue ſkilful archers.

" His hand will be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt " him." The one is the natural, and almoſt neceſſary conſequence of the other. Iſhmael lived by prey and rapin in the wilderneſs; and his poſterity have all along infeſted Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incurſions. They live in a ſtate of continual war with the reſt of the world, and are both robbers by land, and pirates by ſea. As they have been ſuch enemies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again, that ſeveral attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now as well as formerly travelers are forced to go with arms and in caravans or large companies, and to march and keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themſelves from the aſſaults of theſe free-booters, who run about in troops, and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means ſubdue. Theſe robberies they alſo (7) juſtify " by alleging the hard " uſage of their father Iſhmael, who being turned out of doors by " Abraham, had the open plains and deſerts given him by God for his " patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. " And on this account they think they may, with a ſafe conſcience, " indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity " of Iſaac, but alſo on every body elſe; always ſuppoſing a ſort of " kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And in re- " lating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to " change the expreſſion, and inſtead of *I robbed a man of ſuch or ſuch* " *a thing*, to ſay, *I gained it*."

" And he ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his brethren;" ſhall *tabernacle*, for many of the Arabs dwell in tents, and are therefore called *Scenites*. It appears that they dwelt in tents in the wilderneſs ſo long ago as in Iſaiah and Jeremiah's time; (Iſ. XIII. 20. Jer. III. 2.) and they do the ſame at this day. This is very extraordinary, that " his hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's " hand againſt him," and yet that he ſhould be able to " dwell in " the

Georg. II. 448.—Itureis curſus fuit inde ſagittis. Lucan. VII. 230.

(6) Thevenot in Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(7.) Sale's Prelim. Diſcourſe to the Koran. Sect. 1. p. 30, 31. where he alſo quotes Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220, &c.

(8) Sale's

" the preſence of all his brethren:" but extraordinary as it was, this alſo hath been fulfilled both in the perſon of Iſhmael, and in his poſterity. As for Iſhmael himſelf, the ſacred hiſtorian afterwards relates (Gen. XXV. 17, 18.) that " the years of the life of Iſhmael " were an hundred and thirty and ſeven years, and he died in the " preſence of all his brethren." As for his poſterity, they dwelt likewiſe in the preſence of all their brethren, Abraham's ſons by Keturah, the Moabites and Ammonites deſcendents of Lot, the Iſraelites deſcendents of Abraham Iſaac and Jacob, and the Edomites deſcendents of Abraham Iſaac and Eſau. And they ſtill ſubſiſt a diſtinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithſtanding the perpetual enmity between them and the reſt of mankind. It may be ſaid perhaps that the country was not worth conquering, and its barrenneſs was its preſervation: but this is a miſtake, for by all accounts, tho' the greater part of it be ſandy and barren deſerts, yet here and there are interſperſed beautiful ſpots and fruitful valleys. One part of the country was anciently known and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Arabia the happy*. And now the proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces. Of theſe the chief is the province of Yaman, which, as a (8) learned writer aſſerts upon good authorities, " has been famous from all antiquity for the happi- " neſs of its climate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulneſs and " plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that part which " lies along the Red Sea, is a dry barren deſert, in ſome places 10 or " 12 leagues over, but in return bounded by thoſe mountains, which " being well watered, enjoy an almoſt continual ſpring, and beſides " coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and " variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. " The ſoil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of " Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry " ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome " fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their " water and palm trees." But if the country was ever ſo bad, one would

(8) Sale's Prelim. Diſc. ibid. p. 2, 3.

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 36. Edit. Stephan. p. 52, Edit. Rhodomani.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 79. Edit. Steph. p. 111. Edit. Rhod.

(2) Αραβιοι δε ουδαμα κατηκησαν επι δουλουσυνη Περσησι, αλλα ξεινοι εγενοντο, παρεουσης Καμβυσεα ες Αιγυπτον. ασκονων γαρ Αραβιων, ουκ αν εσβαλλοιεν Περσαι ες Αιγυπτον. Arabes nunquam a Perſis in ſervitutem redacti ſunt, ſed hoſpites extiterunt; quum Cambyſi aditum in Ægyptum

would think it ſhould be for the intereſt of the neighbouring princes and ſtates at any hazard to root out ſuch a peſtilent race of robbers: and actually it hath ſeveral times been attempted, but never accompliſhed. They have from firſt to laſt maintained their independency, and notwithſtanding the moſt powerful efforts for their deſtruction, ſtill dwell in the preſence of all their brethren, and in the preſence of all their enemies.

We find that in the time of Moſes, they were grown up into "twelve princes according to their nations; (Gen. XXV. 16.) and "they dwelt (ſaith Moſes, ver. 18.) from Havilah unto Shur, that "is before Egypt, as thou goeſt towards Aſſyria:" but yet we do not find that they were ever ſubject to either of their powerful neighbours, the Egyptians or Aſſyrians. The conqueſts of Seſoſtris, the great king of Egypt, are much magnified by Diodorus Siculus; and probably he might ſubdue ſome of the weſtern provinces of Arabia bordering upon Egypt, but he was obliged, as (9) Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Peluſium, to ſecure Egypt from the incurſions of the Arabs. They were therefore not ſubjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewiſe to the Aſſyrians, for they aſſiſted (1) Beleſis and Arbaces in overturning that empire, aſſiſted them not as fellow-rebels, but as an independent ſtate with their auxiliary forces.

The next great conquerors of the eaſt were Cyrus and the Perſians; but neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to ſubjection. They might conquer ſome of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and Herodotus, the hiſtorian who lived neareſt to thoſe times, ſaith expreſly, that (2) the Arabs were never reduced by the Perſians to the condition of ſubjects, but were conſidered by them as friends, and opened to them a paſſage into Egypt, which without the aſſiſtance and permiſſion of the Arabs would have been utterly impracticable; and in (3) another place he ſaith, that while Phœnicia, Paleſtine, Syria and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute.

Ægyptum permiſiſſent: quibus invitis haudquaquam fuiſſent ingreſſi Perſæ Ægyptum. Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 88. p. 198. Edit. Gale.

(3) Ibid. Sect. 91. p. 199.—πλην μοιρης της Αραβιων (ταυτα γαρ ην ατελια)——præter Arabum partem (hæc enim erat immunis.)

(4) Diodorus

They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they aſſiſted with their forces (4) Amyrtæus king of Egypt againſt Darius Nothus, and (5) Euagoras king of Cyprus againſt Artaxerxes Mnemon; ſo that they acted as friends or enemies to the Perſians, juſt as they thought proper, and as it ſuited their humor or their intereſt.

Alexander the great then overturned the Perſian empire, and conquered Aſia. The neighbouring princes ſent their embaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſions. The (6) Arabs alone diſdained to acknowlege the conqueror, and ſcorned to ſend any embaſſy, or to take any notice of him. This ſlight provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he meditated an expedition againſt them; and the great preparations which he made for it, ſhowed that he thought them a very formidable enemy: but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or reſentment had formed againſt them. Thus they happily eſcaped the fury of his arms, and were never ſubdued by any of his ſucceſſors. Antigonus, one of the greateſt of his ſucceſſors, (7) made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, and the other by his own ſon Demetrius, but both without ſucceſs; the former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they ſuffer the people employed by Antigonus, to gather the bitumen on the lake Aſphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increaſe his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to deſiſt from their undertaking. So true is the aſſertion of (8) Diodorus, that 'neither the Aſſyrians formerly, 'nor the kings of the Medes and Perſians, nor yet of the Macedo-'nians, were able to ſubdue them; nay though they led many and 'great forces againſt them, yet they could not accompliſh their at-'tempts.' We find them afterwards ſometimes at peace, and ſometimes at war with the neighbouring ſtates; ſometimes joining the Syrians, and ſometimes the Egyptians; ſometimes aſſiſting the Jews, and ſometimes

(4) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 13. p. 355. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 172. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 6. Anno 410.

(5) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 459. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 328. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 7. an. 386.

(6) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1076. & 1132. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Arrian. Lib. 7. p. 300. Edit. Gronovii.

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 19. p. 722. &c. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 730. Edit. Rhodomani.

(8) εθ' οἱ Ασσυριοι το παλαιον, εθ' οἱ Μηδων και Περσων ετι δε Μακεδονων βασιλεις ηδυνηθησαν αυτης καταδυλωσασθαι, πολλας μεν και μεγαλας δυναμεις επ' αυτους αγαγοντες, εδειποτε δε τας επιβολας συντελεσαντες. nec Aſſyrii olim, nec Medi ac Perſæ, imo nec Macedonum reges ſubigere illos potuere; qui licet magnis in eos copiis moverint, nunquam tamen

ſometimes plundering them; and in all reſpects acting like a free people, who neither feared nor courted any foreign power whatever.

The Romans then invaded the eaſt, and ſubdued the countries adjoining, but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. It is too common with hiſtorians to ſay that ſuch or ſuch a country was conquered, when perhaps only part of it was ſo. It is thus that (9) Plutarch aſſerts that the Arabs ſubmitted to Lucullus; whereas the moſt that we can believe is, that he might ſubdue ſome particular tribes; but he was recalled, and the command of the Roman army in Aſia was given to Pompey. Pompey, though he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He (1) carried his arms into the country, obtained ſome victories, and compelled Aretas to ſubmit; but other affairs ſoon obliged him to retire, and by retiring he loſt all the advantages which he had gained. His forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incurſions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus in the reign of Auguſtus (2) penetrated far into the country, but a ſtrange diſtemper made terrible havoc in his army, and after two years ſpent in this unfortunate expedition, he was glad to eſcape with the ſmall remainder of his forces. The emperor Trajan reduced ſome parts of Arabia, but he could never ſubdue it entirely; and when he beſieged the city of the Hagarenes, as (3) Dion ſays, his ſoldiers were repelled by lightnings, thunderings, hail, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and were conſtantly ſo repelled, as often as they renewed their aſſaults. At the ſame time great ſwarms of flies infeſted his camp; ſo that he was forced at laſt to raiſe the ſiege, and retired with diſgrace into his own dominions. About eighty years after the emperor Severus twice beſieged the ſame city with a numerous army and a train of military engins; but he

tamen incepta ad finem perduxere. Diod. Sic. Lib. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Steph. p. 131. Edit. Rhod.

(9) Plutarch in Lucullo paſſim.

(1) Plutarch in Pompeio. p. 640, &c. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(2) Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 1126. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Dion. Caſſius. Lib. 53. p. 516. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. Dion calls him by miſtake Ælius Largus.

(3) εγενοντο δε βρονται, και ιριδες υπεφαινοντο, αστραπαι τε και ζαλη, χαλαζα και κεραυνοι τοις Ρωμαιοις ενεπιπλον, οποτε προσβαλοιεν. και οποτε εν δειπνοιεν, μυιαι τοις βρωμασι και τοις πομασι προσιζανουσαι, δυοχερειας απαντα ενεπιμπλων. και Τραϊανω μεν ενειθεν ουτως απηλθε. Ibi cœlum tonitru contremuit, irides viſæ ſunt, fulgura, procellæ grando, fulmina in Romanos cadebant, quoties in illos impetum facerent; quotieſque cœnarent, muſcæ tam eſculentis quam potulentis inſidentes, cuncta nauſea quadam implebant. Itaque Trajanus inde proficiſcitur. Dionis Hiſt. Lib. 68. p. 785. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

(4) και

had no better ſucceſs than Trajan. God, (4) ſays the heathen hiſtorian, preſerved the city by the backwardneſs of the emperor at one time, and by that of his forces at another. He made ſome aſſaults, but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation as great as his vexation for his diſappointment. And if ſuch great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not ſucceed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incurſions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal licence and impunity.

Such was the ſtate and condition of the Arabs to the time of their famous prophet Mohammed, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire: and then for ſeveral centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saracens*, the *Arraceni* (5) of Pliny, and the (6) *Hagarenes* of holy ſcripture. Their conqueſts were indeed amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a ſudden flood or inundation. In a few years the Saracens over-ran more countries, and ſubdued more people than the Romans did in ſeveral centuries. They were then not only free and independent of the reſt of the world, but were themſelves maſters of the moſt conſiderable parts of the earth. And ſo they continued for (7) about three centuries; and after their empire was diſſolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they ſtill maintained their liberty againſt the Tartars, Mamalucs, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever were the conquerors of Aſia, they were ſtill unconquered, ſtill continued their incurſions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for ſeveral centuries been lords of the adjacent countries; but they have been ſo little able to reſtrain the depradations of the Arabs, that they have been (8) obliged to pay them a ſort of annual tribute for the ſafe paſſage and ſecurity of the pilgrims, who uſually go in great companies to Mecca; ſo that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks.

(4) και ὁτω θεὸς ὁ ῥυσαμενος την πολιν, τὸς μεν ςρατιωτας δυνηθεντας αν εις αυτην εισελθειν, δια τὸ Σεβηρου ανεκαλεσε, και τον Σεβηρον αυ βυληθεντα αυτην μετα τὸτο λαβειν, δια των ςρατιωτων εκωλυσεν. Itaque Deus urbem liberavit, qui per Severum revocavit milites, quum poſſent in ipſam ingredi; et Severum cupientem eandem poſtea capere, per milites prohibuit. Ibid. Lib. 75. p. 855.

(5) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 32. ubi vide notam Harduini.

(6) *Hagarenes*, the deſcendents of Iſhmael. They are called alſo Iſhmaelites and Saracens, &c. Calmet's Dict.

(7) The

Turks. And they ſtill continue the ſame practices, and preſerve the ſome ſuperiority, if we may believe the concurrent teſtimony of modern travelers of all nations.

Two of our own nation have lately traveled into thoſe parts, and have written and publiſhed their travels, both men of litterature, both reverend divines, and writers of credit and character, Dr. Shaw and Biſhop Pococke; and in ſeveral inſtances they confirm the account that we have given of this people. "With regard to the manners and "cuſtoms of the Bedoweens, ſaith (9) Dr. Shaw, it is to be obſerved "that they retain a great many of thoſe we read of in ſacred as well "as profane hiſtory; being, if we except their religion, the ſame peo-"ple they were two or three thouſand years ago; without ever em-"bracing any of thoſe novelties in dreſs or behaviour, which have had "ſo many periods and revolutions in the Mooriſh and Turkiſh cities." And after giving ſome account of their hoſpitality, he proceeds thus; "Yet the outward behaviour of the Arab frequently gives the lie to his "inward temper and inclination. For he is naturally thieviſh and "treacherous; and it ſometimes happens that thoſe very perſons are "overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the "night before, with all the inſtances of friendſhip and hoſpitality. "Neither are they to be accuſed for plundering ſtrangers only, and "attacking almoſt every perſon, whom they find unarmed and de-"fenſeleſs, but for thoſe many implacable and hereditary animoſities, "which continually ſubſiſt among them, litterally fulfilling to this "day the prophecy, *that Iſhmael ſhould be a wild man; his hand "ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him.*" Dr. Shaw himſelf (1) was robbed and plundered by a party of Arabs in his journey from Ramah to Jeruſalem, though he was eſcourted by four bands of Turkiſh ſoldiers: and yet the Turks at the ſame time paid a ſtipulated ſum to the Arabs, in order to ſecure a ſafe paſſage for their caravans: and there cannot ſurely be a ſtronger proof, not only of the independency

(7) The Saracens began their conqueſts A. D. 622. and to reign at Damaſcus A. D. 637. Their empire was broken and divided A. D. 936. See Dr. Blair's Chronol. Tables. Tab. 33 & 39. and Sir Iſaac Newton on the Apocalypſe, Chap. 3. p. 304, 305.

(8) See Thevenot in Harris Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9. and Demetrius Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire in Ahmed. II. p. 393.

(9) Shaw's Travels p. 300. &c.

(1) Preface to his Travels. p. vii.

(2) Pococke's

independency of the Arabs, but even of their ſuperiority, not only of their enjoying their liberty, but even of their abuſing it to licentiouſneſs. Biſhop Pococke was the laſt who traveled into thoſe parts; and he hath informed us, that the preſent inhabitants of Arabia reſemble the ancient in ſeveral reſpects; that (2) they live under tents, and ſtay in one place as long as they have water and ſhrubs and trees for their camels to feed on, for there is no tillage nor graſs in all this country; that all their riches conſiſt in camels, a few goats, and ſometimes ſheep, ſo that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates and a little goats milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo; that they are in different nations or clans, each obeying the orders of its great chief and every incampment thoſe of its particular chief; and tho' ſeemingly divided, yet they are all united in a ſort of league together; that they (3) love plunder, and the roving ſort of life this diſpoſition leads them to, have good horſes, and manage them and their pikes with much addreſs; thoſe on foot uſe poles, with which they fence off the ſpear, with great art. So that authors both ſacred and profane, Jewiſh and Arabian, Greek and Roman, Chriſtian and Mohammedan, ancient and modern, all agree in the ſame account: and if any are deſirous of ſeeing the matter deduced more at large, they may be referred to a diſſertation upon the independency of the Arabs by the learned authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory.

An author, who hath lately publiſhed an account of Perſia, having occaſion to ſpeak of the Arabians, (4) ſays, " their expertneſs in the " uſe of the lance and ſabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their " ſkill in horſemanſhip, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their " burning plains, give them alſo a ſuperiority over their enemies. " Hence every petty chief in his own diſtrict conſiders himſelf as a " ſovran prince, and as ſuch exacts cuſtoms from all paſſengers. Their " conduct in this reſpect has often occaſioned their being conſidered in " no better light than robbers &c. They generally marry within their " own tribe, &c. When they plunder caravans traveling thro' their " territories, they conſider it as repriſals on the Turks and Perſians, " who

(2) Pococke's Deſcription of the Eaſt. Vol. 1. Book 3. Chap. 2.
(3) Book 4. Chap. 4.
(4) Hanway's Travels, Vol. 4. Part 5. Chap. 29. p. 221, &c.
(5) Antiq.

" who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their " corn and their flocks."

Who can fairly conſider and lay all theſe particulars together, and not perceive the hand of God in this whole affair from the beginning to the end? The ſacred hiſtorian ſaith, that theſe prophecies concerning Iſhmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himſelf: and indeed who but God, or one raiſed and commiſſioned by him, could deſcribe ſo particularly the genius and manners, not only of a ſingle perſon before he was born, but of a whole people from the firſt founder of the race to the preſent time? It was ſomewhat wonderful, and not to be foreſeen by human ſagacity or prudence, that a man's whole poſterity ſhould ſo nearly reſemble him, and retain the ſame inclinations, the ſame habits, the ſame cuſtoms throughout all ages. The waters of the pureſt ſpring or fountain are ſoon changed and polluted in their courſe; and the farther ſtill they flow, the more they are incorporated and loſt in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans? How are the French and Engliſh poliſhed and refined from the barbariſm of the ancient Gauls and Britons? Men and manners change with times: but in all changes and revolutions the Arabs have ſtill continued the ſame with little or no alteration. And yet it cannot be ſaid of them, as of ſome barbarous nations, that they have had no commerce or intercourſe with the reſt of mankind; for by their conqueſts they overran a great part of the earth, and for ſome centuries were maſters of moſt of the learning that was then in the world: but however they remained and ſtill remain the ſame fierce ſavage intractable people, like their great anceſtor in every thing, and different from moſt of the world beſides. Iſhmael was circumciſed; and ſo are his poſterity to this day: and as Iſhmael was circumciſed when he was thirteen years old, ſo were the Arabs at the ſame age according to (5) Joſephus. He was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and they ſtill indulge themſelves in the uſe of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderneſs, ſhifting from place to place; and ſo do his deſcendens, particularly

(5) Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. p. 29. Edit. Hudſon. Vide etiam Pocockii Specimen. Hiſt. Arab. p. 319.

(6) Scenitæ

particularly thoſe therefore called (6) Scenites formerly, and thoſe called Bedoweens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderneſs; and ſo are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes at this day. He was a wild man, his hand againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him: and they live in the ſame ſtate of war, their hand againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them.

This, I ſay, is ſomewhat wonderful, that the ſame people ſhould retain the ſame diſpoſitions for ſo many ages; but it is ſtill more wonderful, that with theſe diſpoſitions, and this enmity to the whole world, they ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt in ſpite of the world an independent and free people. It cannot be pretended, that no probable attempts were ever made to conquer them; for the greateſt conquerors in the world have almoſt all in their turns attempted it, and ſome of them have been very near effecting it. It cannot be pretended that the dryneſs or inacceſſibleneſs of their country hath been their preſervation; for their country hath been often penetrated, tho' never entirely ſubdued. I know that (7) Diodorus Siculus accounts for their preſervation from the dryneſs of their country, that they have wells digged in proper places known only to themſelves, and their enemies and invaders through ignorance of theſe places periſh for want of water: but this account is far from being an adequate and juſt repreſentation of the caſe; large armies have found the means of ſubſiſtence in their country; none of their powerful invaders ever deſiſted on this account; and therefore that they have not been conquered, we muſt impute to ſome other cauſe. When in all human probability they were upon the brink of ruin, then (as we have before ſeen at large) they were ſignally and providentially delivered. Alexander was preparing an expedition againſt them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conqueſts, when urgent affairs called him elſewhere. Ælius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal diſeaſe deſtroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan beſieged their capital city, but was defeated by

(6) Scenitæ—vagi—a tabernaculis [απο των σκηνων] cognominati. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Pocockii Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 87.

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Stephani. p. 131. Edit. Rhodomani. & Lib. 19. p. 722. Edit. Steph. p. 730. Edit. Rhod.

by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his aſſaults. Severus beſieged the ſame city twice, and was twice repelled from before it; and the hiſtorian Dion, a man of rank and character, though an heathen, plainly aſcribes the defeat of theſe two emperors to the interpoſition of a divine power. We who know the prophecies, may be more aſſured of the reality of a divine interpoſition: and indeed otherwiſe how could a ſingle nation ſtand out againſt the enmity of the whole world for any length of time, and much more for near 4000 years together? The great empires round them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the ſame from the beginning, and are likely to continue the ſame to the end: and this in the natural courſe of human affairs was ſo highly improbable, if not altogether impoſſible, that as nothing but a divine preſcience could have foreſeen it, ſo nothing but a divine power could have accompliſhed it.

Theſe are the only people beſides the Jews, who have ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people from the beginning; and in ſome reſpects they very much reſemble each other. The Arabs as well as the Jews are deſcended from Abraham, and both boaſt of their deſcent from that father of the faithful. The Arabs as well as the Jews are circumciſed, and both profeſs to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. The Arabs as well as the Jews had originally twelve patriarchs or heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. The Arabs as well as the Jews marry among themſelves and in their own tribes. The Arabs as well as the Jews are ſingular in ſeveral of their cuſtoms, and are ſtanding monuments to all ages, of the exactneſs of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of ſcripture-hiſtory. We may with more confidence believe the particulars related of Abraham and Iſhmael, when we ſee them verified in their poſterity at this day. This is having as it were ocular demonſtration for our faith. This is proving by plain matter of fact, that *the moſt High ruleth in the kingdoms of men*, and that his truth, as well as his *mercy*, *endureth for ever*.

III.

The prophecies concerning JACOB *and* ESAU.

AS it pleaſed God to diſcloſe unto Abraham the ſtate and condition of his poſterity by Iſhmael, who was the ſon of the bond-woman; it might be with reaſon expected, that ſomething ſhould be predicted concerning his poſterity alſo by Iſaac, who was the ſon of the free-woman. He was properly the child of promiſe, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than thoſe relating to Iſhmael: but we will ſelect and inlarge upon ſuch only, as have reference to theſe later ages.

It was promiſed to Abraham before Iſhmael or any ſon was born to him, (Gen. XII. 3.) "In thee ſhall all families of the earth be bleſ-"ſed." But after the birth of Iſhmael and Iſaac, the promiſe was limited to Iſaac, (Gen. XXI. 12.) "for in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be cal-"led." And accordingly to Iſaac was the promiſe repeated, (Gen. XXIV. 4.) "In thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed." The Saviour of the world therefore was not to come of the family of Iſhmael, but of the family of Iſaac; which is an argument for the truth of the Chriſtian religion in preference to the Mohammedan, drawn from an old prophecy and promiſe made two thouſand years before Chriſt, and much more before Mohammed was born.

The land of Canaan was promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed four hundred years before they took poſſeſſion of it. (Gen. XV.) It was promiſed again to Iſaac, (Gen. XXVI. 3.) "Sojourn in this land, and "I will be with thee, and will bleſs thee: for unto thee and unto thy "ſeed I will give all theſe countries, and I will perform the oath "which I ſware unto Abraham thy father." Now it is very well known, that it was not till after the death of Moſes, who wrote theſe things, that the Iſraelites gat poſſeſſion of the land under the command of Joſhua. They remained in poſſeſſion of it ſeveral ages in purſuance of theſe prophecies: and afterwards, when for their ſins and iniquities they

they were to be removed from it, their removal alſo was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for ſeventy years, and likewiſe their final captivity and diſperſion into all nations, till in the fulneſs of time they ſhall be reſtored again to the land of their inheritance.

It was foretold to Abraham that his poſterity ſhould be multiplied exceedingly above that of others; (Gen. XII. 2.) "I will make of thee "a great nation;" and (XXII. 17.) "in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and "in multiplying I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of heaven, and "as the ſand which is upon the ſea-ſhore." The ſame promiſe was continued to Iſaac, (Gen. XXVI. 4.) "I will make thy ſeed to multi-"ply as the ſtars of heaven." And not to mention the vaſt increaſe of their other poſterity, how ſoon did their deſcendents by Jacob grow up into a mighty nation? and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? how numerous were they in other parts of the world according to the accounts of Philo and Joſephus? and after the innumerable maſſacres and perſecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they ſtill in their preſent diſperſion among all nations? It is computed that there are as many Jews now, or more than ever there were, ſince they have been a nation. A learned (1) foreigner, who hath written a hiſtory of the Jews as a ſupplement and continuation of the hiſtory of Joſephus, ſays that "it is impoſſible to fix the number "of perſons this nation is at preſent compoſed of. But yet we have "reaſon to believe, there are ſtill near three millions of people, who "profeſs this religion, and as their phraſe is, *are witneſſes of the unity* "*of God in all the nations of the world.*" And who could foretel ſuch a wonderful increaſe and propagation of a branch only of one man's family, but the ſame divine power that could effect it?

But Iſaac had two ſons, whoſe families did not grow up and incorporate into one people, but were ſeparated into two different nations: and therefore, as it had been neceſſary before to ſpecify whether Iſhmael or Iſaac was to be heir of the promiſes, ſo there was a neceſſity for the ſame diſtinction now between Eſau and Jacob. Accordingly, when their mother had conceived, "the children ſtruggled together within

(1) See Baſnage's Hiſtory of the Jews. Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 15.

(1) αναλγητος,

" her;" (Gen. XXV. 22.) and it was revealed unto her by the Lord, (ver. 23.) " Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people " ſhall be ſeparated from thy bowels; and the one people ſhall be " ſtronger than the other people, and the elder ſhall ſerve the " younger." The ſame divine ſpirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the ſame purpoſe: for thus he bleſſed Jacob, (Gen. XXVII. 28, 29.) " God give thee of the dew of heaven, " and the fatneſs of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let " people ſerve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy " brethren, and let thy mother's ſons bow down to thee; curſed be " every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee:" and thus he bleſſed Eſau, (ver. 39, 40.) " Behold, thy dwelling ſhall " be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. " And by thy ſword ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother; and " it ſhall come to paſs when thou ſhalt have the dominion, that thou " ſhall break his yoke from off thy neck." But for greater clearneſs and certainty a more expreſs revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the bleſſing of all nations, were promiſed to him in particular, (Gen. XXVIII. 13, 14.) " I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Iſrael: " the land whereon thou lieſt, to thee will I give it, and to thy ſeed. " And thy ſeed ſhall be as the duſt of the earth; and thou ſhalt ſpread " abroad to the weſt, and to the eaſt, and to the north, and to the " ſouth; and in thee, and in thy ſeed, ſhall all the families of the " earth be bleſſed."

We have here a farther and more ample proof of what was aſſerted before, that theſe ancient prophecies were meant not ſo much of ſingle perſons, as of whole people and nations deſcended from them. For what is here predicted concerning Eſau and Jacob was not verified in themſelves, but in their poſterity. Jacob was ſo far from bearing rule over Eſau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of Eſau. (Gen. XXVII.) He continued abroad ſeveral years; and when he returned to his native country, he ſent a ſupplicatory meſſage to his brother Eſau, (Gen. XXXII. 5.) " that he might find grace in his " ſight." When he heard of Eſau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he " was greatly afraid and diſtreſſed," (ver. 7.) and cryed

cryed unto the Lord, (ver. 11.) "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the "hand of my brother, from the hand of Eſau." He ſent a magnificent preſent before him to appeaſe his brother, calling Eſau his *lord*, and himſelf Eſau's *ſervant*. (ver. 18.) When he met him, he "bowed "himſelf to the ground ſeven times, until he came near to his brother." (Gen. XXXIII. 3.) And after he had found a gracious reception, he acknowleged (ver. 10.) "I have ſeen thy face, as though I had ſeen the "face of God, and thou waſt pleaſed with me." Jacob then had no temporal ſuperiority over Eſau; and therefore we muſt look for the completion of the prophecy among their poſterity. The prophecy itſelf refers us thither, and mentions plainly *two nations* and *two manner of people*, and comprehends theſe ſeveral particulars; that the families of Eſau and Jacob ſhould grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder ſhould be ſubject to that of the younger; that in ſituation and other temporal advantages they ſhould be much alike; that the elder branch ſhould delight more in war and violence, but yet ſhould be ſubdued by the younger; that however there ſhould be a time when the elder ſhould have dominion, and ſhake off the yoke of the younger; but in all ſpiritual gifts and graces the younger ſhould be greatly ſuperior, and be the happy inſtrument of conveying the bleſſing to all nations.

I. The families of Eſau and Jacob ſhould grow up into two different people and nations. "Two nations are in thy womb, and two man-"ner of people ſhall be ſeparated from thy bowels." The Edomites were the ofspring of Eſau, as the Iſraelites were of Jacob; and who but the author and giver of life could foreſee, that two children in the womb would multiply into two nations? Jacob had twelve ſons, and their deſcendents all united and incorporated into one nation; and what an overruling providence then was it, that two nations ſhould ariſe from the two ſons only of Iſaac? But they were not only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations, and *two manner of people* were to be *ſeparated* from her bowels. And have not the Edomites and Iſraelites been all along two very different people in their manners and cuſtoms and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance one with another? The children *ſtruggled together* in the womb, which was an omen and token of their future diſagreement:

and

and when they were grown up to manhood, they manifeſted very different inclinations. Eſau was *a cunning hunter*, and delighted in the ſports of the field: Jacob was more mild and gentle, *dwelling in tents*, and minding his ſheep and his cattle. (Gen. XXV. 27.) Our Engliſh tranſlation, agreeably to the (2) Septuagint and the Vulgate, hath it that Jacob was *a plain man*; but he appears from his whole conduct and behaviour to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The (3) word in the original ſignifies *perfect*, which is a general term; but being put in oppoſition to the *rough* and *ruſtic* manners of Eſau, it muſt particularly import that Jacob was more *humane* and *gentle*, as (4) Philo the Jew underſtands it, and as Le Clerc tranſlates it. Eſau ſlighted his birth-right and thoſe ſacred privileges of which Jacob was deſirous, and is therefore called (Hebr. XII. 16.) the *profane* Eſau: but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diverſity ran through their poſterity. The religion of the Jews is very well known; but whatever the Edomites were at firſt, in proceſs of time they became idolaters. Joſephus (5) mentions an Idumean deity named Kozé: and Amaziah king of Judah, after he had overthrown the Edomites, (2 Chron. XXIV. 14.) "brought their gods, and ſet them up to be his "gods, and bowed down himſelf before them, and burned incenſe "unto them;" which was monſtrouſly abſurd, as the prophet remonſtrates, (ver. 15.) "Why haſt thou ſought after the gods of the "people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine "hand?" Upon theſe religious differences and other accounts there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not ſuffer the Iſraelites in their return out of Egypt, ſo much as to paſs through his territories: (Numb. XX.) and the hiſtory of the Edomites afterwards is little more than the hiſtory of their wars with the Jews.

II. The family of the elder ſhould be ſubject to that of the younger. "And the one people ſhall be ſtronger than the other people, and the "elder ſhall ſerve the younger," or as the words may be rendered, *the greater ſhall ſerve the leſſer*. The family of Eſau was the elder, and for

(2) απλαςος, Sept. ſimplex, Vulg.
(3) תם Integer, perfectus. Integer, Syr. Samar. &c. Perfectus, Onk. Perfectus virtutibus. Arab.
(4) Vide Clericum in locum. *Jacobus vero mitis &c.*
(5)—Κοζε· θεον δε τουτον Ιδουμαιοι νομιζουσιν. Coze; quem Deum

for ſome time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, " before there reigned any king over " the children of Iſrael." (Gen. XXXVI. 31.) But David and his captains made an entire conqueſt of the Edomites, ſlew ſeveral thouſands of them, (1 Kings XI. 16. & 1 Chron. XVIII. 12.) and compelled the reſt to become his tributaries and ſervants, and planted garriſons among them to ſecure their obedience. (2 Sam. VIII. 14.) " And " he put garriſons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garriſons, " and all they of Edom became David's ſervants." In this ſtate of ſervitude they continued (6) about an hundred and fifty years, without a king of their own, being governed by viceroys or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah. In the reign of Jehoſhaphat king of Judah it is ſaid, that " there was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king." (1 Kings XXII. 47.) But in the days of Jehoram his ſon, they revolted, and recovered their liberties, " and made a king over themſelves." (2 Kings VIII. 20.) But afterwards Amaziah king of Judah " ſlew of " Edom in the valley of ſalt ten thouſand, and took Selah by war, " and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day," ſays the ſacred hiſtorian. (2 Kings XIV. 7.) " And other ten thouſand left alive, did " the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto " the top of the rock," whereon Selah was built, " and caſt them down from " the top of the rock, that they were broken all in pieces." (2 Chron. XXV. 12.) His ſon Azariah or Uzziah likewiſe took from them Elah, that commodious haven on the Red Sea, and fortified it anew, " and " reſtored it to Judah." (2 Kings XIV. 22. 2 Chron. XXVI. 2.) Judas Maccabæus attacked and defeated them ſeveral times, " killed no " fewer than twenty thouſand at one time, and more than twenty " thouſand at another, and took their chief city Hebron, and the towns " thereof, and pulled down the fortreſs of it, and burnt the towers thereof round about." (1 Macc. V. 2 Macc. X.) At laſt his nephew, (7) Hyrcanus the ſon of Simon, took others of their cities, and reduced them to the neceſſity of embracing the Jewiſh religion, or of leaving their country and ſeeking new habitations elſewhere, whereupon they ſubmitted

Deum exiſtimant Idumæi. Antiq. Lib. 15. Cap. 7. Sect. 9. p. 686. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) From about the year of the world 2960 before Chriſt 1044 to about the year of the world 3115 before Chriſt 889. See Uſher's Annals.

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 13. Chap. 9. Sect. 1. p. 584. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) In

ſubmitted to be circumciſed, and became proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion, and ever after were incorporated into the Jewiſh church and nation.

III. In ſituation and other temporal advantages they ſhould be much alike. For it was ſaid to Jacob, "God give thee of the dew of "heaven, and of the fatneſs of the earth, and plenty of corn and "wine:" and much the ſame is ſaid to Eſau, "Behold thy dwelling "ſhall be of the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above." In this manner the latter clauſe is tranſlated in (8) Jerome's and the old verſions; but ſome modern commentators (9) Caſtalio, le Clerc, &c.) render it otherwiſe, that his dwelling ſhould be *far from the fatneſs of the earth, aud from the dew of heaven:* and they ſay that Idumea, the country of the Edomites, was a dry, barren, and deſert country. But it is not probable, that any good author ſhould uſe the (1) very ſame words with the very ſame præpoſitions in one ſenſe, and within a few lines after in a quite contrary ſenſe. Beſides Eſau ſollicited for a bleſſing; and the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews ſaith (XI. 20.) that "Iſaac bleſſed Jacob and Eſau;" whereas had he conſigned Eſau to ſuch a barren and wretched country, it would have been a curſe rather than a bleſſing. The ſpiritual bleſſing indeed, or the promiſe of the bleſſed ſeed, could be given only to one; but temporal good things might be communicated and imparted to both. Mount Seir and the adjacent country was at firſt the poſſeſſion of the Edomites; they afterwards extended themſelves farther into Arabia; as they did afterwards into the ſouthern parts of Judea. But wherever they were ſituated, we find in fact that the Edomites in temporal advantages were little inferior to the Iſraelites. Eſau had *cattle*, and *beaſts*, and *ſubſtance* in abundance, and he went to dwell in Seir of his own accord, and he would hardly have removed thither with ſo many cattle, had it been ſuch a barren and deſolate country, as ſome would repreſent it. (Gen. XXXIV. 6, 7, 8.) The Edomites had dukes and kings reigning over them, while the Iſraelites were ſlaves in Egypt. In their return out of Egypt when the Iſraelites deſired leave to paſs thro' the territories

(8) In pinguedine terræ, et in rore cæli deſuper.

(9) A terræ pinguitudine aberit. Caſt. A pinguedine quidem terræ remota erit ſedes tua, neque rore cæli fecundabitur.—Nec ſane Idumæa fecunda aut pingui ſolo, aut tempeſtivis pluviis rigata fuit. Clericus in locum.

(1) Ver.

territories of Edom, it appears that the country abounded with fruitful fields and vineyards; "Let us paſs, I pray thee, thro' thy country; "we will not paſs thro' the fields, or thro' the vineyards, nei- "ther will we drink of the water of the wells." (Numb. XX. 17.) And the prophecy of Malachi, (I. 2.) which is commonly alleged as a proof of the barrenneſs of the country, is rather an argument to the contrary: "And I hated Eſau, and laid his mountains and his he- "ritage waſte, for the dragons of the wilderneſs:" for this implies that the country was fruitful before, and that its preſent unfruitful- neſs was rather an effect of war and devaſtation, than any natural de- fect and failure in the ſoil. If the country is barren and unfruitful now, ſo neither is Judea what it was formerly. The face of any country is much changed in a long courſe of years: and it is totally a different thing, when a country is regularly cultivated by inhabitants living under a ſettled government, than when tyranny prevails, and the land is left deſolate. It is alſo frequently ſeen that God, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, (CVII. 34.) "turneth a fruitful land into barrenneſs "for the wickedneſs of them that dwell therein."

IV. The elder branch ſhould delight more in war and violence, but yet ſhould be ſubdued by the younger. "And by thy ſword "ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother." Eſau himſelf might be ſaid to live much by the ſword, for he "was a cunning hunter, "a man of the field." (Gen. XXV. 27.) He and his children gat poſſeſſion of mount Seir by force and violence, by deſtroying and ex- pelling from thence the Horites, the former inhabitants. (Deut. II. 22.) We have no account, and therefore cannot pretend to ſay, by what means they ſpread themſelves farther among the Arabians; but it (2) appears, that upon a ſedition and ſeparation ſeveral of the Edo- mites came, and ſeiſed upon the ſouth-weſt parts of Judea during the Babyloniſh captivity, and ſettled there ever afterwards. Both before and after this they were almoſt continually at war with the Jews; upon every occaſion they were ready to join with their enemies; and when Nebuchadnezzar beſieged Jeruſalem, they encouraged him utterly to

(1) Ver. 28. מטל השמים ומשמני הארץ deſuper cæli rore de et, terræ pinguedinibus de.
terræ pinguedinibus de et, cæli rore de.
Ver. 39. משמני האדץ ומטל השמים מעל

(2) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1103. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Ann. 740.

(3) ἀπὸ

deſtroy the city, ſaying, " Raſe it, raſe it, even to the foundation " thereof." (Pſal. CXXXVII. 7.) Even long after they were ſubdued by the Jews, they ſtill retained the ſame martial ſpirit, for (3) Joſephus in his time giveth them the character of ' a turbulent and diſorderly ' nation, always erect to commotions and rejoicing in changes, at the ' leaſt adulation of thoſe who beſeech them beginning war, and ' haſtening to battles as it were to a feaſt.' Agreeably to this character, a little before the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem they came at the entreaty of the zelots to aſſiſt them againſt the prieſts and people, and there together with the zelots committed unheard of cruelties, and barbarouſly murdered Ananus the high-prieſt, from whoſe death Joſephus dateth the deſtruction of the city.

V. However there was to be a time when the elder ſhould have dominion, and ſhake off the yoke of the younger. " And it ſhall " come to paſs when thou ſhalt have dominion, that thou ſhalt break " his yoke from off thy neck." The word which we tranſlate *have dominion* is capable of various interpretations. Some render it in the ſenſe of *laying down* or *ſhaking off*, as the (4) Septuagint and the Vulgar Latin, " And it ſhall come to paſs that thou ſhalt ſhake off, and ſhalt " looſe his yoke from off thy neck." Some again render it in the ſenſe of *mourning* or *repenting*, as the (5) Syriac, " But if thou ſhalt " repent, his yoke ſhall paſs from off thy neck." But the moſt common rendering and moſt approved is, " when thou ſhalt have domi- " nion ;" and it is not ſaid or meant, that they ſhould have dominion over the ſeed of Jacob, but ſimply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The (6) Jeruſalem Targum thus paraphraſeth the whole, ' And it ſhall be when the ſons of Jacob ' attend to the law, and obſerve the precepts, they ſhall impoſe the ' yoke of ſervitude upon thy neck ; but when they ſhall turn them- ' ſelves away from ſtudying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold ' then thou ſhalt ſhake off the yoke of ſervitude from thy ' neck.'

(3) ἀτε θορυβωδες και ατακτον εθνος, αει τι μετεωρον προς τα κινηματα, και μεταβολαις χαιρον, προς ολιγην δε κολακειαν των δεομενων τα ὁπλα κινουν, και καθαπερ εις ἑορτην εις τας παρατaξεις επειγομενον. utpote gentem tumultuoſam et ordinis impatientem, ad motus intentam ſemper et mutationibus gaudentem, ad modicam vero eorum qui ſupplicant adulationem arma moventem, et ad prælia quaſi ad feſtum properantem. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 1177. Edit. Hudſon. See too the following chapter.

(4) εσαι δε ὁταν καθελης και εκλυσης τον ζυγον αυτου απο του τραχηλου σου. Sept. tempuſque veniet cum excutias et ſolvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis. Vulg.

(5) Ar

'neck.' David impoſed the yoke, and at that time the Jewiſh people obſerved the law. But the yoke was very galling to the Edomites from the firſt: and toward the latter end of Solomon's reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raiſed ſome diſturbances, (1 Kings XI.) but was not able to recover his throne, (7) his ſubjects being overawed by the garriſons which David had placed among them. But in the reign of Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſhaphat king of Judah, "the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, "and made themſelves a king." Jehoram made ſome attempts to ſubdue them again, but could not prevail. "So the Edomites revolted "from under the hand of Judah unto this day," ſaith the author of the books of Chronicles: (2 Chron. XXI. 8, 10.) and hereby this part of the prophecy was fulfilled about nine hundred years after it was delivered.

VI. But in all ſpiritual gifts and graces the younger ſhould be greatly ſuperior, and be the happy inſtrument of conveying the bleſſing to all nations. "In thee and in thy ſeed ſhall all the families "of the earth be bleſſed:" and hitherto are to be referred in their full force thoſe expreſſions, "Let people ſerve thee, and nations bow "down to thee; Curſed be every one that curſeth thee, and bleſſed "be he that bleſſeth thee." The ſame promiſe was made to Abraham in the name of God, "I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, and curſe "him that curſeth thee:" (Gen. XII. 3.) and it is here repeated to Jacob, and is thus paraphraſed in the (8) Jeruſalem Targum, 'He 'who curſeth thee, ſhall be curſed, as Balaam the ſon of Beor; and 'he who bleſſeth thee, ſhall be bleſſed, as Moſes the prophet, the 'lawgiver of Iſrael.' It appears that Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promiſes more than Eſau. The poſterity of Jacob likewiſe preſerved the true religion and the worſhip of

(5) At ſi pœnitentiam egeris, præteribit jugum ejus a collo tuo. Syr.

(6) Et erit cum operam dabunt filii Jacob legi, et ſervabunt mandata, imponent jugum ſervitutis ſuper collum tuum: quando autem averterint ſe filii Jacob, ut non ſtudeant legi, nec ſervaverint mandata, ecce tunc abrumpes jugum ſervitutis eorum a collo tuo. Targ. Hieros.

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 361. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Quiſquis maledixerit tibi Jacob fili mi, erat maledictus, ſicut Balaam filius Beor: quiſquis autem benedixerit tibi, erit benedictus, ſicut Moſes propheta, legiſlator Iſraelitarum. Targ. Hieros.

(9) See

one God, while the Edomites were ſunk in idolatry. And of the ſeed of Jacob was born at laſt the Saviour of the world. This was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy inſtrument of conveying theſe ſpiritual bleſſings to all nations. This was his greateſt ſuperiority over Eſau; and in this ſenſe St. Paul underſtands and applies the prophecy, "the elder ſhall ſerve the younger." (Rom. IX. 12.) The Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, was to be born of ſome one family: and Jacob's was preferred to Eſau's out of the good pleaſure of almighty God, who is certainly the beſt judge of fitneſs and expedience, and hath an undoubted right to diſpenſe his favors as he ſhall ſee proper; "for he ſaith to Moſes" (as the apoſtle proceeds to argue ver. 15.) "I will have mercy on whom I will have "mercy, and I will have compaſſion on whom I will have compaſſion." And when the Gentiles were converted to Chriſtianity, the prophecy was fulfilled litterally, "Let people ſerve thee, and nations bow "down to thee;" and will more amply be fulfilled, when "the "fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved."

We have traced the accompliſhment of the prophecy from the beginning; and we find that the nation of the Edomites hath at ſeveral times been conquered by and made tributary to the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites, and the Jews have been the more conſiderable people, more known in the world, and more famous in hiſtory. We know indeed little more of the hiſtory of the Edomites, than as it is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation now? They were ſwallowed up and loſt, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was (9) aboliſhed and diſuſed about the end of the firſt century after Chriſt. Thus were they rewarded for inſulting and oppreſſing their brethren the Jews, and hereby other prophecies were fulfilled of Jeremiah, (XLIX. 7. &c.) of Ezekiel, (XXV. 12. &c.) of Joel,

(9) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. Book 5. Anno 129.

(1) Hom. Iliad. XVI. 852. et Iliad. XXII. 358.

(2) Το δε δη μιλα τυτο επιθυμω ὑμιν χρησμωδησαι, ω καταψηφισαμενοι μυ. και γαρ ειμι ηδη ενταυθα εν ᾧ μαλις' ανθρωποι χρησμωδασιν, ὁταν μελλωσιν αποθανεισθαι. Jam vero, O vos, qui me condemnaſtis, cupio vobis earum rerum, quæ vobis ſunt eventuræ, caſus quaſi oraculo prædicere: in illum enim temporis ſtatum jam perveni, in quo homines divinandi facultate maxime pollent, quando nimirum mortituri ſunt. Platonis Apolog. Socr. Op. Vol. 1. p. 39. Edit. Serrani.

(3) ἡ δε τυ ανθρωπυ ψυχη τοτε δηπυ θειοτατη καταφαινεσαι, και τοις τι των μελλοντων προορα. ac hominis animus tum ſcilicet

Joel, (III. 19.) Amos, (I. 11. &c.) and Obadiah. And at this day we ſee the Jews ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obadiah (ver. 10.) " For thy violence " againſt thy brother Jacob, ſhame ſhall cover thee, and thou ſhalt be " cut off for ever:" and again (ver. 18.) " there ſhall not be any re- " maining of the houſe of Eſau, for the Lord hath ſpoken it."

IV.

JACOB's *prophecies concerning his ſons, particularly* JUDAH.

IT is an opinion of great antiquity, that the nearer men approach to their diſſolution, their ſouls grow more divine, and diſcern more of futurity. We find this opinion as early as (1) Homer, for he repreſents the dying Patroclus foretelling the fate of Hector, and the dying Hector denouncing no leſs certainly the death of Achilles. Socrates in his Apology to the Athenians a little before his death (2) aſſerts the ſame opinion. ' But now, ſaith he, I am deſirous to propheſy to you ' who have condemned me, what will happen hereafter. For now ' I am arrived at that ſtate, in which men propheſy moſt, when they ' are about to die.' His ſcholar (3) Xenophon introduces the dying Cyrus declaring in like manner, ' that the ſoul of man at the hour of ' death appears moſt divine, and then foreſees ſomething of future ' events.' Diodorus Siculus (4) allegeth great authorities upon this ſubject; ' Pythagoras the Samian and ſome others of the ancient na- ' turaliſts have demonſtrated that the ſouls of men are immortal, and ' in

ſcilicet maxime divinus perſpicitur, et tum futurorum aliquid proſpicit. Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib: 8. prope finem. p. 140. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(4) Πυθαγορας ὁ Σαμιος και τινες ἑτεροι των παλαιων φυσικων απεφηναντο τας ψυχας των ανθρωπων ὑπαρχειν αθανατες, ακολουθως δε τω δογματι τουτω και προγιγνωσκειν αυτας τα μελλοντα, καθ' ὁν αν καιρον εν τη τελευτη του απο του σωματος χωρισμον ποιωνται. Pythagoras Samius, et quidam phyſicorum veterum alii, immortales eſſe hominum animas confirmarunt: et quod hujus ſententiæ conſectarium eſt, prænoſcere futura, cum, imminente vitæ exitu, jamjam a corpore ſegregantur. In initio Lib. 18. Tom. 2. p. 586. Edit. Rhodomani.

(5) H

'in conſequence of this opinion that they alſo foreknow future events, 'at the time that they are making their ſeparation from the body in 'death.' Sextus Empiricus (5) confirms it likewiſe by the authority of Ariſtotle; 'the ſoul, ſaith Ariſtotle, foreſees and foretels future 'events, when it is going to be ſeparated from the body by death.' We might produce more teſtimonies to this purpoſe from Cicero, and Euſtathius upon Homer, and from other authors, if there was occaſion; but theſe are ſufficient to ſhow the great (6) antiquity of this opinion. And it is poſſible, that (7) old experience may in ſome caſes attain to ſomething like prophecy and divination. In ſome inſtances alſo God may have been pleaſed to comfort and inlighten departing ſouls with a preſcience of future events. But what I conceive might principally give riſe to this opinion, was the tradition of ſome of the patriarchs being divinely inſpired in their laſt moments to foretel the ſtate and condition of the people deſcended from them; as Jacob upon his death-bed ſummoned his ſons together that he might inform them of what ſhould befall them in *the latter days* or *the laſt days*; by which phraſe ſome commentators underſtand the times of the Meſſiah, or the laſt great period of the world; and Mr. Whiſton particularly (8) aſſerts, that it is generally, if not always, a characteriſtic and κριτηριον of prophecies not to be fulfilled till the coming of the Meſſiah; and accordingly he ſuppoſes that theſe prophecies of Jacob more properly belong to the ſecond coming of the Meſſiah, at the reſtoration of the twelve tribes hereafter. But the phraſe of *the latter days* or *laſt days* in the Old Teſtament ſignifies any time that is yet to come, tho' ſometimes it may relate to the times of the Meſſiah in particular, as it comprehends all future time in general: and hence it is uſed in prophecies that reſpect different times and periods. "I will advertiſe thee," ſaith Balaam to Balaak, (Numb. XXIV. 14.) "what this people ſhall do to thy people "in the latter days:" but what the Iſraelites did to the Moabites, was done long before the times of the Meſſiah. "I know," ſaith Moſes, (Deut. XXXI. 29.) "that after my death ye will utterly corrupt your-"ſelves,

(5) Ἡ ψυχη, φησιν Αριστοτελης, προμαντευεται και προαισθανεται τα μελλοντα—εν τῳ κατα θανατον χωριζεσθαι των σωματων. Adv. Mathem. p. 312.

(6) Shakeſpear alludes to this notion in Henry IV. Firſt Part.

——O, I could propheſy,
But that the earthy and cold hand of death
Lies on my tongue.

The ſame notion is alſo happily expreſſed in a moſt excellent Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, which is

" ſelves, and turn aſide from the way which I have commanded you, " and evil will befall you in the latter days:" where the *latter days* are much the ſame as the *time after the death of* Moſes. " There is a God " in heaven," ſaith Daniel, (II. 28.) " that revealeth ſecrets, and " maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what ſhall be in the " latter days:" but ſeveral particulars are there foretold of the four great monarchies of the earth, which were fulfilled before the coming of the Meſſiah. And in like manner theſe prophecies of Jacob were, many or moſt of them, accompliſhed under the Moſaic oeconomy, ſeveral ages before the birth of our Saviour.

Jacob, as we have ſeen, received a double bleſſing, temporal and ſpiritual, the promiſe of the land of Canaan, and the promiſe of the ſeed in which all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed; which promiſes were firſt made to Abraham, and then repeated to Iſaac, and then confirmed to Jacob; and Jacob a little before his death bequeaths the ſame to his children. The temporal bleſſing or inheritance of the land of Canaan might be ſhared and divided among all his ſons, but the bleſſed ſeed could deſcend only from one: and Jacob accordingly aſſigns to each a portion in the promiſed land, but limits the deſcent of the bleſſed ſeed to the tribe of Judah, and at the ſame time ſketches out the characters and fortunes of all the tribes.

He adopts the two ſons of Joſeph, Manaſſeh and Ephraim, for his own, but foretels that the younger ſhould be the greater of the two: (Gen. XLVIII. 19.) and hath not the prediction been fully juſtified by the event? The tribe of Ephraim grew to be ſo numerous and powerful, that it is ſometimes put for all the ten tribes of Iſrael.--Of Reuben it is ſaid, (Gen. XLIX. 4.) " Unſtable as water, thou ſhalt not excel:" and what is recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number (Numb. I.) and power they were inferior to ſeveral other tribes.—Of Simeon and Levi it is ſaid, (ver. 7.) " I will divide them in Jacob, and " ſcatter them in Iſrael:" and was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe

is deſerving of a place among claſſic authors, in richneſs of poetry equals Lucretius, and in clearneſs and ſtrength of argument exceeds him.

Namque ubi torpeſcunt artus jam morte propinqua,
Acrior eſt acies tum mentis, et entheus ardor;
Tempore non alio facundia ſuavior, atque
Fatidicæ jam tum voces morientis ab ore.

(7) Alluding to theſe lines of Milton.

Till old experience do attain
To ſomething like prophetic ſtrain.

(8) Boyle's Lectures, Vol. 2. p. 311.

(9) Tradunt

tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were diſperſed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midſt of the tribe of Judah; (Joſh. XIX. 1—9.) from whence ſeveral of them afterwards went in queſt of new habitations, (1 Chron. IV. 39, &c.) and ſo were divided from the reſt of their brethren. A conſtant tradition too (9) hath prevailed among the Jews (which is alſo confirmed by the Jeruſalem Targum) that the tribe of Simeon were ſo ſtraitened in their ſituation and circumſtances, that great numbers were neceſſitated to ſeek a ſubſiſtence among the other tribes, by teaching and inſtructing their children.—Of Zebulun it is ſaid, (ver. 13.) "he ſhall dwell at "the haven of the ſea, and ſhall be for an haven of ſhips:" and accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the ſea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, (Joſh. XIX. 10, &c.) where they had commodious havens for ſhipping. And how could Jacob have foretold the ſituation of any tribe, which was determined 200 years afterwards by caſting of lots, unleſs he had been directed by that divine Spirit, who diſpoſeth of all events?—Of Benjamin it is ſaid, (ver. 27.) "He ſhall raven as a "wolf:" and was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in ſeveral inſtances, and particularly in the caſe of the Levite's wife, (Judg. XX.) when they alone waged war againſt all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles?

In this manner he characterizes theſe and the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the reſt: "Binding his fole unto the vine, and his aſſes colt unto the choice "vine, he waſhed his garments in wine, and his cloaths in the blood "of grapes. His eyes ſhall be red with wine, and his teeth white "with milk:" (ver. 11, 12.) and not to mention the valley of Eſhcol and other fruitful places, the mountains about Jeruſalem, by the accounts of the beſt travelers, were particularly fitted for the cultivation of the vine, and for the feeding of cattle. "The bleſſing, ſays (1) Dr. "Shaw, that was given to Judah, was not of the ſame kind, with the "bleſſing of Aſher or of Iſſachar that *his bread ſhould be fat*, or *his* "*land*

(9) Tradunt quoque Hebræi, ſcribas, pædotribas, pædagogos, et doctores puerorum fere omnes ex tribu Schimeon fuiſſe, qui, ut haberent unde viverent, ſparſim et oppidatim pueros informare cogebantur. Cui

" *land ſhould be pleaſant*, but that *his eyes ſhould be red with wine, and* " *his teeth ſhould be white with milk.*" He farther obſerves that " the " mountains of the country abound with ſhrubs and a delicate ſhort " graſs, both which the cattle are more fond of, than of ſuch plants as " are common to fallow grounds and meadows. Neither was this me- " thod of grazing peculiar to this country; inaſmuch as it is ſtill prac- " tiſed all over mount Libanus, the Caſtravan mountains and Barbary; " in all which places the higher grounds are ſet apart for this uſe, and " the plains and valleys for tillage. For beſides the good man- " agement and oeconomy, there is this farther advantage, that the " milk of cattle fed in this manner is far more rich and delicious, as " their fleſh is more ſweet and nouriſhing.—It may be preſumed like- " wiſe, that the vine was not neglected, in a ſoil and expoſition ſo pro- " per for it to thrive in." He mentions particularly " the many tokens " which are to be met with, of the ancient vineyards about Jeruſalem " and Hebron," and " the great quantity of grapes and raiſins, which " are from thence brought daily to the markets of Jeruſalem, and ſent " yearly to Egypt."

But Jacob bequeaths to Judah particularly the ſpiritual bleſſing, and delivers it in much the ſame form of words that it was delivered to him. Iſaac had ſaid to Jacob, (Gen. XXVII. 29.) " Let people ſerve " thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and " let thy mother's ſons bow down to thee:" and here Jacob ſaith to Ju- dah, (ver. 8.) " Thou art he whom thy brethren ſhall praiſe; thy hand " ſhall be in the neck of thy enemies; thy father's children ſhall bow " down before thee." And for greater certainty it is added (ver. 10.) " The ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from be- " tween his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering " of the people be." I will not trouble the reader or myſelf with a de- tail of the various interpretations which have been put upon this paſſage, but will only offer that which appears to me the plaineſt, eaſieſt, and beſt; I will firſt explain the words and meaning of the prophecy, and then ſhow the full and exact completion of it. They who are curious to know the various interpretations of the learned, may find an account of

Cui ſententiæ adſtipulatur et Thargum Hieros. &c. Fagius.

(1) Shaw's Travels, p. 366, 367.

(2) Demonſtratio

them in (2) Huetius and (3) Le Clerc: but no one hath treated the ſubject in a more maſterly manner than the preſent (4) Lord Biſhop of London; and we ſhall principally tread in his footſteps, as we cannot follow a better guide.

I. "The ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah." The word שבט *ſhebet* which we tranſlate a *ſcepter*, ſignifies a *rod* or *ſtaff* of any kind; and particularly the rod or ſtaff which (5) belonged to each tribe as an enſign of their authority; and thence it is transferred to ſignify a *tribe*, as being united under one rod or ſtaff of government, or a *ruler* of a tribe; and in this ſenſe it is uſed twice in this very chapter, (ver. 16.) "Dan ſhall judge his people, as one of the tribes *or rulers* of Iſrael;" and again (ver. 28.) "All theſe are the twelve tribes *or rulers* of Iſrael." It hath the ſame ſignification in 2 Sam. VII. 7. "In all the places "wherein I have walked with all the children of Iſrael, ſpake I a word "with any of the tribes *or rulers* of Iſrael" (in the parallel place of Chronicles 1 Chron. XVII. 6. it is *judges of Iſrael*) whom I com-"manded to feed my people Iſrael, ſaying, Why build ye not me an "houſe of cedar?" The word doth indeed ſometimes ſignify a *ſcepter*, but that is apt to convey an idea of kingly authority, which was not the thing intended here: and the (6) Seventy tranſlate it αρχων a *ruler*, which anſwers better to a *lawgiver* in the following clauſe. It could not with any ſort of propriety be ſaid, that *the ſcepter ſhould not depart from Judah*, when Judah had no ſcepter, nor was to have any for many generations afterwards: but Judah had a rod or ſtaff of a tribe, for he was then conſtituted a tribe as well as the reſt of his brethren. The very ſame expreſſion occurs in Zechariah, (X. 11.) "and the ſcepter "of Egypt ſhall depart away," which implies that Egypt had a ſcepter, and that that ſcepter ſhould be taken away: but no grammar or language could juſtify the ſaying that *Judah's ſcepter ſhould depart* or be taken away, before Judah was in poſſeſſion of any ſcepter. Would it not therefore be better, to ſubſtitute the word *ſtaff* or *ruler* inſtead of *ſcepter*, unleſs we reſtrain the meaning of ſcepter to a rod or ſtaff of a tribe,

(2) Demonſtratio Evangelica Prop. 9. Cap. 4.
(3) Comment. in locum.
(4) See the 3d Diſſertation in Biſhop Sherlock's Diſcourſes of the Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.
(5) Biſhop Sherlock hath cited to this purpoſe Menochius de Repub. Heb. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Traductum vero nomen eſt ad ſignificandum tribum—quod unaquæque tribus ſuam peculiarem virgam haberet;

tribe, which is all that is here intended? *The* ſtaff or ruler *ſhall not depart from Judah. The* tribeſhip *ſhall not depart from Judah.* Such authority as Judah had then, was to remain with his poſterity. It is not ſaid or meant, that he ſhould not ceaſe from being a king or having a kingdom, for he was then no king, and had no kingd m; but only that he ſhould not ceaſe from being a tribe or body politic, having rulers and governors of his own, till a certain period here foretold.

"Nor a lawgiver from between his feet." The ſenſe of the word *ſcepter* will help us to fix and determin the meaning of the other word מחקק *mechokek*, which we tranſlate a *lawgiver*. For if they are not ſynonimous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, ſuch muſt be the lawgiver. The government was only of a ſingle tribe, and the lawgiver could be of no more. Nor had the tribe of Judah at any time a legiſlative authority over all the other tribes, no, not even in the reigns of David and Solomon. When David appointed the officers for the ſervice of the temple; (1 Chron. XXV. 1. Ezra VIII. 20.) and when Solomon was appointed king, and Zadok prieſt; (1 Chron. XXIX. 22.) theſe things were done with the conſent and approbation of the princes and rulers of Iſrael. Indeed the whole nation had but one law, and one lawgiver in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word. The king himſelf was not properly a lawgiver; he was only to have "a copy of the law," to "read "therein," and to "turn not aſide from the commandment, to the right "hand or to the left." (Deut. XVII. 18, &c.) Moſes was truly, as he is ſtiled, *the lawgiver:* (Num. XXI. 18. Deut. XXXIII. 21.) and when the word is applied to any other perſon or perſons, as Judah is twice called by the Pſalmiſt (Pſal. LX. 7. CVIII. 8.) *my lawgiver*, it is uſed in a lower ſignification. For it ſignifies not only a lawgiver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewiſe one who exerciſeth juriſdiction: and in the (7) Greek it is tranſlated ηγουμενος a *leader* or *præſident*, in the (8) Chaldee a *ſcribe*, in the (9) Syriac an *expoſitor*, and in our Engliſh bible it is elſewhere tranſlated a *governor*, as in Judges (V. 14.)

beret, nomine ſuo inſcriptam, quam tribuum principes—manu geſtare conſueverant.—Cum Dominus Aaronem his verbis alloquitur, *ſed et fratres tuos de tribu Levi, et ſceptrum patris tui ſume tecum*, intellige ſceptrum ipſum, et totam tribum quæ ſceptro ſignificabatur, et regebatur.

(6) Ουκ εκλειψει αρχων εξ Ιουδα. Sept.

(7) και ηγουμενος εκ των μηρων αυτου. Sept.

(8) neque ſcriba a filiis filiorum ejus. Chald.

(9) et expoſitor de inter pedes ejus. Syr.

(1) As

" Out of Machir came down *governors*, and out of Zebulun they that " handle the pen of the writer." The *lawgiver* therefore is to be taken in a reſtrained ſenſe as well as the *ſcepter:* and perhaps it cannot be tranſlated better than *judge: Nor a* judge *from between his feet.* Whether we underſtand it, that *a judge from between his feet ſhall not depart from Judah*, or *a judge ſhall not depart from between his feet*, I conceive the meaning to be much the ſame, that there ſhould not be wanting a judge of the race and poſterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phraſe of children's coming *from between the feet.* They who expound it of *ſitting at the feet of Judah*, ſeem not to have conſidered that this was the place of ſcholars, and not of judges and doctors of the law. As *Dan* (ver. 16.) was to *judge his people as one of the tribes* or rulers *of Iſrael*; ſo was *Judah*, and with this particular prerogative, that *the* ſtaff or ruler *ſhould not depart from Judah, nor a* judge *from between his feet*, until the time here foretold, which we are now to examin and aſcertain.

" Until Shiloh come," that is, until the coming of the Meſſiah, as almoſt all interpreters, both ancient and modern, agree. For howſoever they may explain the word, and whenceſoever they may derive it, the Meſſiah is the perſon plainly intended.—The (1) Vulgar Latin tranſlates it *Qui mittendus eſt, He who is to be ſent*; and to favor this verſion that paſſage in St. John's Goſpel (IX. 7.) is uſually cited, " Go waſh in the " pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation ſent:" And who was ever ſent with ſuch power and authority from God as the Meſſiah, who frequently ſpeaketh of himſelf in the goſpel under the denomination of " him whom the father hath ſent?"—The (2) Seventy tranſlate it τα αποκειμενα αυτῳ *the things reſerved for him*, or according to other copies ᾧ απόκειται *he for whom it is reſerved:* And what was the great treaſure reſerved for Judah, or who was the perſon for whom all things were reſerved, but the Meſſiah, whom we have declaring in the Goſpel, (Matt. XI. 27.) " All things are delivered unto me of my Father," and

(1) As if St. Jerome had read שילוח *Shiloach* inſtead of שילוה *Shiloh*, and hath derived it from שלח *Shalach miſit*, the miſtake being eaſy of ח *ch* for ה *h*.

(2) Deriving it from ש *ſh quod* or *quæ*, and לן *he is.*

(3) As if it was derived from שיל *Shil profluvium ſanguinis*, or שליה *Shilejah ſecundina*, that wherein the infant is wrapped, and thence by a metonomy the infant itſelf.

(4) I look upon the word שילוה *Shiloh* to be derived

and again (XXVIII. 18.) " All power is given unto me in heaven and " in earth?"—The Syriac tranſlates it to the ſame purpoſe *is cujus illud eſt, he whoſe it is*, I ſuppoſe meaning the kingdom; and the Arabic *cujus ipſe eſt, whoſe he is*, I ſuppoſe meaning Judah: And whoſe was Judah, or whoſe was the kingdom ſo properly as the Meſſiah's, who is ſo many times predicted under the character of " the king of Iſrael?" —Junius and Tremellius with others (3) tranſlate it *filius ejus, his ſon:* And who could be this ſon of Judah by way of eminence, but the Meſſiah, " the ſeed in which all the nations of the earth ſhall be " bleſſed?"—In the Samaritan text and verſion it is *pacificus, the peace-maker*; and (4) this perhaps is the beſt explication of the word: And to whom can this or any the like title be ſo juſtly applied as to the Meſſiah, who is emphatically ſtiled (Iſ. IX. 6.) " the prince of peace," and at whoſe birth was ſung that heavenly anthem, (Luke II. 14.) " Glory to God in the higheſt, and on earth peace, good will towards " men?"

Theſe are the principal interpretations, and which ever of theſe you prefer, the perſon underſtood muſt be the Meſſiah. But the learned Mr. Le Clerc would explain the text in ſuch a manner as utterly to exclude the Meſſiah: and he was a very able commentator, the beſt perhaps upon the Penteteuch; but like other learned men, he was ſometimes apt to indulge ſtrange unaccountable fancies. Of this kind, I conceive, is his interpretation of this prophecy; for he (5) ſays that *Shiloh* ſignifies *finis ejus aut ceſſatio, his end or ceaſing*, and that it may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *ſcepter*, or even to Judah himſelf. But if it be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *ſcepter*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology, *There ſhall be a lawgiver as long as there ſhall be a lawgiver, There ſhall not be an end of the ſcepter till the end of the ſcepter come?* If it be referred to Judah or the tribe of Judah, the thing is by no means true; for the tribe of Judah ſubſiſted, long after they had loſt the kingdom, and were deprived of all royal authority. Not many

rived from the verb שלה *Shalah tranquillus, pacificus fuit*, in the ſame manner as קטוד *kitor fumus* is formed from קטר *katar ſuffumigavit:* and there are other words of that formation.

(5) He ſays that שילוה *Shiloh* is the ſame as שילו *Shilo*, and שיל *Shil* may be derived from שול *Shul*, and *Shul* is the ſame as שלה *Shalah*, which in Chaldee ſignifies *ceſſare, deſinere—finis* aut *ceſſatio* verti poterit. Hoc poſito, *finis ejus* poterit ad *legiſlatorem* aut ad *ſceptrum* referri, aut etiam ad ipſum Judam. Comment. in locum.

(6) See

many readers, I imagin, will concur with this learned commentator. The generality of interpreters, Jewiſh as well as Chriſtian, have by *Shiloh* always underſtood the Meſſiah. The Targum of Onkelos is commonly (6) ſuppoſed to have been made before our Saviour's time, and he (7) thus expreſſeth the ſenſe of the paſſage, 'There ſhall not 'be taken away one having the principality from the houſe of Judah, 'nor a ſcribe from his children's children, till Meſſias come whoſe is 'the kingdom.' And with him agree the other Targums or Chaldee paraphraſes, and the authors of the Talmud, and other ancient and modern Jews, whom the reader may ſee cited in Buxtorf upon the word. So that, I think, no doubt can remain, that by the *coming of Shiloh* is meant the *coming of the Meſſiah*.

"And unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be," or *obedience of the people*, as it is otherwiſe tranſlated. Theſe words are capable of three different conſtructions; and each ſo probable, that it is not eaſy to ſay which was certainly intended by the author. For 1. they may relate to *Judah*, who is the main ſubject of the prophecy, and of the diſcourſe preceding and following; and by the *people* we may underſtand the people of Iſrael: and then the meaning will be, that the other tribes ſhould be gathered to the tribe of Judah; which ſenſe is approved by Le Clerc and ſome late commentators. Or 2. they may relate to *Shiloh* who is the perſon mentioned immediately before; and by the *people* we may underſtand the Gentiles: and then the meaning will be, that the Gentiles ſhould be gathered or become obedient to the Meſſiah; which ſenſe is conſonant to other texts of ſcripture, and is confirmed by the authority of moſt ancient interpreters; only (8) ſome of them render it, *and he ſhall be the expectation of the nations*. Or 3. they may ſtill relate to *Shiloh*, and yet not be conſidered as a diſtinct clauſe, but be joined in conſtruction with the preceding words, *until Shiloh come*, the word *until* being common to both parts: and then the ſentence will run thus, *until Shiloh come and to him the gathering* or *obedience of the people*, that is, until the Meſſiah come, and until the people or nations be gathered to his obedience; which ſenſe is preferred by the moſt learned (9) Mr.

(6) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 2. B. 8. Anno 37.

(7) Non auferetur habens principatum a domo Judæ, neque ſcriba a filiis filiorum ejus, *uſque in ſeculum*; donec veniat Meſſias, cujus eſt regnum.

(8) Et ipſe erit expectatio gentium. Vulg. following the Sept. και αυτω προσδοκια εθνων. who probably derived the word from קוה expectavit.

(9) See

(9) Mr. Mede and ſome others. And each of theſe interpretations may very well be juſtified by the event.

II. Having thus explained the words and meaning of the prophecy, I now proceed to ſhow the full and exact completion of it. The twelve ſons of Jacob are here conſtituted twelve tribes or heads of tribes, (ver. 28.) " All theſe are the twelve tribes of Iſrael; and this is it " that their father ſpake unto them, and bleſſed them; every one " according to his bleſſing he bleſſed them." To Judah particularly it was promiſed, that *the ſcepter* or rod of the tribe *ſhould not depart from him, nor a* judge or *lawgiver from between his feet*; his tribe ſhould continue a diſtinct tribe with rulers and judges and governors of its own, until the coming of the Meſſiah. The people of Iſrael after this ſettlement of their government were reckoned by their tribes, but never before. It appears that they were reckoned by their tribes and according to their families, while they ſojourned in Egypt: and the tribe of Judah made as conſiderable a figure as any of them. In number it was ſuperior to the others: (Numb. I. and XXVI.) it had the firſt rank in the armies of Iſrael: (Numb. II.) it marched firſt againſt the Canaanites: (Judg. I.) and upon all occaſions manifeſted ſuch courage as fully anſwered the character given of it, (ver. 9.) " Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my ſon, thou " art gone up: he ſtooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an " old lion, who ſhall rouſe him up?" If the firſt king of Iſrael was of the tribe of Benjamin, the ſecond was of the tribe of Judah; and from that time to the Babyloniſh captivity Judah had not only the ſcepter of a tribe, but likewiſe the ſcepter of a kingdom. When it was promiſed to Judah particularly that the ſcepter ſhould not depart from him, it was implied that it ſhould depart from the other tribes: and accordingly the tribe of Benjamin became a ſort of appendage to the kingdom of Judah: and the other ten tribes were after a time carried away captive into Aſſyria, from whence they never returned. The Jews alſo were carried captive to Babylon, but returned after ſeventy years: and during their captivity they were far from

(9) See Mede's Diſcourſe VIII. et Gothofr. Valandi Diſſertat. cui titulus. *Prætor e medio civium Jud. ante Meſſiæ imperium univerſale non abſceſſurus.* Sylloge Diſſertat. Vol. 1. Mann's Crit. Note in locum,

(1) Biſhop

from being treated as ſlaves, as it appears from the prophet's advice to them; (Jerem. XXIX. 5, &c.) "Build ye houſes, and dwell in "them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them," &c. and many of them were ſo well fixed and ſettled at Babylon, and lived there in ſuch eaſe and affluence, that they refuſed to return to their native country. In their captivity they were ſtill allowed to live as a diſtinct people, appointed feaſts and faſts for themſelves, and had rulers and governors of their own, as we may collect from ſeveral places in Ezra and Nehemiah. When Cyrus had iſſued his proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple, "then roſe up the chief of the fa-"thers," ſaith Ezra; (I. 5.) ſo that they had chiefs and rulers among them. Cyrus ordered the veſſels of the temple to be delivered to "the prince of Judah;" (Ezra I. 8.) ſo that they had then a prince of Judah. And theſe princes and rulers, who are often mentioned, managed their return and ſettlement afterwards. It is true that after the Babyloniſh captivity they were not ſo free a people as before, living under the dominion of the Perſians, Greeks, and Romans; but ſtill they lived as a diſtinct people under their own laws. The authority of their rulers and elders ſubſiſted under theſe foreign maſters, as it had even while they were in Egypt. It ſubſiſted under the Aſmonean princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel, and Saul; for in the books of Maccabees there is frequent mention of "the rulers and elders and council of the Jews," and of public acts and memorials in their name. It ſubſiſted even in our Saviour's time, for in the goſpels we read often of "the chief prieſts and the ſcribes and the "elders of the people." Their power indeed in capital cauſes, eſpecially ſuch as related to the ſtate, was abridged in ſome meaſure; they might judge, but not execute without the conſent of the Roman governor, as I think we muſt infer from this paſſage, (John XVIII. 31.) "Then "ſaid Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according "to your law: the Jews therefore ſaid unto him, It is not lawful for "us to put any man to death." The ſcepter was then departing, and in about forty years afterwards it totally departed. Their city was taken, their temple was deſtroyed, and they themſelves were either ſlain with the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. And from that time to this they have never formed one body or ſociety, but have been diſperſed among all nations;

their

their tribes and genealogies have been all confounded, and they have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without ſupreme authority and government in any part of the earth. And this a captivity not for ſeventy years, but for ſeventeen hundred. "Nor "will they ever be able (as the learned (1) prelate expreſſeth it) after "all their pretences, to ſhow any ſigns or marks of the *ſcepter* among "them, till they diſcover the unknown country, *where never mankind* "*dwelt*, and where the apocryphal Eſdras has placed their brethren of "the ten tribes." (2 Eſd. XIII. 41.)

We have ſeen the exact completion of the former part of the prophecy, and now let us attend to that of the latter part, "And unto him "ſhall the gathering of the people be." If we underſtand this of Judah, that the other tribes ſhould be gathered to that tribe, it was in ſome meaſure fulfilled by the people's going up ſo frequently as they did to Jeruſalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain juſtice in difficult caſes, and to worſhip God in his holy temple. "Whither the tribes go up," (ſaith the Pſalmiſt CXXII. 4, 5.) "the tribes of the Lord; unto the teſtimony of Iſrael, to give thanks "unto the name of the Lord. For there are ſet thrones of judg-"ment; the thrones of the houſe of David." Upon the diviſion of the kingdoms of Iſrael and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the prieſts and levites, and ſeveral out of all the other tribes, (2 Chron. XI. 13, 16.) went over to Judah, and were ſo blended and incorporated together, that they were more than once ſpoken of under the notion of *one tribe:* (1 Kings XI. 13, 32, 36.) and it is ſaid expreſly (1 Kings XII. 20.) "there was none that followed the houſe of David, "but the tribe of Judah only;" all the reſt were ſwallowed up in that tribe, and conſidered as parts and members of it. In like manner, when the Iſraelites were carried away captive into Aſſyria, it is ſaid (2 Kings XVII. 18.) "there was none left but the tribe of Ju-"dah only:" and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes remained too, but they are reckoned as one and the ſame tribe with Judah. Nay at this very time there was a remnant of Iſrael, that eſcaped from the Aſſyrians, and went and adhered to Ju-

(1) Biſhop Sherlock's Diſſertat. 3d. p. 351. Edit. 5.

(2) Thus

dah: for we find afterwards, that in the reign of Joſiah there were ſome "of Manaſſeh and Ephraim and of the remnant of Iſrael," who contributed money to the repairing of the temple, as well as "Judah "and Benjamin:" (2 Chron. XXXIV. 9.) and at the ſolemn celebration of the paſſover ſome "of Iſrael were preſent *as well as* all Judah "and the inhabitants of Jeruſalem." When the people returned from the Babyloniſh captivity, then again ſeveral of the tribes of Iſrael aſſociated themſelves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin; "and in Jeruſalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children "of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim and Manaſſeh." (1 Chron. IX. 3.) At ſo many different times, and upon ſuch different occaſions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, inſomuch that Judah became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babyloniſh captivity they were no longer called the *people of Iſrael*, but the *people of Judah* or *Jews*.

Again; if we underſtand this of Shiloh or the Meſſiah, that the people or Gentiles ſhould be gathered to his obedience, it is no more than is foretold in many other prophecies of ſcripture; and it began to be fulfilled in Cornelius the centurion, whoſe converſion (Acts X.) was as I may ſay the firſt fruits of the Gentiles, and the harveſt afterwards was very plenteous. In a few years the goſpel was diſſeminated, and "took root downward, and bore fruit upward" in the moſt conſiderable parts of the world then known: and in Conſtantine's time, when the empire became Chriſtian, it might with ſome propriety be ſaid, "the "kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and "of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever." (Rev. XI. 15.) We ourſelves were of the Gentiles, but are now *gathered* unto Chriſt.

Laſtly if we join this in conſtruction with the words preceding *until Shiloh come*, two events are ſpecified as forerunners of the ſcepter's departing from Judah, the coming of the Meſſiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and theſe together point out with greater exactneſs the preciſe time of the ſcepter's departure. Now it is certain that before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the diſſolution of the Jewiſh commonwealth by the Romans, the Meſſiah was not only come, but great

(2) Thus ſome Jewiſh interpreters referred to by Bochart, underſtood the expreſſion, Mane, id eſt primis

great numbers likewiſe of the Gentiles were converted to him. The very ſame thing was predicted by our Saviour himſelf (Matt. XXIV. 14.) " This goſpel of the kingdom ſhall be preached in all the world, for " a witneſs unto all nations, and then ſhall the end come," the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and end of the Jewiſh conſtitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, till the Gentiles were graffed into the church. And in fact we find that the apoſtles and their companions preached the goſpel in all the parts of the world then known. " Their " ſound" (as St. Paul applies the ſaying, Rom. X. 18.) " went into all " the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." And *then the end came*, then an end was put to the Jewiſh polity in church aud ſtate. The government of the tribe of Judah had ſubſiſted in ſome form or other from the death of Jacob to the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem: but then it was utterly broken and ruiued; then the ſcepter departed, and hath been departed ever ſince. And now even the diſtinction of tribes is in great meaſure loſt among them; they are all called Jews, but the tribe of Judah is ſo far from bearing rule, that they know not for certain which is the tribe of Judah; and all the world is witneſs, that they exerciſe dominion no where, but every where live in ſubjection.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to add a juſt obſervation of the learned prelate before cited. As the tribe of Benjamin annexed itſelf to the tribe of Judah as its head, ſo it ran the ſame fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This alſo was foretold by Jacob, (ver. 27.) " Benjamin ſhall raven as a wolf; in the morning " he ſhall devour the prey, and at night he ſhall divide the ſpoil." The *morning* and *night* here can be nothing elſe but the (2) morning and night of the Jewiſh ſtate; for this ſtate is the ſubject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other: and conſequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he ſhould continue to the very laſt times of the Jewiſh ſtate. This interpretation is confirmed by Moſes's prophecy, for the prophecy of Moſes is in truth an expoſition of Jacob's prophecy, " Benjamin," ſaith Moſes, (Deut. XXXIII. 12.) " ſhall dwell in ſafe- " ty; the Lord ſhall cover him all the day long." What is this *all the*

mis Iſraelitici regni temporibus—Sub veſperam, id eſt poſt captivitatis Babylonicæ tempora. Hierozoic. pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Col. 828.

(1) Saturnal,

day long? The ſame certainly as the *morning and night.* Does not this import a promiſe of a longer continuance to Benjamin, than to the other tribes? And was it not moſt exactly fulfilled?

To conclude. This prophecy and the completion of it will furniſh us with an invincible argument, not only that the Meſſiah is come, but alſo that Jeſus Chriſt is the perſon. For the ſcepter was not to depart from Judah, until the Meſſiah ſhould come: but the ſcepter hath long been departed, and conſequently the Meſſiah hath been long come. The ſcepter departed at the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and hath been departed ſeventeen centuries; and conſequently the Meſſiah came a little before that period: and if the Meſſiah came a little before that period, prejudice itſelf cannot long make any doubt concerning the perſon. All conſiderate men muſt ſay, as Simon Peter ſaid to Jeſus, (John VI. 68, 69.) "Lord, to whom ſhall we go? thou haſt the "words of eternal life. And we believe and are ſure that thou art the "Chriſt, the ſon of the living God."

V.

BALAAM's *prophecies.*

WONDERFUL as the gift of prophecy was, it was not always confined to the choſen ſeed, nor yet always imparted to the beſt of men. God might ſometimes, to convince the world of his ſuperintendence and government of the world, diſcloſe the purpoſes of his providence to heathen nations. He revealed himſelf to Abimelech, (Gen. XX.) to Pharaoh, (Gen. XLI.) and to Nebuchadnezzar: (Dan. II.) and we have no reaſon to deny all the marvelous ſtories which are related of divination among the Heathens; the poſſibility and credibility of which is argued on both ſides by Cicero in his two books of Divination, his brother Quintus aſſerting it

in

in the firſt book, and himſelf laboring to diſprove it in the ſecond; but I think all unprejudiced readers muſt agree, that the arguments for it are ſtronger and better than thoſe urged againſt it. Neither was there any neceſſity, that the prophets ſhould always be good men. Unworthy perſons may ſometimes be poſſeſſed of ſpiritual gifts as well as of natural. Aaran and Miriam, who were inſpired upon ſome occaſions, yet upon others mutinied againſt Moſes, and rebelled againſt God. Jonah for his diſobedience to God was thrown into the ſea. In the 13th chapter of the firſt book of Kings we read of two prophets, the one a lier and afterwards inſpired, the other inſpired and afterwards diſobedient to the word of the Lord. Yea our Saviour himſelf hath aſſured us, (Matt. VII. 22, 23.) that "in the laſt day many will ſay "unto him, Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name? and "in thy name have caſt out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? and *yet* will he profeſs unto them, I never knew "you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

Balaam was a remarkable inſtance of both kinds, both of a prophet who was a heathen, and of a prophet who was an immoral man. He came from "Aram *or* Meſopotamia, out of the mountains of "the eaſt:" (Numb. XXIII. 7. Deut. XXIII. 4.) and the eaſt was infamous for ſoothſayers and diviners. (Iſ. II. 6.) However he was a worſhipper of the true God, (as were alſo Melchizedeck, and Job, and others of the heathen nations) and this appears by his applying to God, (Numb. XXII. 8.) "I will bring you word again, as the Lord "ſhall ſpeak unto me;" and by his calling *the Lord his God*, (ver. 18.) "I cannot go beyond the word of *the Lord my God* to do leſs or "more." But his worſhip was mixed and debaſed with ſuperſtition, as appears by his building *ſeven altars*, and ſacrificing on each altar, (Numb. XXIII. 1, 2.) and by his going *to ſeek for inchantments*, whatever they were. (Numb. XXIV. 1.) He appears too to have had ſome pious thoughts and reſolutions, by declaring "I cannot go beyond the "word of the Lord my God to do leſs or more;" and by ſo earneſtly wſhing "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end "be like his." (XXIII. 10.) But his heart was unſound, was mercenary, was corrupt; he "loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs," (2 Pet. II. 15.) and "ran greedily after rewards:" (Jude 11.) his inclinations

were

were contrary to his duty; he was ordered to ſtay, but yet he wiſhed to go; he was commanded to bleſs, but yet he longed to curſe; and when he found that he was overruled and could do the people no hurt as a prophet, he ſtill contrived to do it as a politician, and "taught Balak "to caſt a ſtumbling block before the children of Iſrael, to eat things "ſacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication." (Rev. II. 14.) So that he was indeed a ſtrange mixture of a man; but ſo is every man more or leſs. There are inconſiſtencies and contradictions in every character, tho' not ſo great perhaps and notorious as in Balaam. If he is called a *ſooth-ſayer* in one part of ſcripture, (Joſh. XIII. 22.) in another part he is called a *prophet*: (2 Pet. II. 16.) and his name muſt have been in high credit and eſtimation, that the king of Moab and the elders of Midian ſhould think it worth their while to ſend two honorable embaſſes to him at a conſiderable diſtance, to engage him to come and curſe the people of Iſrael. It was a ſuperſtitious ceremony in uſe among the Heathens to devote their enemies to deſtruction at the beginning of their wars, as if the Gods would enter into their paſſions, and were as unjuſt and partial as themſelves. The Romans had public officers to perform the ceremony, and (1) Macrobius hath preſerved the form of theſe execrations. Now Balaam being a prophet of great note and eminence, it was believed that he was more intimate than others with the heavenly powers, and conſequently that his imprecations would be more effectual; for as Balak ſaid unto him (Numb. XXII. 6.) "I "wot that he whom thou bleſſeſt is bleſſed, and he whom thou curſeſt "is curſed."

But the ſtrangeſt incident of all is the part of Balaam's aſs. This uſually is made the grand objection to the truth of the ſtory. The ſpeaking aſs from that time to this hath been the ſtanding jeſt of every infidel brother. Philo the Jew ſeemeth to be aſhamed of this part of the ſtory: for in the firſt book of his life of Moſes, wherein he hath given an account of Balaam, he hath purpoſely omitted this particular of the aſs's ſpeaking, I ſuppoſe not to give offenſe to the Gentiles; but he needed not to have been ſo cautious of offending them, for ſimilar ſtories were current among them. The learned (2) Bochart hath collected

(1) Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

(2) Hierozoic.

collected ſeveral inſtances, the aſs of Bacchus, the ram of Phrixus, the horſe of Achilles, and the like, not only from the poets and mythologiſts, but alſo from the graveſt hiſtorians, ſuch as Livy and Plutarch, who frequently affirm that oxen have ſpoken. The proper uſe of citing ſuch authorities is not to prove, that thoſe inſtances and this of Balaam are upon an equal footing, and equally true; but only to prove, that the Gentiles believed ſuch things to be true, and to lie within the power of their gods, and conſequently could not object to the truth of ſcripture-hiſtory on this account. Maimonides and others have conceived, that the matter was tranſacted in a viſion: and it muſt be confeſſed that many things in the writings of the prophets are ſpoken of as real tranſactions, which were only viſionary; and theſe viſions made as ſtrong impreſſions upon the minds of the prophets as realities. But it appears rather more probable from the whole tenor of the narration, that this was no viſionary, but a real tranſaction. The words of St. Peter ſhow, that it is to be underſtood, as he himſelf underſtood it, litterally: (2 Pet. II. 14, 15, 16.) "Curſed children: Which have forſaken the right way, and "are gone aſtray, following the way of Balaam the ſon of Boſor, who "loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs; but was rebuked for his iniquity; "the dumb aſs ſpeaking with man's voice, forbad the madneſs of the "prophet." The aſs was enabled to utter ſuch and ſuch ſounds, probably, as parrots do, without underſtanding them: and ſay what you will of the conſtruction of the aſs's mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for ſpeaking, yet an adequate cauſe is aſſigned for this wonderful effect, for it is ſaid expreſly, "that the Lord "opened the mouth of the aſs;" and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this, and much more. If the whole tranſaction was viſionary, no reaſon can be given why it was ſaid particularly that "the Lord opened the mouth of the aſs." But it is thought ſtrange that Balaam ſhould expreſs no ſurpriſe upon this extraordinary occaſion: but perhaps he had been accuſtomed to prodigies with his inchantments; or perhaps believing the eaſtern doctrin of the tranſmigration of human ſouls into the bodies of brutes, he might think ſuch a humanized brute not incapable of ſpeaking; or perhaps he might not regard, or attend to

(2) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(3) Antiq.

to the wonder, through exceſs of rage and *madneſs*, as the word is in St. Peter; or perhaps (which is the moſt probable of all) he might be greatly diſturbed and aſtoniſhed, as (3) Joſephus affirms he was, and yet Moſes in his ſhort hiſtory might omit this circumſtance. The miracle was by no means needleſs or ſuperfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the ſame divine power which cauſed the dumb aſs to ſpeak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter bleſſings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was overruled to bleſs the people, though he came prepared and diſpoſed to curſe them, which according to (4) Bochart was the greater miracle of the two, for the aſs was merely paſſive, but Balaam reſiſted the good motions of God. We may be the more certain that he was influenced to ſpeak contrary to his inclination, becauſe after he had done propheſying, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and "flee to his place;" (Numb. XXIV. 10, 11.) yet he had the meanneſs to ſtay, and gave that wicked counſel, whereby the people were inticed "to commit whoredom with the "daughters of Moab, *and* twenty and four thouſand died in the "plague." (Numb. XXV.)

This miracle then was a proper ſign to Balaam, and had a proper effect; and we may the more eaſily believe it, when we find Balaam afterwards inſpired with ſuch knowlege of futurity. It was not more above the natural capacity of the aſs to ſpeak, than it was above the natural capacity of Balaam to foretel ſo many diſtant events. The prophecies render the miracle more credible; and we ſhall have leſs reaſon to doubt of the one, when we ſee the accompliſhment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we conſider the matter or the ſtile; as if the ſame divine ſpirit that inſpired his thoughts,

(3.) Antiq. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. ταραττομενος δ' αυτος δια την της ονος φωνην ανθρωπινην εσαν, κ. τ. λ. Dum vero ille voce humana aſinæ attonitus turbatuſque &c. p. 150. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) *Rabba* in *Numeros* Sect. 20. Deum aſſerit os aſinæ ideo aperuiſſe, *ut* Balaamum *doceret*, *os*, *et linguam penes ſe eſſe*, *adeoque os ipſius* Balaami, *ſi quæreret* Iſraeli *maledicere*. Et vero id docuit eventus, cum *Balaam* iis ipſis invitus benedixit, quibus maledicturus tanto apparatu venerat, non minore oraculo, aut etiam majore, quam cum aſina locuta eſt. Aſina enim erat merè patiens, ſed *Balaam* moventi Deo pro virili obſiſtebat, ut Saül, cum prophetam egit. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(5) See to this purpoſe Mr. Lowth's poetical Prælections, particularly Prælect. 4. p. 41. Prælect. 18. p. 173. and his ingenious verſion of part of Balaam's prophecies into Latin verſe, Prælect. 20. p. 206. The learned reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here.

Tuis,

thoughts, had alſo raiſed his language. They are called *parables* in the ſacred text: "he took up his parable, and ſaid." The ſame word is uſed after the ſame manner in the book of Job, (XXVII. 1. XXIX. 1.) "Moreover Job continued his *parable*, and ſaid." It is commonly tranſlated *parable* or *proverb*. Le Clerc tranſlates it *figuratam orationem*: and thereby is meant a weighty and ſolemn ſpeech delivered in figurative and majeſtic language. Such, remarkably ſuch (5) are the prophecies or parables of Balaam. You cannot peruſe them without being ſtruck with the beauty of them. You will perceive uncommon force and energy, if you read them only in our Engliſh tranſlation. We ſhall ſelect only ſuch parts as are more immediately relative to the deſign of theſe diſcourſes.

After he had offered his firſt ſacrifice, (Numb. XXIII.) he went to ſeek the Lord, and at his return he declared among other things, "Lo, "the people ſhall dwell alone, and ſhall not be reckoned among the "nations." (ver. 9.) And how could Balaam upon a diſtant view only of a people, whom he had never ſeen or known before, have diſcovered the genius and manners not only of the people then living, but of their poſterity to the lateſt generations? What renders it more extraordinary is the ſingularity of the character, that they ſhould differ from all the people in the world, and ſhould dwell by themſelves among the nations, without mixing and incorporating with any. The time too when this was affirmed increaſes the wonder, it being before the people were well known in the world, before their religion and government were eſtabliſhed, and even before they had obtained a ſettlement any where. But yet that the character was fully verified in the event, not only all hiſtory teſtifies, but we have even ocular demonſtration at this day. The Jews in their religion and laws, their

Tuis, Jacobe, quantus eſt caſtris decor!
Tuiſque ſignis, Iſrael!
Ut rigua vallis fertilem pandens ſinum;
Horti ut ſcatentes rivulis;
Sacris Edenæ coſti ut in ſylvis virent,
Cedrique propter flumina.
Illi uda multo rore ſtillant germina,
Fætuſque alunt juges aquæ.
Sancti uſque fines promovebit imperi
Rex uſque victor hoſtium.
Illum ſubacto duxit ab Nilo Deus,
Novis ſuperbum viribus,
Qualis remotis liber in jugis oryx
Fert celſa cœlo cornua.
Vorabit hoſtes; oſſa franget; irritas
Lacerabit haſtas dentibus.
Ut Leo, recumbit; ut leæna, decubat;
Quis audeat laceſſere?
Quæ quiſque tibi precabitur, ferat bona!
Mala quæ precabitur, luat!

(6) See

rites and ceremonies, their manners and cuſtoms, were ſo totally different from all other nations, that they had little intercourſe or communion with them. An (6) eminent author hath ſhown, that there was a general intercommunity amongſt the Gods of Paganiſm; but no ſuch thing was allowed between the God of Iſrael and the Gods of the nations. There was to be no fellowſhip between God and Belial, tho' there might be between Belial and Dagon. And hence the Jews were branded for their inhumanity and unſociableneſs; and they as generally hated, as they were hated by the reſt of mankind. Other nations, the conquerors and the conquered, have often aſſociated and united as one body under the ſame laws; but the Jews in their captivities have commonly been more bigotted to their own religion, and more tenacious of their own rites and cuſtoms, than at other times. And even now, while they are diſperſed among all nations, they yet live diſtinct and ſeparate from all, trading only with others, but eating, marrying, and converſing chiefly among themſelves. We ſee therefore how exactly and wonderfully Balaam characterized the whole race from the firſt to the laſt, when he ſaid, "Lo, the people ſhall dwell "alone, and ſhall not be reckoned among the nations." In the concluſion too when he poured forth that paſſionate wiſh, "Let me die "the death of the righteous, and let my end be like his," (ver. 10.) he had in all probability ſome forebodings of his own coming to an untimely end, as he really did afterwards being ſlain with the five kings of Midian by the ſword of Iſrael. (Numb. XXXI. 8.).

After the ſecond ſacrifice he ſaid among other things, (Numb. XXIII. 24.) "Behold, the people ſhall riſe up as a great lion, and lift up "himſelf as a young lion: he ſhall not lie down until he eat of the "prey, and drink of the blood of the ſlain:" and again to the ſame purpoſe after the third ſacrifice, (XXIV. 8, 9.) "He ſhall eat up the "nations his enemies, and ſhall break their bones, and pierce them "thro' with his arrows: He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as "a great lion; who ſhall ſtir him up? Bleſſed is he that bleſſeth thee, "and

(6) See the Divine Legation of Moſes. Book 2. Sect. 6. and Book 5. Sect. 2.

(7) See Univerſ. Hiſt. Book I. Chap. 7. Sect. 2. Vol. 1. p. 534. Fol. Edit. note Y.

(8) Extolleturque præ Gog rex ejus. Samar. Και ὑψωθησεται ἡ Γωγ βασιλεια. Sept. ὑψωθησεται ὑπερ Γωγ βασιλευς αυτω. Symm. apud Grot.

(9) Extolletur præ Agag rege, et exaltabitur regnum. Syr.

Exaltabitur

" and curſed is he that curſeth thee." Which paſſages are a manifeſt prophecy of the victories which the Iſraelites ſhould gain over their enemies, and particularly the Canaanites, and of their ſecure poſſeſſion and quiet enjoyment of the land afterwards, and particularly in the reigns of David and Solomon. It is remarkable too, that God hath here put into the mouth of Balaam much the ſame things which Jacob had before predicted of Judah, (Gen. XLIX. 9.) " Judah is a lion's whelp; from " the prey, my ſon, thou art gone up: he ſtooped down, he couched " as a lion, and as an old lion; who ſhall rouſe him up?" and Iſaac had predicted of Jacob, (Gen. XXVII. 29.) " Curſed be every one " that curſeth thee, and bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee:" there is ſuch analogy and harmony between the prophecies of ſcripture.

At the ſame time Balaam declared, (ver. 7.) " His king ſhall be " higher than Agag, and his kingdom ſhall be exalted." Some copies have *Gog* inſtead of *Agag*, which reading is embraced by the (7) authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, who ſay that " as the Samaritan, " Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic read *Gog* inſtead of *Agag*, and *Gog* " doth generally ſignify the Scythians and northern nations, ſeveral " interpreters have preferred this latter reading to the firſt, and not " without good grounds." But it is a miſtake to ſay, that the Syriac and Arabic read *Gog*: it is found only in the (8) Samaritan and the Septuagint, and in Symmachus according to Grotius: the (9) Syriac and Arabic have *Agag* as well as the Targum of Onkelos and the Vulgate, tho' this latter with a different ſenſe and conſtruction of the words. Neither have we any account that *Gog* was a famous king at that time, and much leſs that the king of Iſrael was ever exalted above him; and indeed the Scythians and northern nations lay too remote to be the proper ſubject of a compariſon. The reading of the Hebrew copies, *his king ſhall be higher than Agag*, is without doubt the true reading: and we muſt either ſuppoſe that *Agag* was propheſied of by name particularly, as Cyrus and Joſiah were ſeveral years before they were born: or we muſt ſay with (1) Moſes Gerundenſis, a learned rabbi

Exaltabitur pluſquam Agag rex ejus, et extolletur regnum ejus. Arab.

Roborabitur magis quam Agag rex ejus, et elevabitur regnum illius. Onk.

Tolletur propter Agag rex ejus, et auferetur regnum illius. Vulg.

(1) Et ſecundum Moſen Gerundenſem, quilibet rex Amalekitarum fuit vocatus *Agag*, tranſitque primi regis nomen in omnes poſteros ſolium regni occupantes; ſicut a Cæſare primo omnes Romanorum reges *Cæſares* appellantur. Munſterus.

(2) Et

quoted by Munſter, that Agag was the general name of the kings of Amalek, which appears very probable, it being the cuſtom of thoſe times and of thoſe countries to give one certain name to all their kings, as *Pharaoh* was the general name for the kings of Egypt, and *Abimelech* for the kings of the Philiſtines. Amalek too was a neighbouring country, and therefore is fitly introduced upon the preſent occaſion: and it was likewiſe at that time a great and floriſhing kingdom, for (in ver. 20.) it is ſtiled "the firſt of the nations;" and therefore for the king of Iſrael to be exalted above the king of Amalek was really a wonderful exaltation. But wonderful as it was, it was accompliſhed by Saul, who "ſmote the Amalekites from Havilah, until thou comeſt to Shur, "that is over againſt Egypt: and he took Agag the king of the Ama-"lekites alive, and utterly deſtroyed all the people with the edge of "the ſword." (1 Sam. XV. 7, 8.) The firſt king of Iſrael ſubdued Agag the king of the Amalekites, ſo that it might truly and properly be ſaid, "his king ſhall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom ſhall "be exalted," as it was afterwards greatly by David and Solomon.

His latter prophecies Balaam uſhers in with a remarkable preface, "Balaam the ſon of Beor hath ſaid, and the man whoſe eyes are "open, hath ſaid; He hath ſaid, which heard the words of God, "which ſaw the viſion of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but "having his eyes open." (ver. 3, 4, and 15, 16.) Which hath occaſioned much perplexity and confuſion, but the words rightly rendered will admit of an eaſy interpretation. "Balaam the ſon of Beor hath "ſaid, and the man whoſe eyes are open hath ſaid:" It ſhould be *the man whoſe eye was ſhut:* for the word שתם *ſhatam* is uſed only here and in Lamentations, (III. 8.) and there it ſignifies *to ſhut*; and the word סתם *ſatam* which is very near of kin to it, I think, hath always that ſignification. St. Jerome tranſlates it *cujus obturatus eſt oculus:* and in the margin of our bibles it is rendered *who had his eyes ſhut*, but with this addition *but now open*. It plainly alludes to Balaam's not ſeeing the angel of the Lord, at the ſame time that the aſs ſaw him. "He hath ſaid, which heard the words of God, which "ſaw the viſion of the Almighty;" for in this ſtory we read ſeveral times, that "God came unto Balaam and ſaid unto him;" and poſ-

ſibly

ſibly he might allude to former revelations. " Falling into a trance " but having his eyes open;" in the original there is no mention of *a trance*; the paſſage ſhould be rendered, *falling and his eyes were opened*, alluding to what happened in the way, to Balaam's falling with his falling aſs, and then having his eyes opened: " And when " the aſs ſaw the angel of the Lord, ſhe fell down under Balaam— " Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he ſaw the angel " of the Lord ſtanding in the way, and his ſword drawn in his " hand; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face." (XXII. 27. &c.) A contraſt is intended between having his eyes *ſhut*, and having his eyes *opened*; the one anſwers to the other. The deſign of this preface was to excite attention: and ſo Balaam proceeds to " advertiſe *Balak* what this people ſhall do to his people in the " latter days," by which phraſe is meant the time to come, be it more or leſs remote.

He begins with what more immediately concerns the Moabites, the people to whom he is ſpeaking, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) " I ſhall ſee him, " but not now; I ſhall behold him, but not nigh;" or rather *I ſee him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh*; the future tenſe in Hebrew being often uſed for the preſent. He ſaw with the eyes of prophecy, and prophets are emphatically ſtiled *ſeers*. " There ſhall " come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ſhall riſe out of Iſrael." The *ſtar* and the *ſcepter* are probably metaphors borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics, which much influenced the language of the eaſt; and they evidently denote ſome eminent and illuſtrious king or ruler, whom he particularizes in the following words. " And ſhall " ſmite the corners of Moab," or *the princes of Moab* according to other verſions. This was executed by David, for " he ſmote Moab, " and meaſured them with a line, caſting them down to the ground: " even with two lines meaſured he, to put to death; and with one " full line, to keep alive:" that is he deſtroyed two thirds, and ſaved one third alive: " and ſo the Moabites became David's ſervants, " and brought gifts." (2 Sam. VIII. 2.)

" And deſtroy all the children of Sheth." If by *Sheth* was meant the ſon of Adam, then *all the children of Sheth* are all mankind, the

poſterity

poſterity of Cain and Adam's other ſons having all periſhed in the deluge, and the line only of Sheth having been preſerved in Noah and his family: but it is very harſh to ſay that any king of Iſrael would *deſtroy* all mankind, and therefore the (2) Syriac and Chaldee ſoften it, that he ſhall *ſubdue* all the ſons of Sheth, and *rule over* all the ſons of men. The word occurs only in this place, and in Iſaiah (XXII. 5.) where it is uſed in the ſenſe of *breaking down* or *deſtroying*: and as particular places, Moab and Edom, are mentioned both before and after; ſo it is reaſonable to conclude that not all mankind in general, but ſome particular perſons were intended by the expreſſion of *the ſons of Sheth*. The (3) Jeruſalem Targum tranſlates it *the ſons of the eaſt*, the Moabites lying eaſt of Judea. Rabbi Nathan (4) ſays that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grotius (5) imagins *Sheth* to be the name of ſome famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judicious and uſeful commentator, ſays that *Sheth* "ſeems to be the name of ſome then eminent, though now unknown, "place or prince in Moab, where there were many princes, as "appears from Numb. XXIII. 6. Amos II. 3: there being innu-"merable inſtances of ſuch places or perſons ſometimes famous, "but now utterly loſt as to all monuments and remembrances of "them." Vitringa in his commentary upon Iſaiah, (6) conceives that the Idumeans were intended, the word *Sheth* ſignifying *a foundation*, or *fortified place*, becauſe they truſted greatly in their caſtles and fortifications. But the Idumeans are mentioned afterwards; and it is probable that as two hemiſtichs relate to them, two alſo relate to the Moabites; and the reaſon of the appellation aſſigned by Vitringa is as proper to the Moabites as to the Idumeans. It is common in the ſtile of the Hebrews, and eſpecially in the poetic parts of ſcripture, and we may obſerve it particularly in theſe prophecies of Balaam, that the ſame thing in effect is repeated in other words, and the latter member of

(2) Et ſubjugabit omnes filios Seth. Syr. Et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Chald.

(3) Hinc Jeroſolim. Paraphraſtes *filios orientis* vertit. Moabitæ enim erant ad ortum Judeæ. Le Clerc.

(4) R. Nathan dicit *Seth* nomen urbis eſſe in termino Moab. Vide Liram. Druſius.

(5) Nihil vero propius quam *Seth* nominatum fuiſſe regem aliquem eximium inter Moabitas. Grot.

(6) Non

of each period is exegetical of the former, as in the paſſage before us; "I ſee him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh:" and then again, "there ſhall come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ſhall riſe "out of Iſrael:" and again afterwards, "And Edom ſhall be a poſ- "ſeſſion, Seir alſo ſhall be a poſſeſſion for his enemies." There is great reaſon therefore to think, that the ſame manner of ſpeaking was continued here, and conſequently that *Sheth* muſt be the name of ſome eminent place or perſon among the Moabites; "and ſhall ſmite the "princes of Moab, and deſtroy all the ſons of Sheth."

"And Edom ſhall be a poſſeſſion." This was alſo fulfilled by David; for "he put garriſons in Edom; throughout all Edom put "he garriſons, and all they of Edom became David's ſervants." (2 Sam. VIII. 14.) David himſelf in two of his pſalms hath mentioned together his conqueſt of Moab and Edom, as they are alſo joined together in this prophecy; "Moab is my waſh-pot, over Edom will I "caſt out my ſhoe." (Pſal. LX. 8. CVIII. 9.) "Seir alſo ſhall be a "poſſeſſion for his enemies," that is for the Iſraelites. *Seir* is the name of the mountains of Edom, ſo that even their mountainsand faſtneſſes could not defend the Idumeans from David and his captains. "And "Iſrael ſhall do valiantly," as they did particularly under the command of David, ſeveral of whoſe victories are recorded in this ſame 8th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel together with his conqueſt of Moab and of Edom. "Out of Jacob ſhall come he that ſhall have dominion, "and ſhall deſtroy him that remaineth of the city;" not only defeat them in the field, but deſtroy them even in their ſtrongeſt cities, or perhaps ſome particular city was intended, as we may infer from Pſal. LX. 9. CVIII. 10. "Who will bring me into the ſtrong city? who "will lead me into Edom?" And we read particularly that Joab, David's general, "ſmote every male in Edom: for ſix months did "Joab remain there with all Iſrael, until he had cut off every male "in Edom." (1 Kings XI. 15, 16.)

We ſee how exactly this prophecy hath been fulfilled in the perſon and

(6) Non deſiſto ab hac ſententia, vocem קרקר *karkar* in verbis Bileami certo ſignificare *deſtructionem*, *everſionem*, *vaſtationem*; etſi hæream in phraſi בני שת *filiorum Seth*, per quos ſecundum circumſtantias loci intelligi puto Idumæos, voce שת appellative ſumptâ pro *fundamento*, ſive *loco munito*, quod illi maxime arcibus ac munimentis ſuis fiderent. Vitring. in Jeſaiam. Cap. 22. ver. 5. p. 641. Vol. 1.

(7) Cum

and actions of David: but moſt Jewiſh as well as Chriſtian writers apply it, primarily perhaps to David, but ultimately to the Meſſiah, as the perſon chiefly intended, in whom it was to receive its full and entire completion. Onkelos, who is the moſt ancient and valuable of the Chaldee paraphraſts, interprets it of the Meſſiah. 'When a prince, '(7) ſays he, ſhall ariſe out of the houſe of Jacob, and Chriſt ſhall be 'anointed of the houſe of Iſrael, he ſhall both ſlay the princes of 'Moab, and rule over all the ſons of men:' and with him agree the other Targums or paraphraſes. Maimonides, who is one of the moſt learned and famous of the Jewiſh doctors, underſtands it partly of David, and partly of the Meſſiah: and with him agree other rabbies, whom you may find cited by the critics and commentators to this purpoſe. It appears to have been generally underſtood by the Jews, as a prophecy of the Meſſiah, becauſe the falſe Chriſt, who appeared in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian, (8) aſſumed the title of *Barchochebas* or *the ſon of the ſtar*, in alluſion to this prophecy, and in order to have it believed that he was the ſtar whom Balaam had ſeen afar off. The Chriſtian fathers, I think, are unanimous in applying this prophecy to our Saviour, and to the ſtar which appeared at his nativity. Origen in particular ſaith, that (9) in the law there are many typical and enigmatical references to the Meſſiah; but he produceth this as one of the plaineſt and cleareſt of prophecies: and both (1) Origen and Euſebius affirm, that it was in conſequence of Balaam's prophecies, which were known and believed in the eaſt, that the Magi, upon the appearance of a new ſtar, came to Jeruſalem to worſhip him who was born king of the Jews. The ſtream of modern divines and commentators runneth the ſame way, that is they apply the prophecy principally to our Saviour, and by *Moab* and *Edom* underſtand the enemies and perſecutors of the church. And it muſt be acknowleged in favor of this opinion, that many prophecies of ſcripture have a double meaning, litteral and myſtical, reſpect two events, and receive a twofold completion. David too was in ſeveral things a type and figure of the Meſſiah. If by *deſtroying all the children of Sheth* be

(7) Cum conſurget rex de domo Jacob, et ungetur Chriſtus de domo Iſrael; et occidet principes Moab, et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Onk.

(8) See Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews, Book 6. Chap. 9. Sect. 12.

(9) τυπικως μεν ων και αινιγματωδως αναφερομενα εις τον χριστον των αναγεγραμμενων εν τω νομω πλειστω οσα εστι ευρειν. γυμνοτερα δε και ζαφεστερα εγω ουχ ορω επι τη παρουσια αλλα τινα

be meant *ruling over all mankind*, this was never fulfilled in David. A ſtar did really appear at our Saviour's nativity, and in ſcripture he is ſtiled the "day-ſtar," (2 Pet. I. 19.) "the morning-ſtar," (Rev. II. 28.) "the bright and morning-ſtar." (XXII. 16.) perhaps in alluſion to this very prophecy. Dr. Warburton, who improves every ſubject that he handles, aſſigns a farther reaſon. Speaking of the two ſorts of metaphor in the ancient uſe of it, the popular and common, and the hidden and myſterious; he (2) ſays that "the prophetic writings are full of this kind of me-"taphor. To inſtance only in the famous prediction of Balaam— "there ſhall come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ſhall riſe out "of Iſrael." "This prophecy may poſſibly in ſome ſenſe relate to "David, but without doubt it belongs principally to Chriſt. Here "the metaphor of a *ſcepter* was common and popular to denote a "ruler, like David; but the *ſtar*, tho' like the other, it ſignified in "the prophetic writings a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a ſecret "and hidden meaning likewiſe. A ſtar in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted (3) God: (and how much hieroglyphic writing influenced the eaſtern languages we ſhall ſee preſently.) Thus God in "the prophet Amos, reproving the Iſraelites for their idolatry on "their firſt coming out of Egypt, ſays," "Have ye offered unto "me ſacrifices and offerings in the wilderneſs forty years, O houſe of "Iſrael? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and "Chiun your images, *the ſtar of your God* which ye made to your-"ſelves." (Amos V. 25, 26.) "*The ſtar of your God* is here a noble "figurative expreſſion to ſignify *the image of your God*; for a *ſtar* "being employed in the hieroglyphics to ſignify *God*, it is uſed here "with great elegance to ſignify the material image of a God; the "words *the ſtar of your God* being only a repetition (ſo uſual in the "Hebrew tongue) of the preceding—*Chiun your images*; and not "(as ſome critics ſuppoſe) the ſame with *your God ſtar*, *ſidus Deum*

τινα παρα ταυτα. Quamobrem quam plurima invenire licet ſcripta in lege tum typice, tum obſcure, quæ referantur ad Chriſtum. Apertiora vero alia, et manifeſtiora præter hæc, ego in præſentia non video.

(1) Orig. contr. Celſ. Lib. 1. Sect. 60. p. 374. Vol. 1. In Numeros Hom. 13. Sect. 7. p. 321. Vol. 2. Edit. Benedict. Euſebii Demonſtrat. Evangel. Lib. 9. Sect. 1. p. 417. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(2) See the Divine Legation, &c. Book 4. Sect. 4.

(3) Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενον θεὸν σημαίνει. Horapol. Hierog. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

(4) Principium

" *veſtrum.* Hence we conclude that the metaphor here uſed by Ba-
" laam of a *ſtar* was of that abſtruſe myſterious kind, and ſo to be
" underſtood; and conſequently that it related only to *Chriſt*, the
" eternal ſon of God." Thus far this excellent writer. But tho' for theſe reaſons the Meſſiah might be remotely intended, yet we cannot allow that he was intended ſolely, becauſe David might be called a *ſtar* by Balaam, as well as other rulers or governors are by Daniel, (VIII. 10.) and by St. John: (Rev. I. 20.) and we muſt inſiſt upon it, that the primary intention, the litteral meaning of the prophecy reſpects the perſon and actions of David: and for this reaſon particularly, becauſe Balaam is here advertiſing Balak, " What this people ſhould do to
" his people in the latter days," that is what the Iſraelites ſhould do to the Moabites hereafter.

From the Moabites he turned his eyes more to the ſouth and weſt, and " looked" on their neighbours the Amalekites; and " took up his
" parable, and ſaid, (ver. 20.) Amalek was the firſt of the nations, but
" his latter end ſhall be that he periſh for ever." *Amalek was the firſt of the nations*, the firſt and moſt powerful of the neighbouring nations, or the firſt that warred againſt Iſrael, as it is in the margin of our bibles. The latter interpretation is propoſed by (4) Onkelos and other Jews, I ſuppoſe becauſe they would not allow the Amalekites to be a more ancient nation than themſelves: but moſt good critics prefer the former interpretation as more eaſy and natural, and for a very good reaſon, becauſe the Amalekites appear to have been a very ancient nation. They are reckoned among the moſt ancient nations thereabouts, (1 Sam. XXVII. 8.)—" the Geſhurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites;
" for theſe nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou
" goeſt to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." They are mentioned as early as in the wars of Chedorlaomer: (Gen. XIV. 7.) ſo that they muſt have been a nation before the times of Abraham and Lot, and conſequently much older than the Moabites, or Edomites, or any of the nations deſcended from thoſe patriarchs. And this is a demonſtrative argument, that the Amalekites did not deſcend from Amalek the ſon

(4) Principium bellorum Iſrael fuit Amalech. Onk.

(5) See

ſon of Eliphaz and grandſon of Eſau, as many have ſuppoſed only for the ſimilitude of names; (Gen. XXXVI. 12.) but ſprung from ſome other ſtock, and probably, as the Arabian writers affirm, from Amalék or Amlak, the ſon of Ham and grandſon of Noah. *Amlak* et *Amlik*, fils de Cham, fils de Noé—C'eſt celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amalec pere des Amalecites: ſo ſaith Herbelot; but it is to be wiſhed that this valuable and uſeful author had cited his authorities. According to the (5) Arabian hiſtorians too, they were a great and powerful nation, ſubdued Egypt, and held it in ſubjection ſeveral years. They muſt certainly have been more powerful, or at leaſt more courageous, than the neighbouring nations, becauſe they ventured to attack the Iſraelites, of whom the other nations were afraid. But tho' they were the firſt, the moſt ancient and powerful of the neighbouring nations; yet "their latter end ſhall be that they periſh for ever." Here Balaam unwittingly confirms what God had before denounced by Moſes, (Exod. XVII. 14.) "And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, write this for a memorial "in a book, and rehearſe it in the ears of Joſhua, for I will *(or rather* "that I will) utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under "heaven." Balaam had before declared, that the king of Iſrael ſhould prevail over the king of Amalek; but here the menace is carried farther, and Amalek is conſigned to utter deſtruction. This ſentence was in great meaſure executed by Saul, who "ſmote the Amalekites, and ut-"terly deſtroyed all the people with the edge of the ſword." (1 Sam. XV. 7, 8.) When they had recovered a little, "David and his men "went up and invaded them; and David ſmote the land, and left "neither man nor woman alive, and took away the ſheep and the "oxen, and the aſſes, and the camels, and the apparel." (1 Sam. XXVII. 8, 9.) David made a farther ſlaughter and conqueſt of them at Ziklag: (1 Sam. XXX.) and at laſt "the ſons of Simeon, in the "days of Hezekiah king of Judah, ſmote the reſt of the Amalekites "that were eſcaped, and dwelt in their habitations." (1 Chron. IV. 41, 42, 43.) And where is the name or the nation of Amalek ſubſiſting at this day? What hiſtory, what tradition concerning them is remaining any where? They are but juſt enough known and remembered

(5) See Univerſ. Hiſt. Book 1. Chap. 3. p. 281. Folio Edit. Vol. 1.

(6) He

to ſhow, that what God had threatened he hath punctually fulfilled; " I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under " heaven; and his latter end ſhall be that he periſh for ever."

Then " he looked on the Kenites: and took up his parable, and ſaid, " (ver. 21, 22.) Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou putteſt thy neſt " in a rock. Nevertheleſs the Kenite ſhall be waſted, until Aſſhur " ſhall carry thee away captive." Commentators are perplexed, and much at a loſs to ſay with any certainty who *theſe Kenites* were. There are *Kenites* mentioned (Gen. XV. 19.) among the Canaanitiſh nations, whoſe land was promiſed unto Abraham; and (6) Le Clerc imagins that *thoſe Kenites* were the people here intended: But the Canaanitiſh nations are not the ſubject of Balaam's prophecies; and the Canaanitiſh nations were to be rooted out, but *theſe Kenites* were to continue as long as the Iſraelites themſelves, and to be carried captive with them by the Aſſyrians; and in the opinion of (7) Bochart, *thoſe Kenites* as well as the Kenizzites became extinct in the interval of time which paſſed between Abraham and Moſes, being not mentioned by Joſhua in the diviſion of the land, nor reckoned among the nations conquered by him. The moſt probable account of *theſe Kenites* I conceive to be this. Jethro, the father in law of Moſes, is called in one place " the prieſt of Midian," (Exod. III. 1.) and in another " the Kenite." (Judg. I. 16.) We may infer therefore that the *Midianites* and the *Kenites* were the ſame, or at leaſt that the *Kenites* were ſome of the tribes of Midian. The Midianites are ſaid to be confederates with the Moabites in the beginning of the ſtory, and the elders of Midian as well as the elders of Moab invited Balaam to come and curſe Iſrael; and one would naturally expect ſome notice to be taken of them or their tribes in the courſe of theſe prophecies. Now of the Kenites, it appears, that part followed Iſrael: (Judg. I. 16.) but the greater part, we may preſume, remained among the Midianites and Amalekites. We read in (1 Sam. XV. 6.) that there were Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, and ſo the Kenites are fitly mentioned here next after the Amalekites. Their ſituation is ſaid to be ſtrong and ſecure among the mountains, " Strong is thy dwelling " place,

(6) Hic antiquiores illi Kenæi intelligendi. Le Clerc in locum.

(7) Horum ego nomen deletum fuiſſe putaverim in eo temporis intervallo, quod inter Abrahami et Moſis ævum

" place, and thou putteſt thy neſt in a rock;" wherein is an alluſion to the name, the ſame word in Hebrew ſignifying a *neſt* and a *Kenite*. " Nevertheleſs the Kenite ſhall be waſted, until Aſſhur carry thee away " captive." The Amalekites were to be utterly deſtroyed, but the Kenites were to be carried captive. And accordingly when Saul was ſent by divine commiſſion to deſtroy the Amalekites, he ordered the Kenites to depart from among them. (1 Sam. XV. 6.) " And Saul " ſaid unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the " Amalekites, leſt I deſtroy you with them: for ye ſhewed kindneſs to " all the children of Iſrael when they came up out of Egypt;" for the kindneſs which ſome of them ſhowed to Iſrael, their poſterity was ſaved. " So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites." This ſhoweth that they were *waſted*, and reduced to a low and weak condition: and as the kings of Aſſyria carried captive not only the Jews, but alſo the Syrians (2 Kings XVI. 9.) and ſeveral other nations; (2 Kings XIX. 12, 13.) it is moſt highly probable that the Kenites ſhared the ſame fate with their neighbours, and were carried away by the ſame torrent; and eſpecially as we find ſome Kenites mentioned among the Jews after their return from captivity. (1 Chron. II. 55.)

The next verſe, (ver. 23.) " And he took up his parable, and ſaid, " Alas, who ſhall live when God doeth this!" is by ſeveral commentators referred to what precedes, but it relates rather to what follows. " And he took up his parable, and ſaid:" this preface is uſed, when he enters upon ſome new ſubject. " Alas, who ſhall live when God " doeth this!" this exclamation implies, that he is now propheſying of very diſtant and very calamitous times. *And ſhips*, or rather *for ſhips*, as the particle ו often ſignifies, and this inſtance among others is cited by (8) Noldius. " For ſhips ſhall come from the coaſt of Chittim, " and ſhall afflict Aſſhur, and ſhall afflict Eber, and he alſo ſhall periſh " for ever." (ver. 24.)

Chittim was one of the ſons of Javan, who was one of the ſons of Japheth, by whoſe poſterity " the iles of the Gentiles (Gen. X. 5.) " were divided" and peopled, that is Europe, and the countries to which the

ævum interceſſit. Id certe neceſſe eſt, in obſcuro latuiſſe tempore Joſuæ, qui nec in diviſione terræ, nec in cenſu gentium a ſe deviſtarum illorum meminit uſpiam. Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 36. Col. 397.

(8) Noldii Part. ו 37.

(9) Grotius

the Aſiatics paſſed by ſea, for ſuch the Hebrews called *ilands*. *Chittim* is uſed for the deſcendents of Chittim, as *Aſſhur* is put for the deſcendents of Aſſhur, that is the Aſſyrians: but what people were the deſcendents of *Chittim*, or what country was meant by *the coaſts of Chittim*, it is not ſo eaſy to determin. The critics and commentators are generally divided into two opinions, the one aſſerting that Macedonia, and the other that Italy was the country here intended: and each opinion is recommended and authoriſed by ſome of the firſt and greateſt names in learning: as not to mention any others, (9) Grotius and Le Clerc contend for the former, (1) Bochart and Vitringa are ſtrenuous for the latter. But there is no reaſon why we may not adopt both opinions; and eſpecially as it is very well known and agreed on all hands, that colonies came from Greece to Italy; and as (2) Joſephus ſaith, that all ilands and moſt maritim places are called *Chethim* by the Hebrews; and as manifeſt traces of the name are to be found in both countries, the ancient name of Macedonia having been (3) *Macettia*, and the Latins having before been called *Cetii*. What appears moſt probable is, that the ſons of Chittim ſettled firſt in Aſia Minor, where were a people called *Cetëi*, and a river called *Cetium*, according to (4) Homer and Strabo. From Aſia they might paſs over into the iland Cyprus, which (5) Joſephus ſaith was poſſeſſed by *Chethim*, and called *Chethima*; and where was alſo the city *Cittium*, famous for being the birth-place of Zeno, the founder of the ſect of the Stoics, who was therefore called the *Cittiean*. And from thence they might ſend forth colonies into Greece and Italy. This plainly appears, that wherever the *land of Chittim* or the *iles of Chittim* are mentioned in ſcripture, there are evidently meant ſome countries or ilands in the Mediterranean.

Iſaiah propheſying of the deſtruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, ſaith (XXIII. 1.) "Howl, ye ſhips of Tarſhiſh," that is the ſhips trading from Tyre to Tarteſſus in Spain; "for *Tyre* is laid waſte: from the land "of Chittim it is revealed to them;" the news is brought firſt to the countries

(9) Grotius in locum et Clericus in locum, et in Geneſ. X. 4.

(1) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. et Vitringa in Ieſaiam. XXIII. 1.

(2) και απ' αυτης νησοι τι πασαι, και τα πλειω των παρα θαλατσαν, χιθιμ ὑπο Εβραιων ονομαζεται. Et ab ea [Chethima] inſulæ omnes, et pleraque loca maritima ab Hebræis Chethim dicuntur. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. p. 17. Edit. Hudſon. Vol. 1.

(3) Vide Bochartum ibid.

(4) Homer.

countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, and from thence it is conveyed to Spain; and afterwards, (ver. 12.) "Ariſe, paſs over to Chittim, "there alſo ſhalt thou have no reſt;" the inhabitants might fly from Tyre, and paſs over to the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, but even there they ſhould find no ſecure place of refuge; God's judgments ſhould ſtill purſue them. Jeremiah expoſtulating with the Jews concerning their cauſeleſs revolt, ſaith (II. 10.) "Paſs over to the "iles of Chittim, and ſee," that is the iles in the Mediterranean which lay weſtward of Judea; "and ſend unto Kedar," which was in Arabia and lay eaſtward of Judea; "and conſider diligently, and ſee if there be "ſuch a thing;" go ſearch eaſt and weſt, and ſee if you can find any ſuch inſtance of apoſtaſy as this of the Jews. Ezekiel deſcribing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their ſhipping, ſaith (XXVII. 6.) according to the (6) true reading and interpretation of the words, "they "made their benches of ivory inlaid on box, brought out of the iles "of Chittim," that is out of the iles of the Mediterranean, and moſt probably from Corſica, which was famous above all places for box, as Bochart hath proved by the teſtimonies of Pliny, Theophraſtus, and Diodorus. Daniel foretelling the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes, ſaith (XI. 29, 30.) that he ſhould "come towards the ſouth," that is invade Egypt, "but the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come againſt him, "therefore he ſhall be grieved and return:" the *ſhips of Chittim* can be none other than the ſhips of the Romans, whoſe (7) embaſſadors coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and diſappointment, to depart from Egypt without accompliſhing his deſigns. The author of the firſt book of Maccabees, ſpeaking of "Alexander ſon of Philip the Macedo-"nian," ſaith (I. 1.) that he "came out of the land of Chettiim;" and afterwards (VIII. 5.) "Perſeus," the laſt king of Macedon, he calleth "king of the Cittims." By theſe inſtances it appears, that *the land of Chittim* was a general name for the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean:

(4) Homer. Odyſſ. XI. 520. et Scholiaſt. ibid. Strabo Geograph. Lib. 13. p. 915, 916. Vol. 2. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(5) Χεθιμος δε Κεθιμα την νησον ισχεν. Κυπρος αὐτη νυν καλειται. Chethimus autem Chetimam inſulam occupavit: ipſa vero nunc Cyprus vocatur. Joſephus ibid.

(6) Bochart ibid. et Hierozoic. pars. prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 24.

(7) Vide Livii Lib. 45. Cap. 10, 11, 12. Polyb. Legat. p. 915, 916. Edit. Caſaubon.

(8) Tam.

ranean: and therefore when Balaam ſaid that "ſhips ſhould come "from the coaſt of Chittim," he might mean either Greece, or Italy, or both, the particular names of thoſe countries being at that time perhaps unknown in the eaſt: and the paſſage may be the better underſtood of both, becauſe it was equally true of both, and Greece and Italy were alike the ſcourges of Aſia.

"And ſhall afflict Aſſhur." *Aſſhur*, as we noted before, ſignifies properly the deſcendents of Aſſhur, the Aſſyrians: but (8) their name was of as large extent as their empire, and the Syrians and Aſſyrians are often confounded together, and mentioned as one and the ſame people. Now it is ſo well known as to require no particular proof, that the Grecians under the command of Alexander the great ſubdued all thoſe countries. The Romans afterwards extended their empire into the ſame regions; and as (9) Dion informs us, Aſſyria properly ſo called was conquered by the emperor Trajan.

"And ſhall afflict Eber." Two interpretations are propoſed of the word *Eber*, either the poſterity of a man ſo called, or the people who dwelt on the other ſide of the river Euphrates. If by *Eber* we underſtand the poſterity of Eber, as by *Aſſhur* the poſterity of Aſſhur, which appears a very natural conſtruction; then Balaam, who was commiſſioned to bleſs Iſrael at firſt, propheſied evil concerning them at laſt, though under another name: but men and manners uſually degenerate in a long courſe of time; and as the virtues of the progenitors might intitle them to a bleſſing, ſo the vices of the deſcendents might render them obnoxious to a curſe. However we may avoid this ſeeming inconſiſtence, if we follow the other interpretation, and by *Eber* underſtand the people who dwelt on the other ſide of the river Euphrates, which ſenſe is given by (1) Onkelos, and is approved by ſeveral of the ancients, as well as by many of the moſt able commentators among the moderns, and is particularly enforced by a learned (2) profeſſor of eminent ſkill in the oriental languages. The two members of the period would then better connect together, and the ſenſe of the latter would be ſomewhat exegetical of the former; and

(8) Tam laté patuit hoc nomen quam laté patuit imperium.—multi veterum Syros et Aſſyrios pro iiſdem habent. Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Col. 72.

(9) Dionis

"and ſhall afflict Aſſhur, and ſhall afflict Eber," ſhall afflict the Aſſyrians and other neighbouring nations bordering upon the river Euphrates. And this interpretation I would readily embrace, if I could ſee any inſtance of a parallel expreſſion. *Beyond the river*, meaning Euphrates, is indeed a phraſe that ſometimes occurs in ſcripture, and the concordance will ſupply us with inſtances: but where doth *beyond* alone ever bear that ſignification? I know Gen. X. 21. is uſually cited for this purpoſe; but that text is as much controverted as this, and the queſtion is the ſame there as here, whether *Eber* be the proper name of a man, or only a prepoſition ſignifying *beyond*, and *beyond* ſignifying the people beyond the river Euphrates; or in other words, whether the paſſage ſhould be tranſlated *the father of all the children of Eber*, or *the father of all the children of the people on the other ſide of the river Euphrates*. Iſaiah's manner of ſpeaking of the ſame people is "by "them beyond the river, by the king of Aſſyria:" (VII. 20.) and one would expect the like here, "ſhall afflict Aſſhur, and ſhall afflict them "beyond the river." But which ever of theſe interpretations we prefer, the prophecy was alike fulfilled. If we underſtand it of the people bordering upon the Euphrates, they as well as the Aſſyrians were ſubdued both by the Grecians and Romans. If we underſtand it of the poſterity of Eber, the Hebrews were afflicted, though not much by Alexander himſelf, yet by his ſucceſſors the Seleucidæ, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who ſpoiled Jeruſalem, defiled the temple, and ſlew all thoſe who adhered to the law of Moſes. (1 Maccab. I.) They were worſe afflicted by the Romans, who not only ſubdued and oppreſſed them, and made their country a province of the empire, but at laſt took away their place and nation, and ſold and diſperſed them over the face of the earth.

"And he alſo ſhall periſh for ever," that is Chittim, who is the main ſubject of this part of the prophecy, and whoſe ſhips were to afflict Aſſhur and to afflict Eber: but this notwithſtanding, "he alſo "ſhall be even to perdition," he alſo ſhall be deſtroyed as well as Amalek, for in the original the words are the ſame concerning both. *He* in

(9) Dionis Hiſt. Rom. Lib. 68. p. 783. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

(2) Hyde Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſ. Cap. 2. p. 52—57.

(1) Et ſubjicient trans flumen Euphratem. Onk.

(1) See

the ſingular number cannot well refer to both *Aſſhur* and *Eber*. *He* muſt naturally ſignify *Chittim* the principal agent: and if by *Chittim* be meant the Grecians, the Grecian empire was entirely ſubverted by the Roman; if the Romans, the Roman empire was in its turn broken into pieces by the incurſion of the northern nations. The name only of the Roman empire and Cæſarean majeſty is ſubſiſting at this day, and is transferred to another country and another people.

It appears then that Balaam was a prophet divinely inſpired, or he could never have foretold ſo many diſtant events, ſome of which are fulfilling in the world at this time: and what a ſingular honor was it to the people of Iſrael, that a prophet called from another country, and at the ſame time a wicked man, ſhould be obliged to bear teſtimony to their righteouſneſs and holineſs? The commendations of an enemy, among enemies, are commendations indeed. And Moſes did juſtice to himſelf as well as to his nation in recording theſe tranſactions. They are not only a material part of his hiſtory, but are likewiſe a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of his religion. Balaam's bearing witneſs to Moſes is ſomewhat like Judas's atteſting the innocence of Jeſus.

VI.

MOSES's *prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf.*

MOSES is a valuable writer, as upon many accounts, ſo particularly upon this, that he hath not only preſerved and tranſmitted to poſterity ſeveral ancient prophecies, but hath likewiſe ſhown himſelf a prophet, and inſerted ſeveral predictions of his own. Among theſe none is more memorable than that of another prophet to be raiſed like unto himſelf. He was now about to leave his people,

(1) See Munſter, Druſius, Fagius, Calmet, &c.

(2) See

people, and comforts them with the promiſe of another prophet. Deut. XVIII. 15. "The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a prophet "from the midſt of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him "ye ſhall hearken." The ſame is repeated at ver. 18, in the name of God, "I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren, "like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall "ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him." It is farther added at ver. 19. "And it ſhall come to paſs that whoſoever will not "hearken unto my words which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will "require it of him." Plain as this prophecy is, it hath ſtrangely been perverted and miſapplied: but I conceive nothing will be wanting to the right underſtanding both of the prophecy and the completion, if we can ſhow firſt what prophet was here particularly intended, if we ſhow ſecondly that this prophet reſembled Moſes in more reſpects than any other perſon ever did, and if we ſhow thirdly that the people have been and ſtill are ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to this prophet.

I. We will endevor to ſhow what prophet was here particularly intended. Some have been of opinion, (1) that Joſhua was the perſon; becauſe he is ſaid in Eccleſiaſticus (XLVI. 1.) to have been "ſucceſſor "of Moſes in prophecies:" and as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, "unto him ye ſhall hearken;" ſo they ſaid unto Joſhua (I. 17.) "According as we hearkened unto Moſes "in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee." Some again have imagined, (2) that Jeremiah was the perſon; becauſe he frequently applies (ſay they) the words of Moſes; and Abarbinel in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they reſemble each other, and obſerves that Jeremiah propheſied forty years, as Moſes alſo did. Others, and thoſe many more in number, (3) underſtand this neither of Joſhua, nor of Jeremiah, nor of any ſingle perſon, but of a ſucceſſion of prophets to be raiſed up like unto Moſes; becauſe (ſay they) the people being here forbidden to follow after *inchanters* and *diviners*, as other nations did, nothing would have ſecured them effectually from following after them, but having true

(2) See Munſter, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet, &c. (3) See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc, Calmet, &c.

(4) Euſebii

prophets of their own, whom they might conſult upon occaſion; and the latter are oppoſed to the former. But ſtill the propounders and favorers of theſe different opinions, I think, agree generally in this, that tho' Joſhua, or Jeremiah, or a ſucceſſion of prophets was primarily intended, yet the main end and ultimate ſcope of the prophecy was the Meſſiah: and indeed there appear ſome very good reaſons for underſtanding it of him principally, if not of him ſolely, beſides the preference of a litteral to a typical interpretation.

There is a paſſage in the concluſion of this book of Deuteronomy, which plainly refers to this prophecy, and entirely refutes the notion of Joſhua's being the prophet like unto Moſes. "And Joſhua the ſon "of Nun was full of the ſpirit of wiſdom; for Moſes had laid his "hands upon him: and the children of Iſrael hearkened unto him, "and did as the Lord commanded Moſes. And there aroſe not a "prophet ſince in Iſrael like unto Moſes, whom the Lord knew face "to face: In all the ſigns and the wonders which the Lord ſent him "to do, &c." We cannot be certain at what time, or by what hand this addition was made to the ſacred volume: but it muſt have been made after the death of Moſes; and conſequently Joſhua was not a prophet like unto Moſes in the opinion of the Jewiſh church, both of thoſe who made and of thoſe who received this addition as canonical ſcripture. "There aroſe not a prophet *ſince* in Iſrael;" the manner of expreſſion plainly implies, that this addition muſt have been made at ſome conſiderable diſtance of time after the death of Moſes; and conſequently the Jewiſh church had no conception of a perpetual ſucceſſion of prophets to be raiſed up like unto Moſes: and if this addition was made, as it is commonly believed to have been made, by Ezra after the Babyloniſh captivity, then it is evident, that neither Jeremiah nor any of the ancient prophets was eſteemed like unto Moſes. Conſider what are the peculiar marks and characters, wherein it is ſaid that none other prophet had ever reſembled Moſes. "There aroſe not a prophet "ſince in Iſrael like unto Moſes, whom the Lord knew face to face, "in all the ſigns and the wonders which the Lord ſent him to do." And which of the prophets ever converſed ſo frequently and familiarly with God, *face to face?* which of them ever wrought ſo many and ſo great

great miracles? No body was ever equal or comparable to Moſes in theſe reſpects, but Jeſus the Meſſiah.

God's declaration too, upon occaſion of Miriam's and Aaron's ſedition, plainly evinces that there was to be no prophet in the Jewiſh church, and much leſs a ſucceſſion of prophets like unto Moſes. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moſes, and mutinied againſt him, ſaying, "Hath the Lord indeed ſpoken only by Moſes? hath he not ſpoken "alſo by us?" (Numb. XII. 2.) The controverſy was of ſuch importance, that God himſelf interpoſed; and what was his determination in the caſe? "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make "myſelf known unto him in a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a "dream. My ſervant Moſes is not ſo, who is faithful in all mine houſe. "With him will I ſpeak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not "in dark ſpeeches; and the ſimilitude of the Lord ſhall he behold: "wherefore then were ye not afraid to ſpeak againſt my ſervant "Moſes?" (ver. 6, 7, 8.) We ſee here that a great difference was made between Moſes and other prophets, and alſo wherein that difference lay. God revealed himſelf unto other prophets in *dreams* and *viſions*, but with Moſes he converſed more openly, *mouth to mouth*, or, as it is ſaid elſewhere, *face to face*: and Moſes *ſaw the ſimilitude of the Lord*. Theſe were ſingular privileges and prerogatives, which eminently diſtinguiſhed Moſes from all the other prophets of the Jewiſh diſpenſation: and yet there was a prophet to be raiſed up like unto Moſes; but who ever reſembled Moſes in theſe ſuperior advantages, but Jeſus the Meſſiah?

It is likewiſe no inconſiderable argument, that the letter of the text favors our interpretation. The word is in the ſingular number, "The "Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a prophet;" and why then ſhould we underſtand it of a ſucceſſion of prophets? why ſhould we depart from the litteral conſtruction without any apparent neceſſity for it? Other nations hearkened unto inchanters and diviners, but the Lord would not ſuffer them ſo to do; he had given them a better guide already, and would raiſe up unto them another prophet ſuperior to all the inchanters and diviners in the world: unto him they ſhould hearken.

Moreover

Moreover it is implied, that this prophet ſhould be a lawgiver. "A "prophet like unto thee;" not ſimply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moſes, that is a ſecond lawgiver, as (4) Euſebius explains it. The reaſon too that is aſſigned for ſending this prophet, will evince that he was to be veſted with this character. The people had requeſted, that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in ſo terrible and awful a manner, as they had been in Horeb. God approved their requeſt, and promiſed therefore, that he would raiſe up unto them a prophet like unto Moſes, a lawgiver who ſhould ſpeak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a lawgiver: but none of the Jewiſh prophets were lawgivers, in all the intermediate time between Moſes and Chriſt.

If we farther appeal unto fact, we ſhall find that there never was any prophet, and much leſs a ſucceſſion of prophets, whom the Jews eſteemed like unto Moſes. The higheſt degree of inſpiration they term the (5) Moſaical, and enumerate ſeveral particulars, wherein that hath the præeminence and advantage above all others. There was indeed, in conſequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of ſome extraordinary prophet to ariſe, which prevailed particularly about the time of our Saviour. The Jews then, as well as (6) ſince, underſtood and applied this prophecy to the Meſſiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great or greater than Moſes. When our Saviour had fed five thouſand men, by a miracle like that of Moſes, who fed the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, then thoſe men ſaid "This is of a truth "that prophet that ſhould come into the world." (John VI. 14.) St. Peter and St. Stephen directly apply the prophecy to him: (Acts III. 22, 23. VII. 37.) and they may very well be juſtified for ſo doing; for he fully anſwers all the marks and characters, which are here given of the prophet like unto Moſes. He had immediate communication with the deity, and God ſpake to him *face to face*, as he did to Moſes. He performed *ſigns and wonders* as great or greater than thoſe of Moſes. He

(4) Euſebii Demonſ. Evangel. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 6. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. p. 443. Edit. Paris, 1628.

(5) See Smith's Diſcourſe of Prophecy. Chap. 2. and 11, wherein it is ſhown from Maimonides, that Moſes's inſpiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets propheſied in a dream or viſion, but Moſes waking and ſtanding. 2. All other prophets propheſied by the help or miniſtry of an angel, but Moſes propheſied without the miniſtry of an angel. 3. All other prophets were afraid, and troubled,

He was a *lawgiver* as well as Moſes. " I will raiſe them up a prophet," ſaith God; and the people glorified God, ſaying, " That a great prophet " is riſen up among us." (Luke VII. 16.) " I will put my words in his " mouth," ſaith God, in Hebrew will *give* my words; and our Saviour ſaith, " I have given unto them the words which thou gaveſt me." (John XVII. 8.) " He ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command " him," ſaith God; and our Saviour ſaith, " I have not ſpoken of my- " ſelf; but the Father which ſent me, he gave me a commandment, " what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak. And I know that his " commandment is life everlaſting: whatſoever I ſpeak therefore, even " as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpeak." (John XII. 49, 50.)

II. We ſhall be more and more confirmed in this opinion, when we conſider the great and ſtriking likeneſs between Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt, and that the latter reſembled the former in more reſpects than any other perſon ever did. Notice hath been taken already of ſome inſtances, wherein they reſemble each other, of God ſpeaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *ſigns and wonders*, of both being *lawgivers:* and in theſe reſpects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moſes. None of them were lawgivers; they only interpreted and enforced the law of Moſes. None of them performed ſo many and ſo great wonders. None of them had ſuch clear communications with God; they all ſaw viſions, and dreamed dreams. Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt are the only two, who perfectly reſemble each other in theſe reſpects. But a more exact and particular compariſon may be drawn between them, and hath been drawn by two eminent hands, by one of the beſt and ableſt of the ancient fathers, and by one of the moſt learned and ingenious of modern divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any thing to them, we muſt be content to copy from them.

Euſebius treating of the prophecies concerning Chriſt, (7) produceth firſt this of Moſes; and then aſketh, which of the prophets after Moſes, Iſaiah for inſtance, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any other of the twelve, was a lawgiver, and performed things like unto Moſes? Moſes

troubled, and fainted, but Moſes was not ſo, for the ſcripture ſaith that *God ſpake to him as a man ſpeaketh to his friend.* 4. None of the prophets did propheſy at what time they would, ſave Moſes.

(6) See authorities cited in Biſhop Chandler's Defenſe of Chriſtianity, Chap. 6. Sect. 2. p. 307. Edit. 3d.

(7) Euſebii Demonſ. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. p. 90—94. Edit. Paris, 1628.

(8) Remarks

Moſes firſt reſcued the Jewiſh nation from Egyptian ſuperſtition and idolatry, and taught them the true theology; Jeſus Chriſt in like manner was the firſt teacher of true religion and virtue to the Gentiles. Moſes confirmed his religion by miracles; and ſo likewiſe did Chriſt. Moſes delivered the Jewiſh nation from Egyptian ſervitude; and Jeſus Chriſt all mankind from the power of evil demons. Moſes promiſed a holy land, and therein a happy life to thoſe who kept the law; and Jeſus Chriſt a better country, that is a heavenly, to all righteous ſouls. Moſes faſted forty days; and ſo likewiſe did Chriſt. Moſes ſupplied the people with bread in the wilderneſs; and our Saviour fed five thouſand at one time, and four thouſand at another, with a few loaves. Moſes went himſelf, and led the people thro' the midſt of the ſea; and Jeſus Chriſt walked on the ſea, and enabled Peter to walk likewiſe. Moſes ſtretched out his hand over the ſea, and the Lord cauſed the ſea to go backward; and our Saviour rebuked the wind and the ſea, and there was a great calm. Moſes's face ſhone, when he deſcended from the mount, and our Saviour's did ſhine as the ſun in his transfiguration. Moſes by his prayers cured Miriam of her leproſy; and Chriſt with greater power by a word healed ſeveral lepers. Moſes performed wonders by the finger of God; and Jeſus Chriſt by the finger of God did caſt out devils. Moſes changed Oſhea's name to Joſhua; and our Saviour did Simon's to Peter. Moſes conſtituted ſeventy rulers over the people; and our Saviour appointed ſeventy diſciples. Moſes ſent forth twelve men to ſpy out the land; and our Saviour twelve apoſtles to viſit all nations. Moſes gave ſeveral excellent moral precepts; and our Saviour carried them to the higheſt perfection.

Dr. Jortin (8) hath inlarged upon theſe hints of Euſebius, and made ſeveral improvements, and additions to them. Moſes in his infancy was wonderfully preſerved from the deſtruction of all the male children; ſo was Chriſt. Moſes fled from his country to eſcape the hands of the king; ſo did Chriſt, when his parents carried him into Egypt: Afterwards "the Lord ſaid to Moſes in Midian, Go, return "into Egypt; for all the men are dead which ſought thy life;" (Exod

(8) Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 1. p. 203—222.

(9) the

(Exod. IV. 19.) ſo the angel of the Lord ſaid to Joſeph in almoſt the ſame words, " Ariſe, and take the young child, and go into the land " of Iſrael; for they are dead which ſought the young child's life; (Matt. II. 20.) pointing him out as it were for that prophet who ſhould ariſe like unto Moſes. Moſes refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction; Chriſt refuſed to be made king, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction. Moſes, ſays St. Stephen, " was learned, παιδευθη, in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians," and Joſephus (Ant. Jud. II. 9.) ſays that he was a very forward and accompliſhed youth, and had wiſdom and knowlege beyond his years; St. Luke obſerves of Chriſt, that " he increaſed (*betimes*) in wiſdom and " ſtature, and in favor with God and man," and his diſcourſes in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. Moſes contended with the magicians, who were forced to acknowlege the divine power by which he was aſſiſted; Chriſt ejected evil ſpirits, and received the ſame acknowlegements from them. Moſes was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a prieſt; in all theſe offices the reſemblance between Moſes and Chriſt was ſingular. Moſes brought darkneſs over the land; the ſun withdrew his light at Chriſt's crucifixion: And as the darkneſs which was ſpread over Egypt was followed by the deſtruction of their firſt born, and of Pharaoh and his hoſt; ſo the darkneſs at Chriſt's death was the forerunner of the deſtruction of the Jews. Moſes foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their diſobedience; ſo did Chriſt. The ſpirit which was in Moſes was conferred in ſome degree upon the ſeventy elders, and they propheſied; Chriſt conferred miraculous powers upon his ſeventy diſciples. Moſes was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; ſo was Chriſt by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of thoſe who perſecuted his church. Moſes conquered Amalec by holding up both his hands; Chriſt overcame his and our enemies when his hands were faſtened to the croſs. Moſes interceded for tranſgreſſors, and cauſed an atonement to be made for them, and ſtopped the wrath of God; ſo did Chriſt. Moſes ratified a covenant between God and the people by ſprinkling them with blood; Chriſt with his own blood. Moſes deſired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them,

or blot him out of his book; Chriſt did more, he died for ſinners. Moſes inſtituted the paſſover, when a lamb was ſacrificed, none of whoſe bones were to be broken, and whoſe blood protected the people from deſtruction; Chriſt was that paſchal lamb. Moſes lifted up the ſerpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; Chriſt was that ſerpent. All Moſes's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; the ſame returns the Jews made to Chriſt for all his benefits. Moſes was ill uſed by his own family, his brother and ſiſter rebelled againſt him; there was a time when Chriſt's own brethren believed not in him. Moſes had a very wicked and perverſe generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he uſed his utmoſt endevor to make the people obedient to God, and to ſave them from ruin; but in vain; in the ſpace of forty years they all fell in the wilderneſs except two: Chriſt alſo was given to a generation not leſs wicked and perverſe, his inſtructions and his miracles were loſt upon them, and in about the ſame ſpace of time, after they had rejected him, they were deſtroyed. Moſes was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; ſo was Chriſt. The people could not enter into the land of promiſe, till Moſes was dead; by the death of Chriſt the kingdom of heaven was open to believers. In the death of Moſes and Chriſt there is alſo a reſemblance of ſome circumſtances: Moſes died, in one ſenſe, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occaſion of it, which drew down the diſpleaſure of God upon them and upon him; Moſes went up, in the ſight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigor, when "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated:" Chriſt ſuffered for the ſins of men, and was led up, in the preſence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural ſtrength. Neither Moſes nor Chriſt, as far as we may collect from ſacred hiſtory, were ever ſick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their ſufferings were of another kind. Moſes was buried, and no man knew where his body lay; nor could the Jews find the body of Chriſt. Laſtly as Moſes a

little before death promiſed "another prophet;" ſo Chriſt "another "comforter."

The great ſimilitude conſiſts in their both being *lawgivers*, which no prophet ever was beſides Moſes and Chriſt. They may reſemble each other in ſeveral other features, and a fruitful imagination may find out a likeneſs where there is none. But as the ſame excellent writer concludes, "Is this ſimilitude and correſpondence in ſo many things "between Moſes and Chriſt the effect of mere chance? Let us ſearch "all the records of univerſal hiſtory, and ſee if we can find a man "who was ſo like to Moſes as Chriſt was, and ſo like to Chriſt as "Moſes was. If we cannot find ſuch a one, then have we found "him of whom Moſes in the law, and the prophets did write, Jeſus "of Nazareth, the Son of God."

III. There is no want of many words to prove, for it is viſible to all the world, that the people have been and ſtill are ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to this prophet. The prophecy is clear and expreſs; "Unto him ye ſhall hearken; and it ſhall come "to paſs that whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which he "ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him," that is I will ſeverely puniſh him for it, as the phraſe ſignifies elſewhere. The antecedent is put for the conſequent: judges firſt inquired, then puniſhed: and the Seventy tranſlate it, (9) *I will take vengeance of him.* This prophecy, as we have proved at large, evidently relates to Jeſus Chriſt. God himſelf in a manner applies it to him: for when he was tranſfigured, (Matt. XVII. 5.) there came "a voice out of the cloud, "which ſaid, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed; "hear ye him;" alluding plainly to the words of Moſes, "Unto him "ye ſhall hearken," and ſo pointing him out for the prophet like unto Moſes. St. Peter, as we noted before, directly applies it to our Saviour, Acts III. 22, 23.) "For Moſes truly ſaid unto the fathers, A "prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto you, of your breth"ren, like unto me; him ſhall ye hear in all things whatſoever he "ſhall ſay unto you: And it ſhall come to paſs, that every ſoul which "will not hear that prophet, ſhall be deſtroyed from among the

(9) εγω εκδικησω εξ αυτου. Sept.

(1) Και

" people;" which is the ſenſe rather than the words of the prophecy. And hath not this terrible denunciation been fully executed upon the Jews? Was not the complete exciſion of that incredulous nation, ſoon after Jeſus had finiſhed his miniſtry among them, and his apoſtles had likewiſe preached in vain, the fulfilling of the threat upon them for not hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application, as our Saviour himſelf not only denounced the ſame deſtruction, but alſo foretold the ſigns, the manner, and the circumſtances of it, with a particularity and exactneſs that will amaze us, as we ſhall ſee in a proper place: and thoſe of the Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution and following the advice which he had given them, eſcaped from the general ruin of their country, like firebrands plucked out of the fire. The main body of the nation either periſhed in their infidelity, or were carried captive into all nations: and have they not ever ſince perſiſting in the ſame infidelity, been obnoxious to the ſame puniſhment, and been a vagabond, diſtreſſed, and miſerable people in the earth? The hand of God was ſcarce ever more viſible in any of his diſpenſations. We muſt be blind not to ſee it: and ſeeing, we cannot but admire, and adore it. What other probable account can they themſelves give of their long captivity, diſperſion, and miſery? Their former captivity for the puniſhment of all their wickedneſs and idolatry laſted only ſeventy years: but they have lived in their preſent diſperſion, even tho' they have been no idolaters, now theſe ſeventeen hundred years, and yet without any immediate proſpect of their reſtoration: and what enormous crime could have drawn down, and unrepented of ſtill continues to draw down, theſe heavy judgments upon them? We ſay that they were cut off for their infidelity; and that when they ſhall turn to the faith, they will be graffed in again. One would think, it ſhould be worth their while to try the experiment. Sure we are, that they have long been monuments of God's juſtice; we believe, that upon their faith and repentance they will become again objects of his mercy: and in the mean time with St. Paul, (Rom. X. 1.) " our hearts deſire " and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they may be ſaved."

VII.

VII.

Prophecies of MOSES *concerning the Jews.*

IT is obſervable that the prophecies of Moſes abound moſt in the latter part of his writings. As he drew nearer his end, it pleaſed God to open to him larger proſpects of things. As he was about to take leave of the people, he was enabled to diſcloſe unto them more particulars of their future ſtate and condition. The deſign of this work will permit us to take notice of ſuch only as have ſome reference to theſe later ages: and we will confine ourſelves principally to the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the greater part whereof we may ſee accompliſhed in the world at this preſent time.

This great prophet and lawgiver is here propoſing at large to the people the bleſſings for obedience, and the curſes for diſobedience: and indeed he had foretold at ſeveral times and upon ſeveral occaſions, that they ſhould be happy or miſerable in the world, as they were obedient or diſobedient to the law that he had given them. And could there be any ſtronger evidence of the divine original of the Moſaical law? and hath not the interpoſition of providence been wonderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the prediction fully atteſted by the whole ſeries of their hiſtory from their firſt ſettlement in Canaan to this very day? But he is larger and more particular in recounting the curſes than the bleſſings, as if he had a preſcience of the people's diſobedience, and foreſaw that a larger portion and longer continuation of the evil would fall to their ſhare, than of the good. I know that ſome critics make a diviſion of theſe prophecies, and imagin that one part relates to the former captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they ſuffered under the Chaldæans; and that the other part relates to the latter captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they ſuffered under the Romans: but there is no need of any ſuch diſtinction; there is no reaſon to think that any ſuch was intended by the author; ſeveral prophecies

of

of the one part as well as of the other have been fulfilled at both periods, but they have all more amply been fulfilled during the latter period; and there cannot be more a lively picture than they exhibit, of the ſtate of the Jews at preſent.

1. We will conſider them with a view to the order of time, rather than the order wherein they lie; and we may not improperly begin with this paſſage, ver. 49, "The Lord ſhall bring a nation againſt "thee from far, from the end of the earth, as ſwift as the eagle "flieth, a nation whoſe tongue thou ſhalt not underſtand:" and the Chaldæans might be ſaid to come *from far*, in compariſon with the Moabites, Philiſtines, and other neighbouring nations, which uſed to infeſt Judea. Much the ſame deſcription is given of the Chaldæans by Jeremiah, (V. 15.) "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, "O houſe of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an "ancient nation, a nation whoſe language thou knoweſt not, neither "underſtandeſt what they ſay." He compares them in like manner to eagles, (Lam. IV. 19.) "Our perſecutors are ſwifter than the "eagles of the heaven: they purſued us upon the mountains, they "laid wait for us in the wilderneſs." But this deſcription cannot be applied to any nation with ſuch propriety as to the Romans. They were truly brought "from far, from the end of the earth." Veſpaſian and Adrian, the two great conquerors and deſtroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conqueſts might very well be compared to eagles, and perhaps not without an alluſion to the ſtandard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle: and their language was more unknown to the Jews than the Chaldee.

2. The enemies of the Jews are farther characterized in the next verſe, "A nation of fierce countenance, which ſhall not regard the "perſon of the old, nor ſhow favor to the young." Such were the Chaldæans; and the ſacred hiſtorian ſaith expreſly, (2 Chron. XXXVI. 17.) that for the wickedneſs of the Jews God "brought upon them "the

(1) Και παρελθων εισω, παντας ἡδηδον αναιρει, μεδεμιας των Ρωμαιων ἡλικιας ελεον ποιουμενων, μισει τε τρ@ το εθν@, και μνημη της κατα τον Κεστιον αυτων παρανομιας. et deinde in eam ingreſſus, puberes omnes interfici juſſit, Romanis nulli ætati miſericordiam adhibentibus, tam ex odio in gentem, quam memoria iniquitatis illorum in Ceſtium. Bel. Jud. Lib. 3. C. 7. Sect. 1. p. 1128. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) διεσωθη δε πλην δυο γυναικων ὑδεις. ——— διεσωθησαν δε, τας παρα την ἁλωσιν οργας Ρωμαιων λαθουσαι. ὑδε γερ νηπιων εφειδοντο,

" the king of the Chaldees, who ſlew their young men with the " ſword, in the houſe of their ſanctuary, and had no compaſſion upon " young man or maiden, old man, or him that ſtooped for age; he " gave them all into his hand." Such alſo were the Romans: for when Veſpaſian entered Gadara, (1) Joſephus ſaith, that ' he ſlew all ' man by man, the Romans ſhowing mercy to no age, out of hatred to ' the nation, and remembrance of their former injuries.' The like ſlaughter was made at Gamala, (2) ' For no body eſcaped beſides two ' women, and they eſcaped by concealing themſelves from the rage of ' the Romans. For they did not ſo much as ſpare young children, but ' every one at that time ſnatching up many caſt them down from the ' citadel.'

3. Their enemies were alſo to beſiege and take their cities, ver. 52, " And he ſhall beſiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced " walls come down, wherein thou truſtedſt, throughout all thy land." So " Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria came up againſt Samaria, and beſieged " it, and at the end of three years they took it." (2 Kings XVIII. 9, 10.) " So did Sennacherib king of Aſſyria come up againſt all the fenced " cities of Judah, and took them:" (Ib. ver. 13.) and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and ſpoiled Jeruſalem, burnt the city and temple, " and brake down the walls of Jeruſalem round about." (Ib. XXV. 10.) So likewiſe the Romans, as we may read in Joſophus's hiſtory of the Jewiſh war, demoliſhed ſeveral fortified places, before they beſieged and deſtroyed Jeruſalem. And the Jews may very well be ſaid to have " truſted in their high and fenced walls," for they ſeldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the ſtrength and ſituation of Jeruſalem, as the Jebuſites, the former inhabitants of the place, had done before them: (2 Sam. V. 6, 7.) inſomuch that they are repreſented ſaying (Jer. XXI. 13.) " Who ſhall come down againſt " us? or who ſhall enter into our habitation?" Jeruſalem was indeed a very ſtrong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art according to the deſcription of (3) Tacitus as well as of Joſephus: and yet

εφειδοντο, πολλα δε εκας@ τοτε αρπαζοντες εσφενδονων απο της ακρας. Nemo autem præter duas mulieres interitum effugit.—evaſerunt autem, quod iræ Romanorum in excidio ſeſe ſubduxerint. Nec enim infantibus pepercerunt, multos vero ſinguli eo tempore raptos ex arce projiciebant. Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. C. 1. Sect. 10. p. 1165. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Taciti Hiſt. Lib. 5. Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5, Cap. 4 et 5.

(4) See

yet (4) how many times was it taken? It was taken by Siſhak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Soſius and Herod, before its final deſtruction by Titus.

4. In theſe ſieges they were to ſuffer much, and eſpecially from famin, "in the ſtraitneſs wherewith their enemies ſhould diſtreſs them," ver. 53, &c. And accordingly when the king of Syria beſieged Samaria, "there was a great famin in Samaria; and behold they beſieged it, until "an aſs's head was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and the fourth "part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of ſilver." (2 Kings VI. 25.) And when Nebuchadnezzar beſieged Jeruſalem, "the famin pre-"vailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land." (2 Kings XXV. 3.) And in the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem by the Romans there was a moſt terrible famin in the city, and Joſephus hath given ſo melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it without ſhuddring. He ſaith, particularly, (5) that 'women ſnatched the food out of the 'very mouths of their huſbands and ſons of their fathers, and (what is 'moſt miſerable) mothers of their infants:' and in (6) another place he ſaith, that 'in every houſe, if there appeared any ſemblance of food, 'a battle enſued, and the deareſt friends and relations fought with one 'another, ſnatching away the miſerable proviſions of life:' ſo litterally were the words of Moſes fulfilled, ver. 54, &c. the man's "eye ſhall be "evil towards his brother, and towards the wife of his boſom, and to-"wards his children, becauſe he hath nothing left him in the ſiege, and "in the ſtraitneſs wherewith thine enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee in all thy "gates," and in like manner the woman's "eye ſhall be evil towards "the huſband of her boſom, and towards her ſon, and towards her "daughter."

5. Nay it was expreſly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women ſhould eat their own children. Moſes had foretold the ſame thing before, Levit. XXVI. 29, "Ye ſhall eat the fleſh of your ſons, "and the fleſh of your daughters ſhall ye eat." He repeats it here ver.

(4) See Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. ult. p. 1292. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) γυναικες γαρ ανδρων, και παιδες πατερων, και το οικτροτατον μητερες νηπιων εξηρπαζον εξ αυτων των στοματων τας τροφας. Siquidem uxores viris, et filii parentibus, et, quod omnium maxime miſerabile erat, matres infantibus cibum ex ipſo ore rapiebant. Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(6) Καθ' ἑκαστην γαρ οικιαν, ει που τροφης παραφανειη σκια, πολεμος ην, και δια χειρων εχωρουν οι φιλτατοι προς αλληλους, εξαρπαζοντες τα ταλαιπωρα της ψυχης ἐφοδια. Per ſingulas quippe domos ſicubi vel umbra apparuiſſet cibi, bellum

ver. 53, " And thou ſhalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the fleſh of " thy ſons and of thy daughters:" and more particularly ver. 56, &c. " The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adven- " ture to ſet the ſole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateneſs and " tenderneſs—ſhe ſhall eat her children for want of all things ſecretly " in the ſiege and ſtraitneſs, wherewith thine enemies ſhall diſtreſs thee " in thy gates." And it was fulfilled about 600 years after the time of Moſes among the Iſraelites, when Samaria was beſieged by the king of Syria, and two women agreed together, the one to give up her ſon to be boiled and eaten to day, and the other to deliver up her ſon to be dreſſed and eaten to morrow, and one of them was eaten accordingly. (2 Kings VI. 28, 29.) It was fulfilled again about 900 years after the time of Moſes among the Jews in the ſiege of Jeruſalem before the Babyloniſh captivity; and Baruch thus expreſſeth it, (II. 1, &c.) " The " Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced againſt us, to " bring upon us great plagues, ſuch as never happened under the whole " heaven, as it came to paſs in Jeruſalem, according to the things " that were written in the law of Moſes, that a man ſhould eat the " fleſh of his own ſon, and the fleſh of his own daughter:" and Jeremiah thus laments it in his Lamentations, (IV. 10.) " The hands of " the pitiful women have ſodden their own children, they were their " meat in the deſtruction of the daughter of my people." And again it was fulfilled above 1500 years after the time of Moſes in the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, and we read in Joſephus particularly of a noble woman's killing and eating her own ſucking child. Moſes ſaith, " The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not ad- " venture to ſet the ſole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateneſs " and tenderneſs:" and there cannot be a more natural and lively deſcription of a woman, who was according to (7) Joſephus illuſtrious for her family and riches. Moſes ſaith, " ſhe ſhall eat them for want of " all things:" and according to Joſephus ſhe had been plundered of all

lum illico, gerebatur, et amiciſſimi quique inter ſe acriter dimicabant, ſibi invicem miſera vitæ ſubſidia eripientes. Lib. 6. Cap. 3, Sect. 3. p. 1274. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) δια γενους και πλουτου επισημους genere atque opibus illuſtris——ταυτης την μεν αλλην κτησιν οι τυραννοι διηρπασαν, κ. τ. λ. Hujus alias quidem facultates jam tyranni diripuerant &c.——επειτ' οπτησασα το μεν ημισυ κατεσθιει, το δε λοιπον κατακαλυψασα εφυλατ̃ιεν. coctum deinde ipſa quidem dimidium ejus comedit, adopertum vero reliquum ſervabat. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Των

her ſubſtance and proviſions by the tyrants and ſoldiers. Moſes ſaith, that ſhe ſhould do it "ſecretly:" and according to Joſephus, when ſhe had boiled and eaten half, ſhe covered up the reſt, and kept it for another time. At ſo many different times and diſtant periods hath this prophecy been fulfilled; and one would have thought that ſuch diſtreſs and horror had almoſt tranſcended imagination, and much leſs that any perſon could certainly have foreſeen and foretold it.

6. Great numbers of them were to be deſtroyed, ver. 62. "And ye "ſhall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the ſtars of heaven "for multitude." Now not to mention any other of the calamities and ſlaughters which they have undergone, there was in the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus an infinite multitude, ſaith (8) Joſephus, who periſhed by famin: and he computes, that during the whole ſiege, the number of thoſe who were deſtroyed by that and by the war amounted to eleven hundred thouſand, the people being aſſembled from all parts to celebrate the paſſover: and the ſame author hath given us an account of 1240490 deſtroyed in Jeruſalem and other parts of Judea, beſides 99200 made priſoners; as (9) Baſnage has reckoned them up from that hiſtorian's account. Indeed there is not a nation upon earth, that hath been expoſed to ſo many maſſacres and perſecutions. Their hiſtory abounds with them. If God had not given them a promiſe of a numerous poſterity, the whole race would many a time have been extirpated.

7. They were to be carried into Egypt, and ſold for ſlaves at a very low price, ver. 68, "And the Lord ſhall bring thee into Egypt again, "with ſhips: and there ye ſhall be ſold unto your enemies for bond-"men and bondwomen, and no man ſhall buy you." They had come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they ſhould return thither as ſlaves. They had walked thro' the ſea as dry land at their coming out, but now they ſhould be carried thither in ſhips. They might be carried thither

(8) Των δ' υπο τυ λιμυ φθειρομενων κατα την πολιν απειρον μεν επιπλε το πληθος. Eorum autem qui per civitatem fame perierunt infinita quidem cecidit multitudo. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1274.

των δ' απολυμενων κατα πασαν την πολιορκιαν [αριθμος] μυριαδες εκατον και δεκα. totius autem obſidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt. Ib. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Hiſt. of the Jews, B. 1. Ch. 8. Sect. 19. See too the concluſion of Uſher's Annals.

(1) Joſeph. Ant. Lib. 12. Cap. 1 et 2.

(2) ——— τυς υπερ επτακαιδεκα ετη δησας επεμψεν εις τα κατ' Αιγυπτον εργα,———οι δ' εντος επτακαιδεκα ετων επραθησαν. εφθαρησαν δ' αυτων εν αις διεκρινεν ὁ Φροντων ημεραις υπ' ενδειας, χιλιοι προς τοις μυριοις. annis XVII majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda in Ægyptum miſit;—Quicunque

thither in the ſhips of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans who had a fleet in the Mediterranean: and this was a much ſafer way of conveying ſo many priſoners, than ſending them by land. It appears from (1) Joſephus that in the reigns of the two firſt Ptolemies many of the Jews were ſlaves in Egypt. And when Jeruſalem was taken by Titus, (2) of the captives who were above 17 years he ſent many bound to the works in Egypt; thoſe under 17 were ſold: but ſo little care was taken of theſe captives, that eleven thouſand of them periſhed for want. The markets were quite overſtocked with them, ſo that Joſephus ſays in another place, that they were ſold with their wives and children at the loweſt price, there being many to be ſold and but few purchaſers; ſo that hereby alſo was verified that of the Pſalmiſt (XLIV. 13) "Thou ſelleſt thy people for nought, and takeſt "no money for them." And we learn from (3) St. Jerome, that 'after 'their laſt overthrow by Adrian, many thouſands of them were ſold, 'and thoſe who could not be ſold, were tranſported into Egypt, and 'periſhed by ſhipwrack or famin, or were maſſacred by the inha-'bitants.'

8. They were to be rooted out of their own land, ver. 63. "And "ye ſhall be plucked from off the land whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs "it." They were indeed "plucked from off their own land," when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Aſſyria, and other nations were planted in their ſtead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captive to Babylon; and when the Romans took away their place and nation; beſides other captivities and tranſportations of the people. Afterwards, when the Emperor Adrian had ſubdued the rebellious Jews, he publiſhed an (4) edict forbidding them upon pain of death to ſet foot in Jeruſalem, or even to approach the country round about it. Tertullian and Jerome ſay, (5) that they were pro-

cunque vero infra XVII annum *ætatis* erant, *ſub corona* venditi ſunt. Iiſdem autem diebus, dum a Frontone ſecernebantur, ex inedia perierunt XI millia. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. p. 1291. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 1288. Edit. Hudſon.

(3)—poſt ultimam everſionem quam ſuſtinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata ſint; et quæ vendi non potuerint, tranſlata in Ægyptum; et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata. Hieron. in Zachariam Cap. 11. p. 1774. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(4) Juſtin. Martyr. Apol. 1. ma. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

(5) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 21. p. 19. Edit. Rigaltii. Par. 1675. Hieron. in Iſaiam. Cap. 6. p. 65. in Dan. Cap. 9. p. 1117. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(6) See

hibited from entring into Judea. From that time to this their country hath been in the poſſeſſion of foreign lords and maſters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and thoſe only of a low ſervile condition. Benjamin of Tudela in Spain, a celebrated Jew of the twelfth century, traveled into all parts to viſit thoſe of his own nation, and to learn an exact ſtate of their affairs: and he (6) hath reported, that Jeruſalem was almoſt entirely abandoned by the Jews. He found there not above two hundred perſons, who were for the moſt part dyers of wool, and who every year purchaſed the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very little figure. If Jeruſalem had ſo few Jews in it, the reſt of the holy land was ſtill more depopulated. He found two of them in one city, twenty in another, moſt whereof were dyers. In other places there were more perſons; but in upper Galilee, where the nation was in greateſt repute after the ruin of Jeruſalem, he found hardly any Jews at all. A very accurate and faithful (7) traveler of our own nation, who was himſelf alſo in the holy land, ſaith that "it is for the moſt part now inhabited by Moors and Arabians; "thoſe poſſeſſing the valleys, and theſe the mountains. Turks there "be few: but many Greeks with other Chriſtians of all ſects and "nations, ſuch as impute to the place an adherent holineſs. Here be "alſo ſome Jews, yet inherit they no part of the land, but in their "own country do live as aliens."

9. But they were not only to be plucked off from their own land, but alſo to be diſperſed into all nations, ver. 25, "And thou ſhalt be "removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" and again ver. 64, "And the Lord ſhall ſcatter thee among all people, from one end of "the earth even unto the other." Nehemiah (I. 8, 9.) confeſſeth that theſe words were fulfilled in the Babyloniſh captivity; but they have more amply been fulfilled ſince the great diſperſion of the Jews by the Romans. What people indeed have been ſcattered ſo far and wide as they? and where is the nation, which is a ſtranger to them, or to which they are ſtrangers? They ſwarm in many parts of the Eaſt, are ſpread

(6) See Benjamin. Itin. and Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 7.

(7) Sandys Travels. Book 3. p. 114. 7th Edit.

(8) Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 1.

(9) See

ſpread thro' moſt of the countries of Europe and Afric, and there are ſeveral families of them in the Weſt-Indies. They circulate through all parts, where trade and money circulate; and are, as I may ſay, the brokers of the whole world.

10. But tho' they ſhould be ſo diſperſed, yet they ſhould not be totally deſtroyed, but ſtill ſubſiſt as a diſtinct people, as Moſes had before foretold, Levit. XXVI. 44, "And yet for all that, when they "be in the land of their enemies, I will not caſt them away, neither "will I abhor them, to deſtroy them utterly, and to break my "covenant with them." The Jewiſh nation, (8) like the buſh of Moſes, hath been always burning, but is never conſumed. And what a marvelous thing is it, that after ſo many wars, battles, and ſieges, after ſo many fires, famins, and peſtilences, after ſo many rebellions, maſſacres, and perſecutions, after ſo many years of captivity, ſlavery, and miſery, they are not *deſtroyed utterly*, and tho' ſcattered among all people, yet ſubſiſt as a diſtinct people by themſelves? Where is any thing comparable to this to be found in all the hiſtories, and in all the nations under the ſun?

11. However, they ſhould ſuffer much in their diſperſion, and ſhould not reſt long in any place, ver. 65, "And among theſe nations "ſhalt thou find no eaſe, neither ſhall the ſole of thy foot have "reſt." They have been ſo far from finding reſt, that they have been baniſhed from city to city, from country to country. In many places they have been baniſhed, and recalled, and baniſhed again. We will only juſt mention their great baniſhments in modern times, and from countries very well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century they (9) were baniſhed from England by Edward I, and were not permitted to return and ſettle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century they (1) were baniſhed from France (for the ſeventh time, ſays Mezeray) by Charles VI; and ever ſince they have been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty, except at Metz where they have a ſynagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century,

(9) See Kennet, Echard, and Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 19.

(1) On enjoignit aux Juifs pour la ſeptieſme-fois, &c. See Mezeray Abregé Chronol. et Baſnage. B. 7. C. 18.

(2) See

century (2) they were baniſhed from Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella; and according to Mariana, there were a hundred and ſeventy thouſand families, or as ſome ſay eight hundred thouſand perſons who left the kingdom: Moſt of them paid dearly to John II for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years were expelled from thence alſo by his ſucceſſor Emanuel. And in our own time, within theſe few years, they were baniſhed from Prague by the queen of Bohemia.

12. They ſhould be "oppreſſed and ſpoiled evermore;" and their "houſes and vineyards," their "oxen and aſſes" ſhould be taken from them, and they ſhould "be only oppreſſed and cruſhed alway," ver. 29, &c. And what frequent ſeizures have been made of their effects in almoſt all countries? how often have they been fined and fleeced by almoſt all governments? how often have they been forced to redeem their lives with what is almoſt as dear as their lives, their treaſure? Inſtances are innumerable. We will only cite an (3) hiſtorian of our own, who ſays that Henry III "always polled the Jews at every low ebb of "his fortunes. One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was "forced to pay ſeven hundred marks for his redemption. Aaron, ano-"ther Jew, proteſted, that the king had taken from him at times thirty "thouſand marks of ſilver, beſides two hundred marks of gold, which "he had preſented to the queen. And in like manner he uſed many "others of the Jews." And when they were baniſhed in the reign of Edward I, their eſtates were confiſcated, and immenſe ſums thereby accrued to the crown.

13. "Their ſons and their daughters ſhould be given unto another "people" ver. 32. And in ſeveral countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government to be educated in the popiſh religion. The (4) fourth council of Toledo ordered, that all their children ſhould be taken from them for fear they ſhould partake of their errors, and that they ſhould be ſhut up in monaſteries, to be inſtructed in the chriſtian truths. And when they were baniſhed from Portugal, "the king" ſays (5) Mariana, "ordered all their children, under 14 years of age, to be taken from "them,

(2) See Mariana's Hiſt. of Spain, B. 26. Chap. 1. et 6. and Baſnage, B. 7. C. 21.
(3) Daniel in Kennet. Vol. 1. p. 179.
(4) See Baſnage, B. 7. C. 13. Sect. 14.
(5) Mariana B. 26. C. 6.
(6) Joſephus

" them, and baptized: a practice not at all juſtifiable," adds the hiſtorian, " becauſe none ought to be forced to become Chriſtians, nor " children to be taken from their parents."

14. " They ſhould be mad for the ſight of their eyes which they " ſhould ſee," ver. 34. And into what madneſs, fury, and deſperation have they been puſhed by the cruel uſage, extortions, and oppreſſions which they have undergone? We will allege only two ſimilar inſtances, one from ancient, and one from modern hiſtory. After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus (6), ſome of the worſt of the Jews took refuge in the caſtle of Maſada, where being cloſely beſieged by the Romans, they at the perſuaſion of Eleazar their leader, firſt murdered their wives and children; and then ten men were choſen by lot to ſlay the reſt; this being done, one of the ten was choſen in like manner to kill the other nine, which having executed he ſet fire to the place, and then ſtabbed himſelf. There were nine hundred and ſixty who periſhed in this miſerable manner; and only two women, and five boys eſcaped by hiding themſelves in the aqueducts under ground. Such another inſtance we have in our Engliſh hiſtory. For (7) in the reign of Richard the firſt, when the people were in arms to make a general maſſacre of them, fifteen hundred of them ſeiſed on the city of York to defend themſelves; but being beſieged they offered to capitulate, and to ranſom their lives with money. The offer being refuſed, one of them cryed in deſpair, that it was better to die courageouſly for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Chriſtians. Every one immediately took his knife, and ſtabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the king's palace, which they ſet on fire, in which they conſumed themſelves with the palace and furniture.

15. " They ſhould ſerve other gods, wood and ſtone," ver. 36; and again ver. 64, " they ſhould ſerve other gods, which neither they nor " their fathers had known, even wood and ſtone." And is it not too common for the Jews in popiſh countries to comply with the idolatrous worſhip of the church of Rome, and to bow down to ſtocks and ſtones rather than their effects ſhould be ſeiſed and confiſcated? Here again we muſt

(6) Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. C. 8 et 9. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Baſnage. B. 7. Chap. 10. Sect. 20. who cites Matt. Paris. p. 111. et Polyd. Virgil. l. 14. p. 248.

(8) Baſnage.

muſt cite the author, who hath moſt ſtudied, and hath beſt written their modern hiſtory, and whom we have had occaſion to quote ſeveral times in this diſcourſe. " The Spaniſh and Portugal Inquiſitions, (8) " ſaith he, reduce them to the dilemma of being either hypocrites " or burnt. The number of theſe diſſemblers is very conſiderable; " and it ought not to be concluded, that there are no Jews in Spain or " Portugal, becauſe they are not known: They are ſo much the more " dangerous, for not only being very numerous, but confounded with " the eccleſiaſtics, and entering into all eccleſiaſtical dignities." In another (9) place he ſaith, " The moſt ſurpriſing thing is, that this " religion ſpreads from generation to generation, and ſtill ſubſiſts in the " perſons of diſſemblers in a remote poſterity. In vain the great " lords of Spain (1) *make alliances, change their names, and take* " *ancient ſcutcheons; they are ſtill known to be of Jewiſh race, and Jews* " *themſelves. The convents of monks and nuns are full of them. Moſt* " *of the canons, inquiſitors, and biſhops proceed from this nation.* " This is enough to make the people and clergy of this country " tremble, ſince ſuch ſort of churchmen can only profane the ſacra- " ments, and want intention in conſecrating the hoſt they adore. In " the mean time Orobio, who relates the fact, knew theſe diſſemblers. " He was one of them himſelf, and bent the knee before the ſacrament. " Moreover he brings proofs of his aſſertion, in maintaining, that there " are in the ſynagogue of Amſterdam, brothers and ſiſters and near " relations to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even Fran- " ciſcan monks, Dominicans, and Jeſuits, who come to do penance, " and make amends for the crime they have committed in diſſem- " bling."

16. " They ſhould become an aſtoniſhment, a proverb, and a by- " word among all nations," ver. 37. And do we not hear and ſee this prophecy fulfilled almoſt every day? is not the avarice, uſury, and hard-heartedneſs of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their perſons generally odious among all ſorts of people? Mohammedans, Heathens, and Chriſtians, however they may diſagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abuſing, and perſecuting the Jews. In moſt

(8) Baſnage. Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 14. (9) B. 7. Chap. 21. Sect. 26.

(1) Limborch

moſt places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a ſeparate quarter by themſelves, (as they did here in the Old Jewry) and to wear ſome badge of diſtinction. Their very countenances commonly diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of mankind. They are in all reſpects treated, as if they were of another ſpecies. And when a great maſter of nature would draw the portrait of a Jew, how deteſtable a character hath he repreſented in the perſon of his *Jew of Venice!*

17. Finally "their plagues ſhould be wonderful, even great plagues, "and of long continuance," ver. 59. And have not their plagues continued now theſe 1700 years? Their former captivities were very ſhort in compariſon: and (2) Ezekiel and Daniel propheſied in the land of the Chaldæans: but now they have no true prophet to foretel an end of their calamities, they have only falſe Meſſiahs to delude them and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities they had the comfort of being conveyed to the ſame place; they dwelt together in the land of Goſhen, they were carried together to Babylon: but now they are diſperſed all over the face of the earth. What nation hath ſuffered ſo much, and yet endured ſo long? what nation hath ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people in their own country, ſo long as theſe have done in their diſperſion into all countries? and what a ſtanding miracle is this exhibited to the view and obſervation of the whole world?

Here are inſtances of prophecies, prophecies delivered above three thouſand years ago, and yet as we ſee fulfilling in the world at this very time: and what ſtronger proofs can we deſire of the divine legation of Moſes? How theſe inſtances may affect others, I know not; but for myſelf I muſt acknowlege, they not only convince, but amaze and aſtoniſh me beyond expreſſion. They are truly, as Moſes foretold they would be, "a ſign and a wonder for ever," ver. 45, 46. "Moreover "all theſe curſes ſhall come upon thee, and ſhall purſue thee and "overtake thee, till thou be deſtroyed; becauſe thou hearkeneſt not "unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, "and his ſtatutes which he commanded thee: and they ſhall be upon "thee for a ſign and for a wonder, and upon thy ſeed for ever."

(1) Limborch Collat. cum Jud. p. 102.

(2) See Baſnage B. 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 2.

(1) See

VIII.

Prophecies of other prophets concerning the JEWS.

BESIDES the prophecies of Moſes, there are others of other prophets, relative to the preſent ſtate and condition of the Jews. Such are thoſe particularly concerning the reſtoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from captivity, and the diſſolution of the ten tribes of Iſrael; and thoſe concerning the preſervation of the Jews, and the deſtruction of their enemies; and thoſe concerning the deſolation of Judea; and thoſe concerning the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews; and thoſe concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. And it may be proper to ſay ſomething upon each of theſe topics.

I. It was foretold, that the ten tribes of Iſrael ſhould be carried captive by the kings of Aſſyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin ſhould be carried captive by the king of Babylon: but with this difference, that the two tribes ſhould be reſtored and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes ſhould be diſſolved and loſt in theirs. Nay not only the captivity and reſtoration of the two tribes were foretold, but the preciſe time of their captivity and reſtoration was alſo prefixed and determined by the prophet Jeremiah: (XXV. 11.) "This whole land ſhall be a deſolation, and an aſtoniſh-"ment; and theſe nations ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon ſeventy "years:" and again (XXIX. 10.) "Thus ſaith the Lord, that after "ſeventy years be accompliſhed at Babylon, I will viſit you, and per-"form my good word towards you, in cauſing you to return to this "place." This prophecy was firſt delivered (Jer. XXV. 1.) "in the "fourth year of Jehoiakim the ſon of Joſiah king of Judah, that "was the firſt year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon." And this (1) ſame year it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnez-

zar

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Commentators on 2 Kings XXIV. 2 Chron. XXXVI. and Dan. I.

(4) Prideaux

zar invaded Judea, beſieged and took Jeruſalem, made Jehoiakim his ſubject and tributary, tranſported the fineſt children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon to be bred up there for eunuchs and ſlaves in his palace, and alſo carried away the veſſels of the houſe of the Lord, and put them in the temple of his god at Babylon. Seventy years from this time will bring us down to the firſt year of Cyrus, (2 Chron. XXXVI. 22. Ezra. I. 1.) when he made his proclamation for the reſtoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple at Jeruſalem. This computation of the ſeventy years captivity appears to be the trueſt, and moſt agreeable to ſcripture. But if you fix the commencement of theſe ſeventy years at the time when Jeruſalem was burnt and deſtroyed, their (2) concluſion will fall about the time when Darius iſſued his decree for rebuilding the temple, after the work had been ſtopt and ſuſpended. Or if you fix their commencement at the time when Nebuzaradan carried away the laſt remainder of the people, and completed the deſolation of the land, their (3) concluſion will fall about the time when the temple was finiſhed and dedicated, and the firſt paſſover was ſolemnized in it. "So that," as Dean Prideaux ſays, "taking it which way you will, and at what "ſtage you pleaſe, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly "accompliſhed concerning this matter." It may be ſaid to have been accompliſhed at three different times, and in three different manners, and therefore poſſibly all might have been intended, tho' the firſt without doubt was the principal ſubject of the prophecy.

But the caſe was different with the ten tribes of Iſrael. It is very well known that Ephraim being the chief of the ten tribes is often put for all the ten tribes of Iſrael; and it was predicted by Iſaiah (VII. 8.) "Within threeſcore and five years ſhall Ephraim be broken, "that it be not a people." This prophecy was delivered in the firſt year of Ahaz king of Judah; for in the latter end of his father Jotham's reign, (2 Kings XV. 37.) Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Iſrael began their expedition againſt Judah. They went up towards Jeruſalem to war againſt it in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz; and it was to comfort him and the houſe of David in theſe difficulties

(2) Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. 3. Anno 518. Darius 4. (3) Prideaux ibid. Anno 515. Darius 7. (4) Comment.

ficulties and diſtreſſes, that the prophet Iſaiah was commiſſioned to aſſure him that the kings of Syria and Iſrael ſhould remain only the heads of their reſpective cities, they ſhould not prevail againſt Jeruſalem, and within ſixty and five years Iſrael ſhould be ſo broken as to be no more a people. The learned (4) Vitringa is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that inſtead of *ſixty* ששים and five it was originally written *ſixteen* ששׁ and five. *Sixteen and five*, as he confeſſeth, is an odd way of computation for *one and twenty*; but it deſigns perfectly the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah. For Ahaz reigned *ſixteen* years, and Hezekiah *five* years alone, having reigned one year jointly with his father: and it was "in the ſixth year of Hezekiah," (2 Kings XVIII. 10, 11.) that "Shalmaneſer took Samaria, and carried away "Iſrael unto Aſſyria." Then indeed the kingdom of Iſrael was broken: and the conjecture of Vitringa would appear much more probable, if it could be proved that it had ever been uſual to write the numbers or dates of years partly in words at length, and partly in numeral letters. But without recourſe to ſuch an expedient the thing may be explicated otherwiſe. For from the firſt of Ahaz (5) compute ſixty and five years in the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manaſſeh, the end of them will fall about the 22d year of Manaſſeh, when Eſarhaddon king of Aſſyria made the laſt deportation of the Iſraelites, and planted other nations in their ſtead; and in the ſame expedition probably took Manaſſeh captive, (2 Chron. XXXIII. 11.) and carried him to Babylon. It is ſaid expreſly that it was Eſarhaddon who planted the other nations in the cities of Samaria: but it is not ſaid expreſly in ſcripture, that he carried away the remainder of the people, but it may be inferred from ſeveral circumſtances of the ſtory. There were other deportations of the Iſraelites made by the kings of Aſſyria before this time. In the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pilezer took many of the Iſraelites, "even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half "tribe of Manaſſeh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them "captive to Aſſyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and "Hara, and to the river Gozan." (1 Chron. V. 26. 2 Kings XV. 29.) His ſon Shalmaneſer, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away ſtill greater numbers "unto Aſſyria, and put them in "Halah

(4) Comment. in locum. (5) See Uſher, Prideaux, &c.

(6) For

"Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan" (the ſame places whither their brethren had been carried before them) "and in the "cities of the Medes." (2 Kings XVIII. 11.) His ſon Sennacherib came up alſo againſt Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculouſly defeated, and he himſelf was forced to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his ſons. (2 Kings XVIII. 19.) Another of his ſons, Eſarhaddon ſucceeded him in the throne, but it was ſome time before he could recover his kingdom from theſe diſorders, and think of reducing Syria and Paleſtine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and to prevent the land from becoming deſolate, "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, "and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and "placed them in the cities of Samaria, inſtead of the children of "Iſrael." (Ezra IV. 2, 10. 2 Kings XVII. 24.) Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but now he was broken from being a people. And from that time to this what account can be given of the people of Iſrael as diſtinct from the people of Judah? where have they ſubſiſted all this while? and where is their ſituation, or what is their condition at preſent?

We ſee plainly that they were placed in Aſſyria and Media; and if they ſubſiſted any where, one would imagin they might be found there in the greateſt abundance. But authors have generally ſought for them elſewhere: and the viſionary writer of the ſecond book of Eſdras (XIII. 40 &c.) hath aſſerted that they took a reſolution of retiring from the Gentiles, and of going into a country, which had never been inhabited; that the river Euphrates was miraculouſly divided for their paſſage, and they proceeded in their journey a year and a half, before they arrived at this country, which was called Arſareth. But the worſt of it is, as this country was unknown before, ſo it hath been equally unknown ever ſince. It is to be found no where but in this apocryphal book, which is ſo wild and fabulous in other reſpects, that it deſerves no credit in this particular. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of the twelfth century, (6) hath likewiſe aſſigned them a large and ſpacious country with

(6) For theſe particulars the reader may conſult Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 2 and 3.

(7) See

with fine cities; but no body knoweth to this day where it is ſituated. Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, hath placed them in Ethiopia and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty five kingdoms tributary to them. Another Jewiſh writer, Peritſul of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the laſt, hath given them kingdoms in a country called Perricha, incloſed by unknown mountains, and bounded by Aſſyria, and likewiſe in the deſerts of Arabia, and even in the Eaſt Indies. Manaſſeh, a famous rabbi of the laſt century, and others have aſſerted, that they paſſed into Tartary, and expelled the Scythians; and others again from Tartary have conveyed them into America. But all theſe differing accounts prove nothing but the great uncertainty that there is in this matter. The beſt of them are only conjectures without any ſolid foundation, but moſt of them are manifeſt forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the ten tribes hath induced (7) others to maintain, that they returned into their own country with the other two tribes after the Babyloniſh captivity. The decree indeed of Cyrus extended to "all the people of God," (Ezra I. 3.) and that of Artaxerxes to "all the people of *Iſrael*;" (VII. 13.) and no doubt many of the Iſraelites took advantage of theſe decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but ſtill the main body of the ten tribes remained behind. Ezra, who ſhould beſt know, ſaith that there "roſe up the chief of the fathers of Judah "and Benjamin," (I. 5.) and he calleth the Samaritans "the adver-"ſaries of Judah and Benjamin;" (IV. 1.) theſe two tribes were the principals, the others were only as acceſſories. And if they did not return at this time, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have returned in a body at any time after this: for we read of no ſuch adventure in hiſtory, we know neither the time nor occaſion of their return, nor who were their generals or leaders in this expedition. Joſephus, who ſaw

(7) See Calmet's two Diſſertations, 1ſt. Sur le pays où les dix tribus d'Iſrael furent tranſportées, et ſur celui où elles ſont aujourd'hui. Comment. Vol. 3. 2d. Ou l'on examine ſi les dix tribus ſont revenuës de leur captivité, dans la terre d'Iſrael. Comment. Vol. 6.

(8) το δ' αντιγραφον αυτης παρα παντας επεμψε τους ὁμοεθνεις της κατα την Μηδιαν ὀντας.——πολλοι δ' αυτων, και τας κτησεις αναλαβοντες, ηλθον εις Βαβυλωνα, πεθεντες την εις τα Ιεροσολυμα καθοδον. ὁ δε πας λαος των Ισραηλιτων κατα χωραν εμεινε. διο και δυο φυλας ειναι συμβεβηκεν επι τε της Ασιας και της Ευρωπης, Ρωμαιοις ὑπακουσασας. αι δε δεκα φυλαι περαν εισιν Ευφρατου ἑως δευρο, μυριαδες απειροι, και αριθμῳ γνωσθηναι μη δυναμεναι. exemplar vero ejus in Mediam ad omnes gentis

ſaw his country for ſeveral years in as floriſhing a condition as at any time ſince the captivity, affirms that (8) Ezra ſent a copy of the decree of Artaxerxes to all of the ſame nation throughout Media, where the ten tribes lived in captivity, and many of them came with their effects to Babylon, deſiring to return to Jeruſalem: but the main body of the Iſraelites abode in that region: and therefore it hath happened, ſaith he, that there are two tribes in Aſia and Europe, living in ſubjection to the Romans; but the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates to this time; and then addeth with the vanity of a Jew ſpeaking of his countrymen, that they were ſo many myriads, that they could not be numbered.

Others, finding no good authority for admitting that the ten tribes of Iſrael were reſtored in the ſame manner as the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (9) have therefore aſſerted, that "the ten tribes of "Iſrael, which had ſeparated from the houſe of David, were brought "to a full and utter deſtruction, and never after recovered themſelves "again. For thoſe who were thus carried away (excepting only ſome "few, who joining themſelves to the Jews in the land of their capti-"vity returned with them) ſoon going into the uſages, and idolatry "of the nations, among whom they were planted, (to which they "were too much addicted while in their own land) after a while be-"came wholly abſorbed, and ſwallowed up in them, and thence utterly "loſing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never "after any more ſpoken of." But if the whole race of Iſrael became thus extinct, and periſhed for ever, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promiſe the future converſion and reſtoration of Iſrael as well as of Judah?

The truth I conceive to lie between theſe two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jeruſalem, neither did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of

gentis ſuæ homines miſit.—multi vero ex iis cum re ſua familiari Babylonem ſe contulerunt, ut qui Hieroſolyma revertendi deſiderio tenebantur. Omnis autem multitudo Iſraelitarum in ea regione manſit. Quapropter duæ tantum tribus per Aſiam atque Europam ſub Romano degunt imperio. Decem autem reliquæ tribus uſque in hodiernum diem loca ultra Euphratem colunt, infinita hominum millia, nec numero comprehendenda. Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 482. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Prideaux Connect. Part I. Book. 1. Anno 677. Manaſſeh 22.

(1) See

of Iſaiah was ſtill fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the ſtate of Iſrael was utterly broken; they no longer ſubſiſted as a diſtinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a ſeparate religion, they joined themſelves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they loſt the name of Iſrael as a name of diſtinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews. It appears from the book of Eſther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and ſeven provinces of the kingdom of Ahaſuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Perſia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refuſed to return to Jeruſalem with their brethren; they muſt many of them have been the deſcendents of the ten tribes whom the kings of Aſſyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all ſpoken of as one and the ſame people, and all without diſtinction are denominated Jews. We read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, (II. 9.) that there came to Jeruſalem to celebrate the feaſt of Pentecoſt "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers "in Meſopotamia:" theſe men came from the countries, wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and in all probability therefore were ſome of their poſterity; but yet theſe as well as the reſt are ſtiled (ver. 5.) "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven." Thoſe likewiſe of the ten tribes, who returned to Jeruſalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews; they might for ſome ages perhaps preſerve their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the diſtinction of tribes and families is in great meaſure loſt among them, and they have all from the Babyloniſh captivity to this day been comprehended under the general name of Jews. In St. Paul's time there were ſeveral perſons of all the ten tribes in being; for he ſpeaketh of "the twelve "tribes hoping to attain to the promiſe of God;" (Acts XXVI. 7.) and St. James addreſſeth his epiſtle "to the twelve tribes which are "ſcattered abroad." (James I. 1.) And we make no queſtion, that ſeveral perſons of all the ten tribes are in being at preſent, tho' we cannot ſeparate them from the reſt; they are confounded with the other Jews; there is no difference, no diſtinction between them. The (1) Samaritans

(1) See Prideaux as before.

(2) See

Samaritans indeed (of whom there are ſtill ſome remains at Sichem and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the deſcendents of the children of Iſrael, but they are really derived from thoſe nations, which Eſarhaddon king of Aſſyria planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reaſon the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites, (the name of one of thoſe nations) and exclaim againſt them as the worſt of heretics, and if poſſible have greater hatred and abhorrence of them than of the Chriſtians themſelves.

Thus we ſee how the ten tribes of Iſrael were in a manner loſt in their captivity, while the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were reſtored and preſerved ſeveral ages afterwards. And what, can you believe, were the reaſons of God's making this difference and diſtinction between them? The ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worſhip of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their other idolatry and wickedneſs, they were ſuffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were reſtored, not ſo much for their own ſakes, as for the ſake of the promiſes made unto the fathers, the promiſe to Judah that the Meſſiah ſhould come of his tribe, the promiſe to David that the Meſſiah ſhould be born of his family. It was therefore neceſſary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept diſtinct until the coming of the Meſſiah. But now theſe ends are fully anſwered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the reſt: all diſtinction of families and genealogies is loſt among them: and the (2) Jews themſelves acknowlege as much in ſaying, that when the Meſſiah ſhall come, it will be part of his office "to ſort their families, reſtore the genealogies, and ſet aſide "ſtrangers."

II. The preſervation of the Jews thro' ſo many ages, and the total deſtruction of their enemies are wonderful events; and are made ſtill more wonderful by being ſignified beforehand by the ſpirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, (XLVI. 28.) "Fear "not thou, O Jacob my ſervant, ſaith the Lord, for I am with thee, "for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven "thee, but I will not make a full end of thee."

(2) See Biſhop Chandler's Defenſe of Chriſtianity. Chap. 1. Sect. 2. p. 38. 3d Edit.

(3) 2 Maccab.

The preſervation of the Jews is really one of the moſt ſignal and illuſtrious acts of divine providence. They are diſperſed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are ſoon mingled and loſt in that immenſe body of waters: and the ſame in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and loſt in the common maſs of mankind; but on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep ſeparate from all. They ſtill live as a diſtinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magiſtrates, no where enjoy the full exerciſe of their religion. Their ſolemn feaſts and ſacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now for many ages in the hands of ſtrangers and aliens, who will not ſuffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed ſo long as they have done, not only of thoſe who have ſent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of thoſe who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in ſwarms into the more ſouthern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to ſeek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footſteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can ſeparate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have ſettled there? In Spain who can diſtinguiſh exactly between the firſt poſſeſſors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept poſſeſſion of the country for ſome ages? In England who can pretend to ſay with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The moſt ancient and honorable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obſcurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are deſcended, but they know certainly that they all ſprung from the ſtock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardſhips which they have undergone in almoſt all countries,

tries, ſhould one would think have made them deſirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profeſs it, they glory in it: and after ſo many wars, maſſacres, and perſecutions, they ſtill ſubſiſt, they ſtill are very numerous: and what but a ſupernatural power could have preſerved them in ſuch a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preſerved?

Nor is the providence of God leſs remarkable in the deſtruction of their enemies, than in their preſervation. For from the beginning who have been the great enemies and oppreſſors of the Jewiſh nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and ſlavery? The Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage ſeveral years. The Aſſyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Iſrael, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, eſpecially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly perſecuted them: and the Romans utterly diſſolved the Jewiſh ſtate, and diſperſed the people ſo that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. But where are now theſe great and famous monarchies, which in their turns ſubdued and oppreſſed the people of God? Are they not vaniſhed as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names loſt in the earth? The Egyptians, Aſſyrians, and Babylonians were overthrown, and entirely ſubjugated by the Perſians: and the Perſians (it is remarkable) were the reſtorers of the Jews, as well as the deſtroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were ſwallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the incurſions of the northern nations; while the Jews are ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people at this day. And what a wonder of providence is it, that the vanquiſhed ſhould ſo many ages ſurvive the victors, and the former be ſpread all over the world, while the latter are no more?

Nay not only nations have been puniſhed for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath purſued even ſingle perſons, who have been their perſecutors and oppreſſors. The firſt born of Pharaoh was deſtroyed, and he himſelf with his hoſt was drowned in the ſea. Moſt of thoſe who oppreſſed Iſrael in the days of the Judges, Eglon, Jabin and Siſera, Oreb and Zeeb, and the reſt, came to an untimely end.

Nebuchadnezzar was ſtricken with madneſs, and the crown was ſoon transferred from his family to ſtrangers. Antiochus Epiphanes (3) died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin iſſuing from them, ſo that the filthineſs of his ſmell was intolerable to all his attendents, and even to himſelf. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, (4) died in the ſame miſerable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarouſly plundered and oppreſſed the Jews of Alexandria, (5) was afterwards baniſhed and ſlain. Caligula, who perſecuted the Jews for refuſing to pay divine honors to his ſtatues, (6) was murdered in the flower of his age, after a ſhort and wicked reign. But where are now, ſince they have abſolutely rejected the goſpel, and been no longer the peculiar people of God, where are now ſuch viſible manifeſtations of a divine interpoſition in their favor? The Jews would do well to conſider this point; for rightly conſidered, it may be an effectual means of opening their eyes, and of turning them to Chriſt our Saviour.

III. The deſolation of Judea is another memorable inſtance of the truth of prophecy. It was foretold ſo long ago as by Moſes, (Levit. XXVI. 33.) "I will ſcatter you among the heathen, and will draw "out a ſword after you; and your land ſhall be deſolate, and your "cities waſte." It was foretold again by Iſaiah, the prophet ſpeaking, as prophets often do, of things future as preſent; (I. 7, 8, 9.) "Your country is deſolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, "ſtrangers devour it in your preſence, and it is deſolate as overthrown "by ſtrangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a "vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a beſieged city." This paſſage may relate immediately to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it muſt have a farther reference to the devaſtations made by the Chaldæans, and eſpecially by the Romans. In this ſenſe it is underſtood by (7) Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Jerome, and moſt ancient interpreters: and the following words imply no leſs than a general deſtruction, and almoſt total exciſion of the people, ſuch as they ſuffered under the Chaldæans, but more fully under the Romans; "Except

(3) 2 Maccab. IX. 9. Polybii Fragm. p. 997. Edit. Caſaubon.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 6. Sect. 5. p. 768. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 33. Sect. 5. p. 1040. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Philo in Flaccum.

(6) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. Suetonii Calig.

" cept the Lord of hoſts had left unto us a very ſmall remnant, we " ſhould have been as Sodom, and we ſhould have been like unto " Gomorrah." The ſame thing was again foretold by Jeremiah; for ſpeaking afterwards of the converſion of the Gentiles, and of the reſtoration of the Jews in the latter days, he muſt be underſtood to ſpeak here of the times preceding, (XII. 10, 11.) " Many paſtors (*princes* " *or leaders*) have deſtroyed my vineyard, they have troden my por- " tion under foot, they have made my pleaſant portion a deſolate wil- " derneſs; they have made it deſolate, and being deſolate it mourneth " unto me; the whole land is made deſolate, becauſe no man layeth " it to heart."

The ſame thing is expreſſed or implied in other places: and hath not the ſtate of Judea now for many ages been exactly anſwerable to this deſcription? That a country ſhould be depopulated and deſolated by the incurſions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful; but that it ſhould lie ſo many ages in this miſerable condition is more than man could foreſee, and could be revealed only by God. A celebrated French writer (8) in his hiſtory of the Cruſades pretends to exhibit a true picture of Paleſtine, and he ſays that then " it was juſt " what it is at preſent, the worſt of all the inhabited countries of Aſia. " It is almoſt wholly covered with parched rocks, on which there is " not one line of ſoil. If this ſmall territory were cultivated, it might " not improperly be compared to Swiſſerland." But there is no need of citing authorities to prove that the land is forſaken of its inhabitants, is uncultivated, unfruitful, and deſolate; for the enemies of our religion make this very thing an objection to the truth of our religion. They ſay that ſo barren and wretched a country could never have been " a land flowing with milk and honey," nor have ſupplied and maintained ſuch multitudes, as it is repreſented to have done in ſcripture. But they do not ſee or conſider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled; ſo that it is rather an evidence for the truth of our religion, than any argument againſt it.

The

Calig. Cap. 59. Vixit annis XXX. imperavit trienno et X menſibus, diebuſque VIII.

(7) Juſt. Mart. Apol. 1ma. p. 70. Edit. Thirlbii. Dial. cum Tryphone. p. 169, et 243. Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 8. Cap. 23. p. 411. Edit. Rigaltii Par. 1675. et alibi. Hieron. in locum. Vol. 3. p. 12. Edit. Benedict.

(8) Voltaire's Hiſt. not far from the beginning.

(9) Ariſteas

The country was formerly a good country, if we may believe the concurrent teſtimony of thoſe who ſhould beſt know it, the people who inhabited it. Ariſteas and Joſephus too (9) ſpeak largely in commendation of its fruitfulneſs: and tho' ſomething may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to aſſert a thing, which all the world could eaſily contradict and diſprove. Nay there are even heathen authors who bear teſtimony to the fruitfulneſs of the land: tho' we preſume, that after the Babyloniſh captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo (1) deſcribes indeed the country about Jeruſalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecatæus (2) quoted by Joſephus giveth it the character of one of the beſt and moſt fertil countries. Tacitus (3) ſaith, that it raineth ſeldom, the ſoil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and beſides them the balſam and palm trees. And notwithſtanding the long deſolation of the land, there are ſtill viſible ſuch marks and tokens of fruitfulneſs, as may convince any man that it once deſerved the character, which is given of it in ſcripture. I would only refer the reader to two learned and ingenious travelers of our own nation, Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw; and he will fully be ſatisfied of the truth of what is here aſſerted.

The (4) former ſays, that " all along this day's travel (Mar. 25.) " from Kane Leban to Beer, and alſo as far as we could ſee round, " the country diſcovered a quite different face from what it had before; " preſenting nothing to the view in moſt places, but naked rocks, " mountains, and precipices. At ſight of which, pilgrims are apt to " be much aſtoniſhed and baulked in their expectations; finding that " country in ſuch an inhoſpitable condition, concerning whoſe plea- " ſantneſs and plenty they had before formed in their minds ſuch high " ideas from the deſcription given of it, in the word of God: inſomuch " that it almoſt ſtartles their faith when they reflect how it could be " poſſible for a land like this, to ſupply food for ſo prodigious a num- " ber of inhabitants, as are ſaid to have been polled in the twelve " tribes at one time; the ſum given in by Joab 2 Sam. XXIV, " amounting

(9) Ariſteas p. 13, 14. Edit. Hody. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. p. 1120. Edit. Hudſon.
(1) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 761. Edit. Par. p. 1104. Edit. Amſtel. p. 755. Edit. Par. p. 1095. Edit. Amſtel. p. 763. Edit. Par. p. 1106. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(2) Joſeph.

" amounting to no leſs than thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men,
" beſides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who
" is not a little biaſſed to infidelity before, may ſee, as he paſſes along,
" arguments enough to ſupport his faith againſt ſuch ſcruples. For
" it is obvious for any one to obſerve, that theſe rocks and hills muſt
" have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made
" to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no leſs than if
" the country had been all plain: nay perhaps much more; foraſmuch
" as ſuch a mountainous and uneven ſurface affords a larger ſpace of
" ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it
" were all reduced to a perfect level. For the huſbanding of theſe
" mountains, their manner was to gather up the ſtones, and place
" them in ſeveral lines, along the ſides of the hills, in form of a wall.
" By ſuch borders they ſupported the mold from tumbling or being
" waſhed down; and formed many beds of excellent ſoil, riſing
" gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the
" mountains. Of this form of culture you ſee evident footſteps,
" wherever you go in all the mountains of Paleſtine. Thus the very
" rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no ſpot of ground
" in this whole land, that was not formerly improved, to the produc-
" tion of ſomething or other, miniſtring to the ſuſtenance of human
" life. For than the plain countries nothing can be more fruitful,
" whether for the production of corn or cattle, and conſequently of
" milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle except goats,
" yet being diſpoſed into ſuch beds as are before deſcribed, ſerved
" very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and ſuch like
" garden ſtuff, which makes the principal food of theſe countries for
" ſeveral months in the year. The moſt rocky parts of all, which
" could not well be adjuſted in that manner for the production of
" corn, might yet ſerve for the plantation of wines and olive trees;
" which delight to extract, the one its fatneſs, the other its ſprightly
" juice, chiefly out of ſuch dry and flinty places. And the great
" plain joining to the dead ſea, which by reaſon of its ſaltneſs might
" be

(2) Joſeph. contra Apion, Lib. 1. Sect. 22. ——της αριςης και παμφορωτατης χωρας—optimi et feraciſſimi ſoli.——p. 1348. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Taciti Hiſt. Lib. 5. rari imbres, uber ſolum, exuberant fruges noſtrum ad morem, præterque eas, balſamum et palmæ.

(4) Maundrell, p. 64, &c. 5th Edit.

(5) Shaw's

" be thought unſerviceable both for cattle, corn, olives and vines,
" had yet its proper uſefulneſs for the nouriſhment of bees, and for
" the fabric of honey; of which Joſephus gives us his teſtimony,
" De Bell. Jud. Lib. 5, Cap. 4. And I have reaſon to believe it,
" becauſe when I was there, I perceived in many places a ſmell of
" honey and wax, as ſtrong as if one had been in an apiary. Why
" then might not this country very well maintain the vaſt number of
" its inhabitants, being in every part ſo productive of either milk,
" corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are the principal food of theſe
" eaſtern nations? the conſtitution of their bodies, and the nature of
" their clime, inclining them to a more abſtemious diet than we uſe
" in England, and other colder regions."

The (5) other aſſerts, that " the Holy Land, were it as well
" peopled and cultivated, as in former time, would ſtill be more fruit-
" ful than the very beſt part of the coaſt of Syria and Phœnice. For
" the ſoil itſelf is generally much richer, and all things conſidered,
" yields a more preferable crop. Thus the cotton that is gathered in
" the plains of Ramah, Eſdraelon and Zabulon, is in greater eſteem,
" than what is cultivated near Sidon and Tripoly; neither is it
" poſſible for pulſe, wheat or any ſort of grain, to be more excellent
" than what is commonly ſold at Jeruſalem. The barrenneſs or
" ſcarcity rather, which ſome authors may either ignorantly or mali-
" ciouſly complain of, does not proceed from the incapacity or na-
" tural unfruitfulneſs of the country, but from the want of inhabit-
" ants, and the great averſion there is to labor and induſtry in thoſe
" few who poſſeſs it. There are beſides ſuch perpetual diſcords and
" depredations among the petty princes, who ſhare this fine country,
" that allowing it was better peopled, yet there would be ſmall en-
" couragement to ſow, when it was uncertain, who ſhould gather in
" the harveſt. Otherwiſe the *land is a good land*, and ſtill capable
" of affording its neighbours the like ſupplies of corn and oil, which
" it is known to have done in the time of Solomon. The parts par-
" ticularly about Jeruſalem, being deſcribed to be rocky and
" mountainous, have been therefore ſuppoſed to be barren and un-
" fruitful.

(5) Shaw's Travels, p. 365, &c.

(6) As Biſhop Pearce obſerves, Is not this a miſtake in Dr. Shaw? The words are not of Moſes but

" fruitful. Yet granting this concluſion, which is far from being " juſt, a kingdom is not to be denominated barren or unfruitful " from one part of it only, but from the whole. Nay farther, the " bleſſing that was given to Judah, was not of the ſame kind with " the bleſſing of Aſher or of Iſſachar, that *his bread ſhould be fat*, " or *his land ſhould be pleaſant*, but that *his eyes ſhould be red with* " *wine, and his teeth ſhould be white with milk*, Gen. XLIX. 12. " Moſes alſo maketh milk and honey (the chief dainties and ſubſiſt- " ence of the earlier ages, as they continue to be of the Bedoween " Arabs) to be (6) *the glory of all lands:* all which productions are " either actually enjoyed, or at leaſt might be, by proper care and " application. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at preſent; yet " from the goodneſs of that little, which is ſtill made at Jeruſalem " and Hebron, we find that theſe barren rocks (as they are called) " might yield a much greater quantity, if the abſtemious Turk and " Arab would permit a farther increaſe and improvement to be made " of the vine, &c."

IV. Nothing can be a ſtronger or clearer proof of the divine inſpiration of the prophets, than their foretelling not only the outward actions, but even the inward diſpoſitions of men, many ages before thoſe men were in being. The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favor of their own nation; but yet they foretel the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, their diſbelief of the Meſſiah, and thereupon their rejection by God. We will not multiply quotations to this purpoſe. It will be ſufficient to produce one or two paſſages from the evangelical prophet Iſaiah. The 53d chapter is a moſt famous prophecy of the Meſſiah; and it begins with upbraiding the Jews for their unbelief, " Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm " of the Lord revealed?" which St. John (XII. 38.) and St. Paul (Rom. X. 16.) have expreſly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet aſſigns the reaſon too, why they would not receive the Meſſiah, namely becauſe of his low and afflicted condition: and it is very well known that they rejected him on this account, having all

but of Ezekiel, (XX. 6. 15.) and he does not ſeem to call the *milk and honey* the *glory of all lands*; but the *land*, which did abound with *milk and honey*, he rather calls *the glory of all lands*.

(1) De

along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer in great power and glory.

The prophet had before been commiſſioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and diſobedience, (VI. 9, &c.) "And he ſaid, Go ye and tell this people, (this people, *not* "my people) Hear ye indeed, but underſtand not; and ſee ye indeed, "but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make "their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes; leſt they ſee with their eyes, "and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their heart, and con-"vert, and be healed." In the ſtile of ſcripture the prophets are ſaid *to do* what they declare *will be done*: and in like manner Jeremiah is ſaid (I. 10.) to be "ſet over the nations, and over the king-"doms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw "down, to build and to plant;" becauſe he was authoriſed to make known the purpoſes and decrees of God, and becauſe theſe events would follow in conſequence of his prophecies. "Make the heart "of this people fat," is therefore as much as to ſay, "Denounce "my judgments upon this people, that their heart ſhall be fat, and "their ears heavy, and their eyes ſhut; leſt they ſee with their eyes, "and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their heart, and con-"vert, and be healed." This prophecy might relate in ſome meaſure to the ſtate of the Jews before the Babyloniſh captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour: and in this ſenſe it is underſtood and applied by the writers of the New Teſtament, and by our Saviour himſelf. The prophet is then informed, that this infidelity and obſtinacy of his countrymen ſhould be of long duration. "Then ſaid I, Lord, how long? And he anſwered, Until the cities "be waſted without inhabitant, and the houſes without man, and the "land be utterly deſolate, And the Lord have removed men far away, "and there be a great forſaking in the midſt of the land." Here is a remarkable gradation in the denouncing of theſe judgments. Not only Jeruſalem and *the cities ſhould be waſted without inhabitants*, but even the ſingle *houſes* ſhould be *without man*; and not only the *houſes* of the cities ſhould be *without man*, but even the country ſhould *be utterly deſolate*; and not only the people ſhould be removed out of the *land*, but *the Lord* ſhould *remove them far away*; and they ſhould not

not be removed for a ſhort period, but there ſhould be *a great* or rather *a long forſaking in the midſt of the land.* And hath not the world ſeen all theſe particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews labored under a ſpiritual blindneſs and infatuation in *hearing but not underſtanding*, in *ſeeing but not perceiving* the Meſſiah, after the accompliſhment of ſo many prophecies, after the performance of ſo many miracles? And in conſequence of their refuſing to *convert and be healed*, have not *their cities been waſted without inhabitant, and their houſes without man?* Hath not their *land been utterly deſolate?* Have they not been *removed far away* into the moſt diſtant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or baniſhment been now of near 1700 years duration? And do they not ſtill continue deaf and blind, obſtinate and unbelieving? The Jews, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, gloried in being the peculiar church and people of God: and would any Jew of himſelf have thought or have ſaid, that his nation would in proceſs of time become an infidel and reprobate nation, infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppreſſed by men, and forſaken by God? It was above 750 years before Chriſt, that Iſaiah predicted theſe things; and how could he have predicted them, unleſs he had been illuminated by the divine viſion; or how could they have ſucceeded accordingly, unleſs the ſpirit of prophecy had been the ſpirit of God?

V. Of the ſame nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could ſuch an event be foreſeen hundreds of years before it happened? but the prophets are full of the glorious ſubject, and ſpeak with delight and rapture of the univerſal kingdom of the Meſſiah; that "God would give unto him the "heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for "his poſſeſſion:" (Pſal. II. 8.) that "all the ends of the world ſhould "remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the "nations ſhould worſhip before him; (Pſal. XXII. 27.) that "in the "laſt days the mountain of the houſe of the Lord ſhould be eſtabliſhed "in the top of the mountains, and ſhould be exalted above the hills, "and all people ſhould flow unto it;" (Micah IV. 1.) which paſſage is alſo to be found in Iſaiah; (II. 2.) that "from the riſing of "the ſun even unto the going down of the ſame, my name ſhall be

" great among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered " unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name ſhall be great " among the heathen, ſaith the Lord of hoſts." (Mal. I. 11.) But the prophet Iſaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical ſubjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant acceſs of the Gentiles. " It is a " light thing that thou ſhouldſt be my ſervant to raiſe up the tribes " of Jacob, and to reſtore the preſerved of Iſrael: I will alſo give " thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayeſt be my ſalvation " unto the end of the earth. (XLIX. 6.) Ariſe, ſhine, for thy light is " come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen upon thee. The Gentiles " ſhall come to thy light, and kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing. " The abundance of the ſea ſhall be converted unto thee, the forces " of the Gentiles ſhall come unto thee, &c." (LX. 1, 3, 5, &c.)

It is as abſurd as it is vain in the Jews to apply theſe prophecies to the proſelytes whom they have gained among the nations; for the number of their proſelytes was very inconſiderable, and nothing to anſwer theſe pompous deſcriptions. Neither was their religion ever deſigned by its founder for an univerſal religion, their worſhip and ſacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; ſo that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was indeed to be a religion, which was deſigned for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what proſpect or probability was there, that ſuch a generous inſtitution ſhould proceed from ſuch a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles who hated and deſpiſed them ſhould ever receive a religion from them? Was it not much more likely, that they ſhould be corrupted by the example of all the nations around them, and be induced to comply with the polytheiſm and idolatry of ſome of their powerful neighbours and conquerors, to which they were but too much inclined of themſelves; was not this, I ſay, much more likely than that they ſhould be the happy inſtruments of reforming the world, and converting ſome of all nations to the worſhip of the one only God in ſpirit and in truth?

But

But the prophet farther intimates, that this great revolution, the greateſt that ever was in the religious world, ſhould be effected by a few incompetent perſons, and effected too in a ſhort compaſs of time. "A little one ſhall become a thouſand, and a ſmall one a ſtrong na-"tion: I the Lord will haſten it in his time." (LX. 22.) Our Saviour's commiſſion to his apoſtles was "Go, teach all nations:" and who were the perſons to whom this commiſſion was given? thoſe who were beſt qualified and able to carry it into execution? the rich, the wiſe, the mighty of this world? No, they were chiefly a few poor fiſhermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or addreſs, of no repute or authority, deſpiſed as Jews by the reſt of mankind, and as the meaneſt and worſt of Jews by the Jews themſelves. And what improper perſons were theſe to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the ſuperſtitions of the people, the intereſts of the prieſts, the vanity of philoſophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of the Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of Rome?

As this revolution was effected by a few incompetent perſons, ſo was it effected too in a ſhort compaſs of time. After our Saviour's aſcenſion "the number of the diſciples together was about an hundred and "twenty:" (Acts I. 15.) but they ſoon increaſed and multiplied; the firſt ſermon of St. Peter added unto them "about three thouſand "ſouls," (II. 41.) and the ſecond made up the number "about five "thouſand." (IV. 4.) Before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, in the ſpace of about forty years, the goſpel was preached in almoſt every region of the world then known: And in the reign of Conſtantine Chriſtianity became the religion of the empire; and after having ſuffered a little under Julian, it entirely prevailed and triumphed over paganiſm and idolatry; and ſtill prevails in the moſt civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foreſee, and much more than man could execute: and we experience the good effects of theſe prophecies at this day. The ſpeedy propagation of the goſpel could not have been effected by perſons ſo unequal to the taſk, if the ſame divine Spirit who foretold it, had not likewiſe aſſiſted them in it, according to the promiſe, "I the Lord will haſten it in his "time." We may be as certain as if we had ſeen it, that the truth

really

really was, as the evangeliſt affirms, (Mark XVI. 20.) " They went " forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and " confirming the word with ſigns following."

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor thoſe concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had " the uttermoſt parts of the earth for " his poſſeſſion :" (Pſal. II. 8.) " All the ends of the world" have not yet " turned unto the Lord :" (XXII. 27.) " All people, nations, " and languages," have not yet " ſerved him :" (Dan. VII. 14.) Theſe things have hitherto been only partially, but they will even litterally be fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made " an eternal ex- " cellency, a joy of many generations." (Iſ. LX. 15.) The time is not yet come, when " violence ſhall no more be heard in the land, " waſting nor deſtruction within their borders." (ver. 18.) God's promiſes to them are not yet made good in their full extent. " Behold, I " will take the children of Iſrael from among the heathen, whither " they be gone, and will gather them on every ſide, and bring them " into their own land. And they ſhall dwell in the land that I have " given unto Jacob my ſervant, even they and their children, and their " childrens children for ever, and my ſervant David ſhall be their " prince for ever." (Ezek. XXXVII. 21, 25.) " Then ſhall they " know that I am the Lord their God, who cauſed them to be led " into captivity among the heathen ; but I have gathered them unto " their own land, and have left none of them any more there. " Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured " out my ſpirit upon the houſe of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God." (XXXIX. 28, 29.) However what hath already been accompliſhed is a ſufficient pledge and earneſt of what is yet to come : and we have all imaginable reaſon to believe, ſince ſo many of theſe prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled alſo ; that there will be yet a greater harveſt of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be inlightened with the knowledge of the Lord ; that the Jews will in God's good time be converted to Chriſtianity, and upon their converſion be reſtored to their native city and country; and eſpecially ſince the ſtate of affairs is ſuch, that they may return without much difficulty, having no dominion, no ſettled country, or

fixed

fixed property to detain them much any where. We have ſeen the prophecy of Hoſea (III. 4, 5.) fulfilled in part, and why ſhould we not believe that it will be fulfilled in the whole? "The children of "Iſrael ſhall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, "and without a ſacrifice, and without an image" or altar, "and "without an ephod" or prieſt to wear an ephod, "and without tera-"phim" or divine manifeſtations. "Afterward ſhall the children "of Iſrael return, and ſeek the Lord their God, and David their "king, and ſhall fear the Lord and his goodneſs in the latter days."

We have now exhibited a ſummary view of the prophecies of the Old Teſtament more immediately relative to the preſent ſtate and condition of the Jews: and what ſtronger and more convincing arguments can you require of the truth both of the Jewiſh and of the Chriſtian religion? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and as St. Paul ſaith, (Rom. XI. 1.) "Hath God caſt away his people? God forbid." We ſee that after ſo many ages they are ſtill preſerved by a miracle of providence a diſtinct people; and why is ſuch a continual miracle exerted, but for the greater illuſtration of the divine truth, and the better accompliſhment of the divine promiſes, as well thoſe which are yet to be, as thoſe which are already fulfilled? We ſee that the great empires, which in their turns ſubdued and oppreſſed the people of God, are all come to ruin; becauſe tho' they executed the purpoſes of God, yet that was more than they underſtood; all that they intended was to ſatiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And if ſuch hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppreſſors of the Jews, let it ſerve as a warning to all thoſe, who at any time or upon any occaſion are for raiſing a clamor and perſecution againſt them. They are blameable no doubt for perſiſting in their infidelity after ſo many means of conviction; but this is no warrant or authority for us to proſcribe, to abuſe, injure, and oppreſs them, as Chriſtians of more zeal than either knowlege or charity have in all ages been apt to do. "Charity is greater than faith:" and it is worſe in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obſtinate and unbelieving. Perſecution is the ſpirit of popery, and in the worſt of popiſh countries the Jews are the moſt cruelly uſed and perſecuted: the ſpirit of proteſtantiſm is toleration and indulgence to weaker conſciences. Compaſſion

to

to this unhappy people is not to defeat the prophecies; for only wicked nations were to harraſs and oppreſs them, the good were to ſhow mercy to them; and we ſhould chooſe rather to be the diſpenſers of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments. Read the eleventh chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans, and ſee what the great apoſtle of the Gentiles, who certainly underſtood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do, ſaith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themſelves upon their ſuperior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who "were cut out of the olive-"tree which is wild by nature, and were graffed contrary to nature into "a good olive-tree," ſhould preſume to "boaſt againſt the natural "branches:" (ver. 24, 18.) but what would he have ſaid, how would he have flamed and lightened, if they had made religion an inſtrument of faction, and had been for ſtirring up a perſecution againſt them? We ſhould conſider, that to them we owe the oracles of God, the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament as well as the Old; we ſhould conſider, that "the glorious company of the apoſtles" as well as "the goodly fel-"lowſhip of the prophets" were Jews; we ſhould conſider, that "of "them as concerning the fleſh Chriſt came," the Saviour of the world: and ſurely ſomething of kindneſs and gratitude is due for ſuch infinite obligations. Tho' they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly caſt away. "Becauſe of unbelief," as St. Paul argues, (ver. 20.) "they were broken off, and thou ſtandeſt by faith; Be not high-"minded, but fear." There will be a time, when they will be graffed in again, and again become the people of God; for as the apoſtle proceeds, (ver. 25, 26.) "I would not brethren that ye ſhould be igno-"rant of this myſtery (leſt ye ſhould be wiſe in your own conceits) "that blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the "Gentiles be come in; and ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved." And which (think ye) is the moſt likely method to contribute to their converſion, which are the moſt natural means to reconcile them to us and our religion, prayer, argument, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs; or noiſe and invective, injury and outrage, the malice of ſome, and the folly and madneſs of more? They cannot be worſe than when they crucified the Son of God, and perſecuted his apoſtles: but what ſaith our Saviour? (Luke XXIII. 34.) "Father, forgive them, for they know not

"what

"what they do:" what ſaith his apoſtle St. Paul? (Rom. X. 1.) "Bre-
"thren, my heart's deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they
"might be ſaved." In conformity to theſe bleſſed examples our church hath alſo taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and perſecution conſiſt and agree together? They are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion, who encourage perſecution of any kind. All true ſons of the church, all true proteſtants, all true chriſtians will, as the apoſtle adviſeth, (Eph. IV. 31.) "put away
"all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil ſpeaking,
"with all malice;" and will join heart and voice in that excellent collect—"Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics,
"and take from them all ignorance, hardneſs of heart, and contempt of
"thy word: and ſo fetch them home, bleſſed Lord, to thy flock, that
"they may be ſaved among the remnant of the true Iſraelites, and be
"made one fold under one ſhepherd, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord."

IX.

The prophecies concerning NINEVEH.

AS the Jews were the peculiar people of God, the prophets were ſent to them chiefly, and the main ſubjects of the prophecies are the various changes and revolutions in the Jewiſh church and ſtate. But the ſpirit of prophecy is not limited there; other ſubjects are occaſionally introduced; and for the greater manifeſtation of the divine providence, the fate of other nations is alſo foretold: and eſpecially of thoſe nations, which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourſe and connections with the Jews; and whoſe good or ill fortune therefore was of ſome concern and conſequence to the Jews themſelves. But here it is greatly to be lamented, that of theſe

eaſtern nations and of theſe early times we have very ſhort and imperfect accounts; we have no regular hiſtories, but only a few fragments of hiſtory, which have eſcaped the general ſhipwrack of time. If we poſſeſſed the Aſſyrian hiſtory written by Abydenus, and the Chaldæan by Beroſus, and the Egyptian by Manetho; we might in all probability be better enabled to explain the preciſe meaning, and to demonſtrate the exact completion of ſeveral ancient prophecies: but for want of ſuch helps and aſſiſtances we muſt be glad of a little glimmering light, wherever we can ſee it. We ſee enough however, tho' not to diſcover the beauty and exactneſs of each particular, yet to make us admire in the general theſe wonders of providence, and to ſhow that the condition of cities and kingdoms hath been ſuch, as the prophets had long ago foretold. And we will begin with the inſtance of Nineveh.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Aſſyrian empire, and the Aſſyrians were formidable enemies to the kingdoms both of Iſrael and Judah. In the days of Menahem king of Iſrael Pul the king of Aſſyria invaded the land, and was bought off with a thouſand talents of ſilver. (2 Kings XV. 19.) A few years afterwards "in the days of "Pekah king of Iſrael came Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria, and "took *ſeveral cities*, and Gilead and Galilee, all the land of "Naphtali, and carried them captive to Aſſyria." (2 Kings XV. 29.) The ſame Tiglath-pileſer was invited by Ahaz king of Judah to come and aſſiſt him againſt Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Iſrael: "And Ahaz took the ſilver and gold that was found in the houſe of "the Lord, and in the treaſures of the king's houſe, and ſent it for "a preſent to the king of Aſſyria." (2 Kings XVI. 8.) The king of Aſſyria came accordingly to his aſſiſtance, and routed his enemies: but ſtill, as another ſacred writer ſaith, "diſtreſſed him, and ſtrengthened him not." (2 Chron. XXVIII. 20.) A little after in the days of Hoſhea king of Iſrael "Shalmaneſer the king of Aſſyria came up "throughout all the land," and after a ſiege of three years "took "Samaria, and carried Iſrael away into Aſſyria, and placed them in "Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of "the Medes." (2 Kings XVII. 5, 6.) It was "in the ſixth year of "Hezekiah" king of Judah, that Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria carried

Iſrael

Iſrael away captive: and "in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, "did Sennacherib king of Aſſyria come up againſt all the fenced cities "of Judah, and took them." (2 Kings XVIII. 10, 13.) And the king of Aſſyria exacted of the king of Judah "three hundred ta-"lents of ſilver, and thirty talents of gold;" ſo that even good king Hezekiah was forced to "give him all the ſilver that was found in the "houſe of the Lord, and in the treaſures of the king's houſe." (ver. 14, 15.) Sennacherib notwithſtanding ſent his captains "with a "great hoſt againſt Jeruſalem" (ver. 17:) but his army was miraculouſly defeated, and he himſelf was afterwards ſlain at Nineveh. (2 Kings XIX. 35, 36, 37.) His ſon Eſarhaddon compleated the deportation of the Iſraelites, "and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, "and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed "them in the cities of Samaria inſtead of the children of Iſrael; and "they poſſeſſed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." (2 Kings XVII. 24. Ezra IV. 2.) We ſee then that the Aſſyrians totally deſtroyed the kingdom of Iſrael, and greatly oppreſſed the kingdom of Judah: and no wonder therefore that they are made the ſubject of ſeveral prophecies.

The prophet Iſaiah denounceth the judgments of God againſt Sennacherib in particular, and againſt the Aſſyrians in general. "O Aſſy-"rian, the rod of mine anger," or rather, "Woe to the Aſſyrian, the "rod of mine anger." (X. 5.) God might employ them as the miniſters of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance; and ſo make the wickedneſs of ſome nations the means of correcting that of others: "I will ſend him againſt an hypocritical nation; and againſt "the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the ſpoil, "and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the "ſtreets." (ver. 6.) But it was far from any intent of theirs to execute the divine will, or to chaſtiſe the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conqueſts, and eſtabliſh their own dominion upon the ruins of others: "Howbeit he meaneth not ſo, neither doth his "heart think ſo, but it is in his heart to deſtroy, and cut off nations "not a few." (ver. 7.) Wherefore when they ſhall have ſerved the purpoſes of divine providence, they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neigh-

bours: "Wherefore it ſhall come to paſs, that when the Lord hath "performed his whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jeruſalem, I "will puniſh the fruit of the ſtout heart of the king of Aſſyria, and "the glory of his high looks." (ver. 12.) There was no proſpect of ſuch an event, while the Aſſyrians were in the midſt of their ſucceſſes and triumphs: but ſtill the word of the prophet prevailed; and it was not long after theſe calamities brought upon the Jews, of which we have given a ſhort deduction, that the Aſſyrian empire properly ſo called was overthrown, and Nineveh deſtroyed.

Nineveh, or Ninus, as it was moſt uſually called by the Greeks and Romans, was, as we ſaid before, the capital city of the Aſſyrian empire; and the capital is frequently put for the whole empire, the proſperity or ruin of the one being involved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, being built by Aſſhur or as others ſay by Nimrod; for thoſe words of Moſes (Gen. X. 11.) which our tranſlators together with moſt of the ancient verſions render thus, "Out of that land went "forth Aſſhur, and builded Nineveh," others tranſlate, as the (1) Chaldee paraphraſt tranſlates them, and as they are rendered in the margin of our bibles, "Out of that land he," that is Nimrod, the perſon ſpoken of before, "went forth into Aſſyria, and builded Nineveh." It is well known that the word *Aſſhur* in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of the man, and the prepoſition is often omitted, ſo that the words may very well be tranſlated "he went forth "into Aſſyria." And Moſes is here giving an account of the ſons of Ham, and it may ſeem foreign to his ſubject to intermix the ſtory of any of the ſons of Shem, as Aſſhur was. Moſes afterwards recounts the ſons of Shem, and Aſſhur among them; and it is preſumed that he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the ſeries of the genealogy and to the order of the hiſtory. But this notwithſtanding I incline to underſtand the text litterally as it is tranſlated, "Out of that land went forth Aſſhur," being

(1) De terra illa egreſſus eſt in Aſſyriam. Onk.

(2) עיר־גדולה לאלהים Deo magna civitas ωο ι; μεγαλη τω θεω. Sept.

(3) ωολυ δε μειζων ην της Βαβυλωνος. Ea multo major erat Babylone. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 737. Edit. Paris. p. 1071. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(4) —— εσπευδε τηλικαυτην κτισαι το μεγεθος ωολιν, ὡς τε μη μονον αυτην ειναι μεγιστην των τοτε ὑσων κατα ωασ ν την οικουμενην, αλλα μηδε των μεταγενεστερων ἑτερον επιβαλλομενον ῥαδιως ἀν ὑπερθεσθαι. tantæ quoque molis urbem condere feſtinabat, ut non modo omnium tunc in orbe terrarum maxima exiſteret, ſed etiam ut nemo poſt genitorum

being expelled thence by Nimrod, " and builded Nineveh" and other cities, in oppoſition to the cities which Nimrod had founded in the land of Shinar. And neither is it foreign to the ſubject, nor contrary to the order of the hiſtory, upon the mention of Nimrod's invading and ſeiſing the territories of Aſſhur, to relate whither Aſſhur retreated and where he fortified himſelf againſt him. But by whomſoever Nineveh was built, it might afterwards be greatly inlarged and improved by Ninus, and called after his name, whoever Ninus was, for that is altogether uncertain.

As it was a very ancient, ſo was it likewiſe a very great city. In Jonah it is ſtiled " that great city," (I. 2, III. 2,) " an exceeding great " city." (III. 3.) In the original it is (2) " a city great to God ;" in the ſame manner as Moſes is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apoſtles (VII. 20,) ασειος τω θεω " fair to God," or " exceeding fair," as our tranſlators rightly render it; and ſo " the mountains of God" (Pſal. XXXVI. 6.) are exceeding high mountains, and " the cedars of " God" (Pſal. LXXX. 10,) are exceeding tall cedars. It was therefore " an exceeding great city ;" and the ſcripture-account is confirmed by the teſtimony of heathen authors. Strabo (3) ſays, that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and (4) Diodorus Siculus from Cteſias affirms that ' its builder Ninus propoſed to build a city of ſuch mag-' nitude, that it ſhould not only be the greateſt of the cities which were ' then in all the world, but that none of thoſe who ſhould be born ' after that time attempting the like ſhould eaſily exceed it ;' and a little after he ſubjoins, that ' no body afterwards built ſuch a city, ' either as to the greatneſs of the compaſs, or as to the magnificence of ' the walls.' It is added in Jonah (III. 3.) that it was (5) " an exceeding " great city of three days journey," that is of three days journey in circuit, as St. Jerome and the beſt commentators expound it. Strabo, as it was obſerved before, hath ſaid that Nineveh was much larger than Babylon;

nitorum tale quid aggreſſus ipſum facile ſuperaret —— τηλικαυτην γαρ πολιν ουδεις υστερον εκτισε κατα τε το μεγεθος τε περιβολε, και την περι το τειχος μεγαλοπρεπειαν. A nullo enim poſtmodum urbs tanto ambitus ſpatio, tantaque magnificentia mœniûm exſtructa fuit. Diod. Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 91, 92. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Civitas magna, et tanti ambitus; ut vix trium dierum poſſet itinere circumiri. Hieron. Comment. in locum. p. 1486. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(6) τω

Babylon; and a little afterwards he ſays, that (6) the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs: but (7) Diodorus Siculus aſſerts that the whole circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs; which (8) make ſomewhat more than 60 miles, and 60 miles were three days journey, 20 miles a day being the common computation for a foot-traveler. It is farther ſaid in Jonah (IV. 11.) that in Nineveh "there were more than ſixſcore thouſand "perſons who could not diſcern between their right hand, and their left "hand, and alſo much cattle." I think it is (9) generally calculated that the young children of any place are a fifth part of the inhabitants; and if we admit of that calculation, the whole number of inhabitants in Nineveh amounted to above ſix hundred thouſand: which number will appear by no means incredible, if we conſider the dimenſions of the city as given by (1) Diodorus Siculus, that it was in length 150 furlongs, in breadth 90 furlongs, and in circuit 480 furlongs, that is 20 miles long, about 12 miles broad, and above 60 miles in compaſs. A city of ſuch dimenſions might eaſily contain ſuch a number of inhabitants, and many more: and at the ſame time there might be, as there are in moſt of the great cities of the eaſt, large vacant ſpaces for gardens or for paſture; ſo that there might be, as the ſacred text aſſerts there was, "alſo much cattle." But according to the (2) modern method of calculation the number of the Ninevites is reduced much lower. For allowing that the number of infants was one hundred and thirty thouſand, as the ſcripture ſaith that they were *more* than one hundred and twenty thouſand; yet theſe making but three tenths of the inhabitants, the number of citizens will appear to have amounted to four hundred and twenty three thouſand. London and Paris ſtand not upon one quarter of the ground, and yet are ſuppoſed to contain more inhabitants; London even more than the former calculation, and Paris more than the latter; it being (3) computed that in London there are about 725943 perſons, and about 437478 in Paris.

The

(6) τον δε κυκλον εχει τη τειχῃ τριακοσιων ογδοηκοντα πεντε ϛαδιων. muri ambitu CCCXXCV ſtadiorum. Strabo. ibid. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1072. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(7) τη συμπαντος περιβολη συνταθεντ© εκ ϛαδιων τετρακοσιων και ογδοηκοντα. Ambitus totus ſtadiis CCCCXXC conſtat. Lib. 2. p. 56. Edit. Steph. p. 92. Edit. Rhodoman.

(8)--Nini circuitus ſtadiorum fuiſſe CCCCLXXX, id eſt milliarium ſexaginta; quæ triduanum iter facient, ſi ſingulorum dierum iter æſtimes viginti milliaribus: quomodo definierunt non Juriſconſulti ſolum, ſed et Græcorum vetuſtiſſimi. Herodotus Lib. 5. Cap. 53. πεντηκοντα δε και εκατον ϛαδια επ' ἡμερῃ ἑκαστῃ διεξιησι, *centum et quinquaginta ſtadia unoquoque die peragrantibus.*

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like thoſe of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. Whereupon it pleaſed God to commiſſion the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the neceſſity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending deſtruction: and ſuch was the ſucceſs of his preaching, that both the king and the people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments. Who this king of Aſſyria was we cannot be certain, we can only make conjectures, his name being not mentioned in the book of Jonah. Archbiſhop (4) Uſher ſuppoſeth him to have been Pul the king of Aſſyria, who afterward invaded the kingdom of Iſrael, in the days of Menahem; (2 Kings XV. 19.) it being very agreeable to the methods of providence to make uſe of an heathen king who was penitent, to puniſh the impenitency of God's own people Iſrael. But it ſhould ſeem more probable, that this prince was one of the kings of Aſſyria, before any of thoſe who are mentioned in ſcripture. For Jonah is reckoned the moſt ancient of all the prophets uſually ſo called, whoſe writings are preſerved in the canon of ſcripture. We know that he propheſied of the reſtoration of the coaſts of Iſrael taken by the king of Syria, which was accompliſhed by Jeroboam the ſecond: (2 Kings XIV. 25.) and therefore Jonah muſt have lived before that time; and is with great reaſon ſuppoſed by biſhop Lloyd in his Chronological Tables to have propheſied at the latter end of Jehu's, or the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz, when the kingdom of Iſrael was reduced very low, and greatly oppreſſed by Hazael king of Syria. (2 Kings X. 32.) If he propheſied at that time, there intervened Jehoahaz's reign of ſeventeen years, Joaſh's reign of ſixteen years, Jeroboam's of forty and one years, Zachariah's of ſix months, Shallum's of one month, and Menahem was ſeated on the throne of Iſrael, before any mention is made of Pul the king of Aſſyria: and therefore we may reaſonably conclude from the diſtance of time, which was above ſeventy years, that Jonah was not ſent

vagrantibus. CL ſtadia ſunt viginti milliaria, &c. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 252.

(9) Bochart. ibid. Col. 253. Lowth's Comment. and Calmet's.

(1) ἐχει δὲ των μεν μακροτερων πλευρων ἑκατεραν ἡ πολις γ' σταδιων, των και βραχυτερων, ενενηκοντα. κ. τ. λ. Latus utrinque longius ad CL ſtadia excurrit; reliqua duo minora, XC obtinent, &c. Diod. Sic. ibid.

(2) Maitland's Hiſt. of London. Book 3. Chap. 2. p. 542.

(3) Maitland p. 541, et 548.

(4) See Uſher's Annals, A. M. 3233. p. 58. and Lowth's Comment.

(5) H

ſent to Pul the king of Aſſyria, but to one of his predeceſſors, tho' to whom particularly we are unable to diſcover, for the want before complained of, the want of Aſſyrian hiſtories, which no doubt would have related ſo memorable a tranſaction.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may preſume, was of no long continuance. For not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire deſtruction of the city; tho' there is no certainty of the time of Nahum's, any more than of Jonah's propheſying. Joſephus (5) ſaith that he floriſhed in the time of Jotham king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh came to paſs one hundred and fifteen years afterwards. St. Jerome (6) placeth him under Hezekiah, king of Judah, and ſaith that his name by interpretation is *a comforter*; for the ten tribes being carried away by the king of Aſſyria, this viſion was to comfort them in their captivity; nor was it a leſs conſolation to the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who remained in the land, and were beſieged by the ſame enemies, to hear that theſe conquerors would in time be conquered themſelves, their city be taken, and their empire overthrown. All that is ſaid of him in ſcripture is "Nahum the El-"koſhite," (Nahum I. 1.) which title in all probability was given him from the place of his nativity; and (7) St. Jerome ſuppoſeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were ſhown to him, when he traveled in thoſe parts. Now we learn from the ſacred hiſtory, (2 Kings XV. 29.) that the people of "Galilee were taken by "Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria, and carried captive into Aſſyria." It is not improbable therefore, that at that time this prophet, who was a Galilean, might be inſtructed to foretel the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham king of Judah, which is the time aſſigned for Nahum's propheſying by Joſephus. But if Joſephus was right in this particular, he was wrong in another; for more

(5) Ην δε τις κατα τουτον τον καιρον προφητης Ναουμος τ' ονομα. Erat autem quidem eo tempore vates, cui nomen Nahumus. συνεβη δε παντα τα προειρημενα περι Νινευης, μετα ετη ἑκατον και πεντεκαιδεκα. evenerunt autem omnia quæ de Nineveh prædicta ſunt centum et quindecim poſt annos. Joſ. Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. Sect. 3. p. 422, 423. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Naum, qui interpretatur *conſolator*. Jam enim decem tribus ab Aſſyriis deductæ fuerant in captivitatem ſub Ezechia rege Juda, ſub quo etiam nunc in conſolationem populi tranſmigrati, adverſum Nineven viſio cernitur. Nec erat parva conſolatio, tam his qui jam Aſſyriis ſerviebant, quam reliquis qui ſub Ezechia de tribu Juda et Benjamin ab iiſdem hoſtibus obſidebantur; ut audirent Aſſyrios quoque a Chaldæis eſſe capiendos, ſicut in conſequentibus hujus

more than one hundred and fifteen years intervened between the reign of Jotham king of Judah, and the deſtruction of Nineveh, as it is uſually computed by chronologers. There is one thing, which might greatly aſſiſt us in fixing the time of Nahum's propheſying; and that is the deſtruction of No-Amon or Dioſpolis in Egypt, which he mentions (Chap. III. 8, &c.) as a late tranſaction, if we could know certainly, when that deſtruction happened, or by whom it was effected. It is commonly attributed to Nebuchadnezzar; but that time is too late, and the deſtruction of No-Amon would fall out after the deſtruction of Nineveh inſtead of before it. Dr. Prideaux (8) with more reaſon believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched againſt Jeruſalem; and then Nahum's propheſying would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time aſſigned for it by St. Jerome.

But whenever it was that Nahum propheſied, he plainly and largely foretold the deſtruction of Nineveh; his whole prophecy relates to this ſingle event: and the city was accordingly deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. This point I think is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; theſe two rebelling and uniting together ſubverted the Aſſyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Aſſyria in whoſe reign it was taken, and even about the perſons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus (9) affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome after the Hebrew chronicle (1) aſſerts that it was taken by Nabuchodonoſor king of the Babylonians: but theſe accounts may eaſily be reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonoſor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did according to that which is written in the book of Tobit, (XIV. 15.) if the Aſſuerus in Tobit be the ſame (as there is great reaſon to think him the ſame) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus; "But before Tobias died, he heard of the deſtruction of

jus libri demonſtrabitur. Hieron. Prol. in Naum. p. 1558. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(7) Elceſi uſque hodie in Galilæa viculus, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans veſtigia; ſed tamen notus Judæis; et mihi quoque a circumducente monſtratus. Hieron. ibid. p. 1559.

(8) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 713. Hezek. 15.

(9) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(1) Hieron in Naum II. 12. p. 1574. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Seder Olam Rabba ſoli Nabuchodonoſoro rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonoſor ſubegit Nineven, id eſt, non diu poſt mortem patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon ſecuti ſunt S. Hieronymus, &c. Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

(2) συνεβη

" Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonoſor and Aſſuerus; and " before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh." Joſephus (2) who ſaith in one place that the empire of the Aſſyrians was diſſolved by the Medes, ſaith in another that the Medes and Babylonians diſſolved the empire of the Aſſyrians. Herodotus himſelf (3) ſaith that the Medes took Nineveh, and ſubdued the Aſſyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reaſon of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Cteſias, and after him (4) Diodorus Siculus aſcribe the taking of Nineveh, and the ſubverſion of the Aſſyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede aſſiſted by Beleſis the Babylonian. I know that (5) Euſebius, and after him ſeveral excellent chronologers, Uſher, Prideaux, and others reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the ſame city ſhould be twice deſtroyed, and the ſame empire twice overthrown, by the ſame people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this cataſtrophe, doth not mention the other; but ſaith expreſly, (6) that Arbaces diſtributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, leveled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and ſilver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes; and ſo, ſaith he, the empire of the Aſſyrians was ſubverted. If there is ſome difficulty in diſcovering the perſons by whom Nineveh was taken, there is more in aſcertaining the king of Aſſyria in whoſe reign it was taken, and more ſtill in fixing the time when it was taken, ſcarce any two chronologers agreeing in the ſame date: but as theſe things are hardly poſſible to be known, ſo neither are they neceſſary to be known, with preciſion and exactneſs; and we may

(2) συνεβη την των Ασσυριων αρχην ὑπο Μηδων καταλυθηναι. Aſſyriorum imperium a Medis everſum iri contigit. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 435. ——Μηδυς και τυς Βαβυλωνιυς, οι την Ασσυριων κατελυσαν αρχην. Medos et Babylonios, qui Aſſyriorum everterant imperium. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) και την τε Νινον εἱλον, και τὰς Ασσυριυς ὑποχειριυς εποιησανλο, πλην της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης. et Ninum expugnaverunt, Aſſyrioſque, excepta Babylonica portione, ſubegerunt. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 78. Edit. Steph. p. 110. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Euſebius (more ſuo) utramque ſententiam in Canonem retulit: ad mentem Cteſiæ, *Arbaces Medus*, ait, Num. 1197. *Aſſyriorum imperio deſtructo, regnum in Medos tranſtulit.* Dein (poſt annos 213) ex auctoritate Herodoti, Num. 1410. *Cyaxares Medus ſubvertit Ninum.* Iſta autem ασυτατα ſunt. Marſhami Chronicon. Sæc. XVIII. p. 556.

(6) ὁ δ' ων Αρβακης τοις κατα την πολιν επιεικως προσενεχθεις, αυτυς μεν κατα κωμας διωκισε,——την δε πολιν εις εδαφος κατεσκαψεν. επειτα τον τε αργυρον και χρυσον,——πολλων οντα ταλαντων, απεκομισε της Μηδιας εις Εκβατανα. ἡ μεν ων ἡγεμονια των Ασσυριων——ὑπο Μηδων κατελυθη τον προειρημενον τροπον. Simili quoque lenitate erga cives uſus, quamvis in pagos eos diſtraheret:—urbem autem ſolo æquavit.

may ſafely leave them among the uncertainties of ancient hiſtory and chronology.

It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that Nineveh was taken and deſtroyed according to the predictions: and Nahum foretold not only the thing, but alſo the manner of it. Herodotus promiſed to relate in his Aſſyrian hiſtory how Nineveh was taken; (7) the Medes took Nineveh, ſaith he, but how they took it, I will ſhow in another work. Again afterwards he mentions his deſign of writing the Aſſyrian hiſtory. Speaking of the kings of Babylon he ſaith, (8) of theſe I ſhall make mention in the Aſſyrian hiſtory. But to our regret this hiſtory was never finiſhed, or is loſt. More probably it was never finiſhed, for otherwiſe ſome or other of the ancients would have mentioned it. If it had been extant with his other works, it would in all probability have been of great ſervice in illuſtrating ſeveral paſſages in Nahum's prophecies. It is however ſomething fortunate, that we can in ſome meaſure ſupply this loſs out of Diodorus Siculus. Nahum propheſies, that the Aſſyrians ſhould be taken while they were drunken, (I. 10.) "For while they be folden "together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they "ſhall be devoured as ſtubble full dry:" and (9) Diodorus relates, that 'it was while all the Aſſyrian army were feaſting for their former 'victories, that thoſe about Arbaces being informed by ſome deſerters 'of the negligence and drunkenneſs in the camp of the enemies, 'aſſaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling orderly on them 'diſorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, became maſters of the 'camp, and ſlew many of the ſoldiers, and drove the reſt into the city.'

æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum—(multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam tranſtulit. Hoc ergo modo Aſſyriorum imperium—a Medis everſum eſt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Και την τε Νινον είλον (ὡς δε είλον, εν ετεροισι δηλωσω.) et Ninum expugnaverunt: (ut autem ceperint, in aliis mox ſcriptis indicabo.) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(8) των εν τοισι Ασσυριοισι λογοισι μνημην ποιησομαι. quorum in exponendis rebus Aſſyriis mentionem faciam. Lib. 1. Cap. 184. p. 76. Edit. Gale. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Fabricius Bib. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 20.

(9) διοπερ της δυναμεως ἁπασης ἐστιωμενης, οἱ περι τον Αρβακην παρα τινων αυτομολων πυθομενοι την εν τη παρεμβολη των πολεμιων ῥαθυμιαν, και μεθην, νυκτος απροσδοκητως την επιθεσιν εποιησαντο, προσπιεσοντες δε ζυντεταγμενοι μεν ασυνταικτοις, ἑτοιμοι δε απαρασκευοις, της τε παρεμβολης εκρατησαν, καιτων γρατιωτων πολλους ανηλουτες, τους αλλους μεχρι της πολεως κατεδιωξαν. Toto igitur exercitu conviviis indulgente, Arbaces per transfugas de negligentia et ebrietate hoſtium edoctus, noctu ex improviſo illos opprimit. Et quoniam compoſiti incompoſitos, parati imperatos invadebant, facile et craſtra expugnant, et vaſtam hoſtium ſtragem edunt, et reliquos in urbem compellunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 112. Edit. Rhod.

(1) ην

Nahum foretels (II. 6.) that " the gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, " and the palace ſhall be diſſolved :" and (1) Diodorus informs us, ' that ' there was an old prophecy, that Nineveh ſhould not be taken, till the ' river became an enemy to the city ; and in the third year of the ſiege, ' the river being ſwoln with continual rains overflowed part of the city, ' and broke down the wall for 20 furlongs ; then the king thinking that ' the oracle was fulfilled and the river become an enemy to the city, ' built a large funeral pyle in the palace, and collecting together all his ' wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himſelf and the palace ' with them all ; and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had ' made, and took the city.' What was predicted in the firſt chapter (ver. 8.) was therefore litterally fulfilled, " With an overrunning flood " he will make an utter end of the place thereof." Nahum promiſes the enemy much ſpoil of gold and ſilver, (II. 9.) " Take ye the ſpoil " of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold ; for there is no end of the ſtore, " and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture :" and we read in (2) Diodorus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and ſilver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes. According to Nahum (I. 8. III. 15.) the city was to be deſtroyed by fire and water ; and we ſee in Diodorus, that by fire and water it was deſtroyed.

But Nahum is cited upon this occaſion principally to ſhow, that he foretold the total and entire deſtruction of this city. " The Lord," ſaith he in the firſt chapter, (ver. 8, 9.) " with an overrunning flood will ' make an utter end of the place thereof ; he will make an utter end ; " affliction ſhall not riſe up the ſecond time." Again in the ſecond chapter, (ver. 11, 13.) " Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the " feeding place of the young lions?" meaning Nineveh whoſe princes ravaged

(1) ην δ' αυτῳ λογιον παραδεδομενον εκ προγονων, ὁτι την Νινον υδεις ἑλη κατα κρατος, εαν μη προτερον ὁ ποταμος τη πολει γενηται πολεμιος.——τῳ τριτῳ δ' ετει ζυνεχως ομβρων βαγδαιων καταῤῥαγεντων, ζυηϑη τον Ευφρατην [Τιγριν] μεγαν γενομενον κατακλυσαι τε μερος της πολεως, και καταβαλειν το τειχος επι σταδιους εικοσιν. ενταυϑα ὁ βασιλευς νομισας τετελεσϑαι τον χρησμον, και τη πολει τον πολεμον γεγονεναι φανερως πολεμιον, απεγνω την ζωτηριαν. ἱνα δη μη τοις πολεμιοις γενηται ὑποχειριος, πυραν εν τοις βασιλειοις κατεσκευασεν ὑπερμεγεϑη, και τον τε χρυσον και τον αργυρον ἁπαντα, προς δε τυτοις την βασιλικην εσϑητα πασαν επι ταυτην εσωρευσε. τας δε παλλακιδας και τους ευνυχους ζυγκλεισας εις τον εν μεσῃ τῃ πυρᾳ κατεσκευασμενον οικον, ἁμα τυτοις ἁπασιν ἑαυτον τε και τα βασιλεια κατεκαυσεν. οἱ δ' αποσταται, πυϑομενοι την απολειαν Σαρδαναπαλυ, της μεν πολεως εκρατησαν, εισπεσοντες κατα το πεπτωκος μερος τυ τειχους. Atqui vaticinium a majoribus traditum habebat ; A nullo capi Ninum poſſe, niſi fluvius urbi prius hoſtis evaderet—Tertio demum anno accidit, ut Euphrates [Tigris] continuis imbrium graviſſimorum tempeſtatibus excreſcens, urbis partem inundaret, et murum ad ſtadia XX dejiceret. Tum vero finem habere oraculum, amnemque manifeſte urbi hoſtem eſſe, rex judicans, ſpem ſalutis abjecit. Itaque ne in hoſtium manus perveniret, rogum in regia ingentem extruxit ;

ravaged like lions: "behold, I am againſt thee ſaith the Lord of hoſts, "and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy "meſſengers ſhall no more be heard." And again in the third and laſt chapter, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) "Thy crowned are as the locuſts, and thy "captains as the great graſhoppers, which camp in the hedges in the "cold day; but when the ſun ariſeth, they flee away, and their "place is not known where they are, *or have been*; thy ſhepherds "ſlumber, O king of Aſſyria; thy nobles ſhall dwell in the duſt; thy "people is ſcattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them: "there is no healing of thy bruiſe; thy wound is grievous; all that "hear the bruit of thee ſhall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom "hath not thy wickedneſs paſſed continually?" The prophet Zephaniah likewiſe in the days of Joſiah king of Judah foretold the ſame ſad event, (II. 13, 14, 15.) "The Lord will ſtretch out his hand againſt "the north, and deſtroy Aſſyria, and will make Nineveh a deſolation, "and dry like a wilderneſs: and flocks ſhall lie down in the midſt of "her, all the beaſts of the nations; both the cormorant and the "bittern ſhall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice ſhall ſing "in the windows; deſolation ſhall be in the threſholds; for he ſhall "uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt care-"leſly, that ſaid in her heart, I am, and there is none beſide me; how "is ſhe become a deſolation, a place for beaſts to lie down in! every "one that paſſeth by her, ſhall hiſs and wag his hand." But what probability was there that the capital city of a great kingdom, a city which was ſixty miles in compaſs, a city which contained ſo many thouſand inhabitants, a city which had walls, according to (3) Diodorus Siculus, a hundred feet high, and ſo thick that three chariots could go abreaſt upon them, and fifteen hundred towers at proper diſtances in

truxit; quo aurum et argentum omne, et quicquid erat regii veſtimenti, congeſſit. Tum concubinis et eunuchis in domunculam, quam in medio pyræ exſtruxerat, concluſis, ſe regiamque cum illis omnibus incendio abſumpſit. Cujus interitum cum audiſſent, qui a rege defecerant, per collapſam muri partem ingreſſi, urbem ceperunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 113. Edit. Rhod.

(2) ετειτα τον τε αργυρον καν χρυσον τον εκ της πυρας ὑπολειφθεντα, πολλων οντα ταλαντων. απεκομισε της Μηδιας εις Εκβαταια. Tum quicquid argenti aurique ex pyra reſtabat (multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam tranſtulit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

(3) Το μεν γαρ ὑψος ειχε το τειχος πηχων εκατον, το δε πλατος τριτιν ἁρμασιν ἱππασιμον ην. οι δε ζυμπαντες πυργοι τον μεν αριθμον ησαν χιλιοι πεντακοσιοι. το δ' ὑψος ειχον πηχων διακοσιαν. Nam murus ad C pedum altitudinem exſurgebat, et ad trium latitudinem curruum junctim agitandorum porrectus erat. Turres in eo MD ducentos pedes altæ. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 92. Edit. Rhod.

(4) Diod.

in the walls of two hundred feet in highth: what probability was there, I ſay, that ſuch a city ſhould ever be totally deſtroyed? and yet ſo totally was it deſtroyed, that the place is hardly known where it was ſituated.

We have ſeen that it was taken and deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians: and what we may ſuppoſe helped to complete its ruin and devaſtation was Nebuchadnezzar's ſoon afterwards inlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the ſacred writers; and the moſt ancient of the heathen authors, who have occaſion to ſay any thing about it, ſpeak of it as a city that was once great and floriſhing, but now deſtroyed and deſolate. Great as it was formerly, ſo little of it was remaining, that authors are not agreed even about its ſituation. I think we may conclude from the general ſuffrage of ancient hiſtorians and geographers, that it was ſituated upon the river Tigris; but yet no leſs authors than (4) Cteſias and Diodorus Siculus repreſent it as ſituated upon the river Euphrates. Nay authors differ not only from one another, but alſo from themſelves. For the learned (5) Bochart hath ſhown that Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, all three ſpeak differently of it, ſometimes as if it was ſituated upon the river Tigris, and ſometimes as if it was ſituated upon the river Euphrates. So that to reconcile theſe authors with themſelves and with others, it is ſuppoſed by (6) Bochart that there were two Ninevehs, and by (7) Sir John Marſham that there were three; the Syrian upon the river Euphrates, the Aſſyrian upon the river Tigris, and a third built afterwards upon the Tigris by the Perſians, who ſucceeded the Parthians in the empire of the eaſt in the third century, and were ſubdued by the Saracens in the ſeventh century after Chriſt: but whether this latter Nineveh was built in the ſame place as old Nineveh is a queſtion that cannot be decided. Lucian, (8) who floriſhed in the ſecond century after Chriſt, affirms that Nineveh was utterly periſhed,

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. et p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 113. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 248, 249.

(6) Non video hæc aliter poſſe conciliari, quam ſi dicatur duplex fuiſſe Ninus; una ad Euphratem in Comagenâ; altera in Aſſyria trans Tigrim &c. Bochart. Ibid.

(7) Eſt igitur (in veterum ſcriptis) Ninus triplex, Syriaca, Aſſyriaca, et Perſica, &c. Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

(8) Η Νινος απολωλεν ηδη, και ουδεν ιχνος ετι λοιπον αυτης, ουδ' αν ειπης; ὁπου ποτ' ην. Ninus jam eſt everſa, ita ut ne reliquum quidem ſit ejus veſtigium, nec ubi olim ſita fuerit, facile dixeris. Luciani Επισκ. vel Contemplantes, prope finem.

(9) Benjamin

periſhed, and there was no footſtep of it remaining, nor could you tell where once it was ſituated: and the greater regard is to be paid to Lucian's teſtimony, as he was a native of Samoſata, a city upon the river Euphrates, and coming from a neighbouring country he muſt in all likelihood have known whether there had been any remains of Nineveh or not. There is at this time a city called Moſul, ſituate upon the weſtern ſide of the river Tigris, and on the oppoſite eaſtern ſhore are ruins of a great extent, which are ſaid to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela, (9) who wrote his Itinerary in the year of Chriſt 1173, informs us, that there is only a bridge between Moſul and Nineveh; this latter is laid waſte, yet hath it many ſtreets and caſtles. But another, who wrote in 1300, aſſerts that Nineveh at preſent is totally laid waſte, but by the ruins which are ſtill to be ſeen there, we may firmly believe that it was one of the greateſt cities in the world. The ſame thing is atteſted by later travelers, and particularly by (1) Thevenot, upon whoſe authority Prideaux relates that "Moſul "is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the river Tigris, where was anciently "only a ſuburb of the old Nineveh, for the city itſelf ſtood on the eaſt-"ſide of the river, where are to be ſeen ſome of its ruins of great ex-"tent even to this day." Tavernier likewiſe (2) affirms, that "croſs "the Tigris, which hath a ſwift ſtream and whitiſh water, whereas "Euphrates runs ſlow and is reddiſh, you come to the ancient city "Nineveh, which is now an heap of rubbiſh only, for a league along "the river, full of vaults and caverns." Mr. (3) Salmon, who is an induſtrious collector and compiler from others, ſaith in his account of Aſſyria, "In this country the famous city of Nineveh once ſtood, on "the eaſtern bank of the river Tigris, oppoſit to the place where Moſul "now ſtands—There is nothing now to be ſeen but heaps of rubbiſh, "almoſt a league along the river Tigris, overagainſt Moſul, which peo-

"ple

(9) Benjamin Tudelenſis (qui ſcripſit Itinerarium anno Xti 1173) *Inter Almozal*, ait (p. 62.) *et Nineven pons tantum intercedit: Hæc devaſtata eſt: attamen multos pagos et arces habet.* At vero Haiton Armenius (De Tartar. C. 11. P. 406.) (anno 1300) *Iſta civitas (Nineve) ad præſens eſt totaliter devaſtata.* Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 558. *Sed per ea, quæ adhuc ſunt apparentia in eadem, firmiter credi poteſt quod fuerit una ex majoribus civitatibus hujus mundi.* Idem apud Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 255.

(1) Thevenot's Travels. Part. 2. Book 1. Chap. 11. p. 50. Prideaux's Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 612. Joſiah 29.

(2) Tavernier in Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap 4.

(3) Salmon's Modern Hiſt. Vol. 1. Chap. 12. Preſent ſtate of the Turkiſh Empire. Quarto.

(1) περι-

" ple imagin to be the remains of this vaſt city." But it is more than probable that theſe ruins are the remains of the Perſian Nineveh, and not of the Aſſyrian. *Ipſæ periere ruinæ*: Even the ruins of old Nineveh have been, as I may ſay, long ago ruined and deſtroyed: ſuch *an utter end* hath been made of it, and ſuch is the truth of the divine predictions!

This perhaps may ſtrike us the more ſtrongly by ſuppoſing only a parallel inſtance. Let us then ſuppoſe, that a perſon ſhould come in the name of a prophet, preaching repentance to the people of this kingdom, or otherwiſe denouncing the deſtruction of the capital city within a few years; " with an over-running flood will God make an " utter end of the place thereof, he will make an utter end; its place " may be ſought, but it ſhall never be found." I preſume we ſhould look upon ſuch a prophet as a madman, and ſhow no farther attention to his meſſage than to deride and deſpiſe it: and yet ſuch an event would not be more ſtrange and incredible than the deſtruction and devaſtation of Nineveh. For Nineveh was much the larger, and much the ſtronger, and older city of the two; and the Aſſyrian empire had ſubſiſted and floriſhed more ages than any form of government in this country: ſo that you cannot object the inſtability of the eaſtern monarchies in this caſe. Let us then, ſince this event would not be more improbable and extraordinary than the other, ſuppoſe again, that things ſhould ſucceed according to the prediction, the floods ſhould ariſe, and the enemy ſhould come, the city ſhould be overflown and broken down, be taken and pillaged, and deſtroyed ſo totally, that even the learned could not agree about the place where it was ſituated. What would be ſaid or thought in ſuch a caſe? Whoever of poſterity ſhould read and compare the prophecy and event together, muſt they not by ſuch an illuſtrious inſtance be thoroughly convinced of the providence of God, and of the truth of his prophet, and be ready to acknowlege, " Verily this is the word that the Lord hath ſpoken, Ve- " rily there is a God who judgeth the earth!"

X. *The*

(1) περιβαλετο τειχος τη πολει σαδιων τριακοσιων εξηκοντα. CCCLX ſtadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII ſtadia complectitur. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(2) κειται εν πεδιῳ μεγαλῳ, μεγαθος ευσα, μειωπον εκαστον, εικοσι και εκατον σαδιων, ευσης τετραγωνε. ὁποι σαδιοι της περιοδε της πολιος γινονται συναπασες ογδωκονλα και τετρακοσιοι. oppidum

X.

The prophecies concerning BABYLON.

AFTER Nineveh was deſtroyed, Babylon became the queen of the eaſt. They were both equally enemies to the people of God; the one ſubverted the kingdom of Iſrael, and the other the kingdom of Judah; the one carried away the ten tribes, and the other the two remaining tribes into captivity. No wonder therefore that there are ſeveral prophecies relating to each of theſe cities, and that the fate of Babylon is foretold as well as of Nineveh. As Jeremiah ſaid, (L. 17, 18.) "Iſrael is a ſcattered ſheep, the lions have "driven him away; firſt the king of Aſſyria hath devoured him, and "laſt this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: "Therefore thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts the God of Iſrael, Behold, I "will puniſh the king of Babylon and his land, as I have puniſhed "the king of Aſſyria."

Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned leſs than Nineveh; for according to Strabo (who was cited in the laſt diſcourſe) it was only 385 furlongs in compaſs, or 360 according to (1) Diodorus Siculus, or 368 according to Quintus Curtius: but (2) Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, repreſents it of the ſame dimenſions as Nineveh, that is 480 furlongs or above 60 miles in compaſs; but the difference was, that Nineveh was conſtructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact ſquare, each ſide being 120 furlongs in length. So that according to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by multiplying the ſides the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13500 furlongs, and that Babylon contained 14400. It was too as ancient,

dum ſitum eſt in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo verſus centenûm vicenûm ſtadiorum, in ſumma quadringentorum et octoginta, in circuitu quatuor latērum urbis. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(3) Semiramis

or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moſes ſpeaking of Nimrod (Gen. X. 10.) it was "the beginning of his kingdom," that is the firſt city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors ſay that Semiramis, but moſt (as (3) Quintus Curtius aſſerts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the ſame as Nimrod. But whoever was the firſt founder of this city, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired, and inlarged, and beautified it to ſuch a degree, that he may in a manner be ſaid to have built it; as he boaſted himſelf (Dan. IV. 30.) "Is not this great Babylon that I "have built for the houſe of the kingdom, by the might of my power, "and for the honor of my majeſty?" Nor is this aſſerted only in ſcripture, but is likewiſe atteſted by heathen authors, Megaſthenes, Beroſus, and Abydenus, whoſe words are quoted by (4) Joſephus and Euſebius. By one means or other Babylon became ſo great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in ſcripture (Dan. IV. 30.) "great Babylon;" (Iſ. XIII. 19.) "the glory of "kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency;" (Iſ. XIV. 4.) "the golden city;" (Iſ. XLVII. 5.) "the lady of kingdoms;" (Jer. LI. 13.) "abundant in treaſures;" (Jer. LI. 41.) "the praiſe "of the whole earth:" and its beauty, ſtrength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river in the ſeaſons of its overflowings, are deſcribed with ſuch pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deſervedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fulleſt and beſt account of theſe things in Engliſh is to be found in the ſecond book of that very valuable and very uſeful work, Dr. Prideaux's Connection. Tho' Babylon was ſeated in a low watry plain, yet in ſcripture (Jer. LI. 25.) it is called a "mountain" on account of the great highth of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and (5) Beroſus ſpeaking of ſome of

(3) Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus. Quint. Curt. ibid.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11, Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudſon. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

(5) την οψιν αποδες ομοιοτατην τοις ορεσι——quibus ſpeciem dedit montibus perſimilem. Joſeph. Antiq. ibid.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 179. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(7) Herod. ibid. Cap. 178. Prideaux ibid.

(8) ὡσι

of its buildings, ſaith that they appeared moſt like mountains. Its "gates of braſs" and its "broad walls" are particularly mentioned in ſcripture: (Iſ. XLV. 2. Jer. LI. 58.) and the city (6) had an hundred gates, 25 on each ſide, all made of ſolid braſs: and its walls according to (7) Herodotus were 350 feet in highth, and 87 in thickneſs, and ſix chariots could go abreaſt upon them, as (8) Diodorus affirms after Cteſias.

Such a city as this, one would imagin, was in no danger of being totally abandoned, and coming to nought. Such a city as this might ſurely with leſs vanity than any other, boaſt that ſhe ſhould continue for ever, if any thing human could continue for ever. So ſhe vainly gloried, (Iſ. XLVII. 7, 8.) "I ſhall be a lady for ever; I am, and "none elſe beſide me; I ſhall not ſit as a widow, neither ſhall I know "the loſs of children." But the prophets Iſaiah and Jeremiah plainly and particularly foretold the deſtruction of this city. They lived during the declenſion of the kingdom of Judah; and as they predicted the captivity of the Jews, ſo they likewiſe foretold the downfall of their enemies: and they ſpeak with ſuch aſſurance of the event, that they deſcribe a thing future as if it were already paſt. (Iſ. XXI. 9.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods "he hath broken unto the ground. (Jer. LI. 8.) Babylon is ſuddenly "fallen and deſtroyed; howl for her, take balm for her pain, if ſo "be ſhe may be healed." It is ſomewhat remarkable, that one of Iſaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is intitled (XXI. 1.) "the "burden of the deſert of the ſea," or rather "of the plain of the ſea," for Babylon was ſeated in a plain, and ſurrounded by water. The propriety of the expreſſion conſiſts in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental ſtile is called *a ſea*, but alſo that the places about Babylon, as (9) Abydenus informs us out of Megaſthenes, are ſaid from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the ſea*.

 Cyrus,

(8) ὡστε το μεν πλατος εινα των τειχων ἐξ αρμασιν ἱπποσιμον. ut mænium latitudo ſex juxta curribus vehendis ſufficeret. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 96. Edit. Rhod.

(9) λεγεται δε παντα μεν ἐξ αρχης ὑδωρ ειναι, θαλασσαν καλεομενην. Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuiſſe, mariſque nomine appellata. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

(1) —Omnem

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Perſians, was particularly foretold by name (Iſ. XLIV. 28. XLV. 1.) above an hundred years before he was born. He is honored with the appellation of "the Lord's anointed," and the Lord is ſaid to "have holden his "right hand," and to have "girded him:" (Iſ. XLV. 1, 5.) and he was raiſed up to be an inſtrument of providence for great purpoſes, and was certainly a perſon of very extraordinary endowments, tho' we ſhould allow that Xenophon had a little exceeded the truth, and had drawn his portrait beyond the reality. It was promiſed that he ſhould be a great conqueror, ſhould "ſubdue nations before him, (Iſ. "XLV. 1.) and I will looſe the loins of kings to open before him the "two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut:" and he ſubdued ſeveral kings, and took ſeveral cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his (1) conqueſts over all Aſia from the river Indus to the Ægean ſea. It was promiſed that he ſhould find great ſpoil and treaſure among the conquered nations; (Iſ. XLV. 3.) "I will give thee the "treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places:" and the riches which Cyrus found in his conqueſts amounted to a prodigious value in (2) Pliny's account; nor can we wonder at it, for thoſe parts of Aſia at that time abounded in wealth and luxury: Babylon had been heaping up treaſures for many years; and the riches of Crœſus king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took priſoner, are in a manner become proverbial.

The time too of the reduction of Babylon was marked out by the prophet Jeremiah, (XXV. 11, 12.) "Theſe nations" (that is the Jews and the neighbouring nations) "ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon ſeventy "years; And it ſhall come to paſs when ſeventy years are ac-"compliſhed, that I will puniſh the king of Babylon, and that nation, "ſaith the Lord." This prophecy was delivered, as it appears from the

(1) —omnem Aſiam ab India uſque ad Ægeum mare. Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 587.

(2) Plin. Lib. 33. Cap. 15. Edit. Harduin.

(3) See Prideaux and other chronologers.

(4) *Elam* eſt Perſis, et cum Media ſæpius conjungitur.—*Perſarum* nomen, ante captivitatem Babylonicam, obſcurum fuit. Ezechiel primus, inter belli-coſas gentes, illos recenſet, (27 : 10. & 38 : 5.) quum nondum innotuerant res Cyri. A Cyro demum natione Persâ, et victoriis inclyto, Perſarum gloria increbuit. Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 564.

(5) At Perſis ipſis nomen fuit ab equitatu, qua maxime valebant, equitare a teneris edocti.—Quâ tamen

the firſt verſe of the chapter, " in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the ſon " of Joſiah king of Judah, that was the firſt year of Nebuchadnez- " zar king of Babylon:" and from that time there were (3) 70 years to the taking of Babylon and the reſtoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had tranſplanted the Jews to Babylon to people and ſtrengthen the place, and their removal from thence muſt have weakened it very much; and after that it was diſtreſſed more and more, till at laſt it was brought to nought.

Several circumſtances likewiſe of the ſiege and taking of Babylon were preſignified by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would ſtir up the Medes and Perſians againſt it; " Go up O Elam," that is Perſia, (Iſ. XXI. 2.) " beſiege O Media;" and (Jer. LI. 11.) " the " Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the kings of the Medes, for his de- " vice is againſt Babylon to deſtroy it:" And accordingly it was beſieged by the united forces of the Medes and Perſians under the command of Cyrus the Perſian, the nephew and ſon-in-law of the king of the Medes. The Medes are chiefly ſpoken of, as they were at that time the ſuperior people. The *Medes* is too a general name for both nations, and ſo it is uſed and applied by ſeveral Greek hiſtorians as well as by the ſacred writers. *Elam* (4) was an old name for *Perſia*, for the name of *Perſia* doth not appear to have been known in Iſaiah's time; Ezekiel is the firſt who mentions it. And (5) Bochart aſſerts, that the *Perſians* were firſt ſo named from their becoming *horſemen* in the time of Cyrus, the ſame word ſignifying both a Perſian and a horſeman. Or if by *Elam* we underſtand the province ſtrictly ſo called, it is no leſs true that this alſo, tho' ſubject to Babylon, roſe up againſt it, and upon the following occaſion. Abradates (6) was viceroy or governor of Suſa or Shuſhan, and Shuſhan was the capital of the province of Elam. (Dan. VIII. 2.) His wife Panthea, a lady of exquiſite beauty, happened

tamen diſciplinâ primus illos imbuit Cyrus.—Itaque ex tam repentina mutatione factum, ut hæc regio פרס *Paras*, et incolæ פרסאי *Perſæ* dicerentur, id eſt, equites. Arabice enim פרס *Pharas* eſt equus, et פארס *Pharis* equis (ut Hebraice פרש *Paras*) Porro vox eadem *Pharis* etiam Perſam ſignificat. Inde eſt, quod neque Moſes, nec libri Regum, nec Eſaias aut Jeremias, Perſarum meminerunt, neque quiſquam eorum, qui vixerunt ante Cyrum. At in Daniele et Ezechiele Cyro coævis, et in libris Paralipomenon, et Eſdræ, et Nehemiæ, et Eſther, &c. qui poſt Cyrum ſcripti ſunt, Perſarum eſt frequens mentio. Antea veriſimile eſt Hebræa nomina כוש *Chus* et עילם *Elam* magnam Perſidis partem incluſiſſe. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Col. 224.

(6) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(7) Vid.

happened to be taken priſoner by the Perſians. Cyrus treated her with ſuch generoſity, and preſerved her with ſuch ſtrict honor ſafe and inviolate for her huſband, as won the heart of the prince, ſo that he and his forces revolted to Cyrus, and fought in his army againſt the Babylonians.

It was foretold, that various nations ſhould unite againſt Babylon; (Iſ. XIII. 4.) "The noiſe of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a "great people; a tumultuous noiſe of the kingdoms of nations "gathered together; the Lord of hoſts muſtereth the hoſt of the "battle:" and particularly it was foretold, that "the kingdoms of "Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz," that is the (7) Armenians, Phrygians, and other nations ſhould compoſe part of his army; (Jer. LI. 27.) "Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, "prepare the nations againſt her, call together againſt her the king-"doms of Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz:" And accordingly Cyrus's army conſiſted of various nations; and among them were (8) theſe very people, whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.

It was foretold, that the Babylonians ſhould be terrified, and hide themſelves within their walls; (Jer. LI. 30.) "The mighty men of "Babylon have forborn to fight, they have remained in their holds, "their might hath failed, they became as women:" And accordingly the Babylonians, after the loſs of a battle or two, never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again; they retired within their walls, and the (9) firſt time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even though he ſent a challenge to the king to fight a duel with him; and the (1) laſt time that he came, he conſulted with his officers

(7) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Col. 16. et Col. 20. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 174.

(8) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 5. p. 77. Lib. 7. p. 111. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(9) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 5. p. 75. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(1) Ib. Lib. 7. επειπερ ου μαχονται εξιοντες, quia ad pugnandum non exeunt. p. 112.

(2) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. ——— πλατος εχων πλειον η επι δυο σταδια· και βαθος γε ως υδ' αν δυο ανδρες ο ἑτερος επι τω ἑτερω ἑστηκωσι τω ὑδατος ὑπερεχοιεν· ὡστε τῳ πολιμῳ ετι ισχυροτερα εστιν ἡ πολις η τοις τειχεσι. [fluminis] latitudo eſt plus quam ad duo ſtadia: et profunditas tanta ut ne duo quidem viri alter ſuper alterum ſtantes ſupra aquam emineant. Itaque urbs validior eſt flumine quam muris ibid.

(3) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenephon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

(4) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 190. προσαξαιτο Σκυθικα στεινα χαβλα

officers about the beſt method of carrying on the ſiege, ‘ ſince ſaith he ‘ they do not come forth and fight.’

It was foretold, that the river ſhould be dried up, before the city ſhould be taken; which was very unlikely ever to happen, (2) the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than two men ſtanding one upon another, ſo that the city was thought to be ſtronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters ſhould be dried up; (Iſ. XLIV. 27.) “ That “ ſaith to the deep Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; (Jer. L. 38.) “ A drought is upon her waters, and they ſhall be dried up; “ (Jer. LI. 36.) I will dry up her ſea, and make her ſprings dry:” And accordingly (3) Cyrus turned the courſe of the river Euphrates which ran thro’ the midſt of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches and the canals and lake before mentioned, ſo drained the waters that the river became eaſily fordable for his ſoldiers to enter the city; and by theſe means Babylon was taken, which was otherwiſe impregnable, and was ſupplied with proviſions for very many years ſaith (4) Herodotus, for more than twenty years ſaith Xenophon; or (5) as Herodotus ſaith, if the Babylonians had but known what the Perſians were doing, by ſhutting the gates which opened to the river, and by ſtanding upon the walls which were built as banks, they might have taken and deſtroyed the Perſians as in a net or cage.

It was foretold, that the city ſhould be taken by ſurpriſe during the time of a feaſt; (Jer. L. 24.) “ I have laid a ſnare for thee, and thou “ art alſo taken, O Babylon, and thou waſt not aware, thou art found “ and alſo caught, (LI. 39.) In their heat I will make their feaſts, “ and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and ſleep a “ perpetual ſleep, and not wake, ſaith the Lord; (LI. 57.) And I will “ make drunk her princes, and her wiſe men, her captains, and her “ rulers,

καρῖα πολλων, comportaverant per multorum annorum commeatus. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. εχοντες τα επιτηδεια πλεον η εικοσιν ετων. ut qui res neceſſarias haberent plus quam viginti annorum. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. ει μεν νυν προεπυθοντο η εμαθον οἱ Βαβυλωνιοι το εκ τυ Κυρυ ποιευμενον, ὐδ' αν περιϊδοντες τυς Περσας εσελθειν εις την πολιν, διεφθειραν κακιςα. κατακλῃσαντες γαρ αι πυσας τας ες τον ποταμον πυλιδας εχυσας, και αυτοι ἐπι τας αιμασιας αναβαντες τας παρα τα φειλεα τυ ποταμυ εληλαμενας, ελαβον αν ζωεας ὡς εν κυρτῃ. Quos Babylonii, ſi factum Cyri prius aut audiſſent aut ſenſiſſent, ingredi non permiſiſſent, ſed peſſimo exitio affeciſſent. Nam obſeratis omnibus quæ ad flumen ferunt portulis, conſcenſiſque ſeptis, ipſi pro ripis ſtantes illos progreſſos veluti in cavea excepiſſent. ibid.

(8) Herod.

" rulers, and her mighty men, and they ſhall ſleep a perpetual ſleep, " and not wake, ſaith the king, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſts:" And accordingly the (6) city was taken in the night of a great annual feſtival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and reveling; and as (7) Ariſtotle reports, it had been taken three days, before ſome part of the city perceived it; but (8) Herodotus's account is more modeſt and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger. Theſe were extraordinary occurrences in the taking of this city: and how could any man foreſee and foretel ſuch ſingular events, ſuch remarkable circumſtances, without revelation and inſpiration of God?

But theſe events you may poſſibly think too remote in time to be urged in the preſent argument: and yet the prophecies were delivered by Iſaiah and Jeremiah, and the facts are related by no leſs hiſtorians than Herodotus and Xenophon; and Iſaiah lived above 250 years before Herodotus, and near 350 before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived above 150 years before the one and near 250 before the other. Cyrus took Babylon according to Prideaux in the year 539 before Chriſt. Iſaiah propheſied " in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, " Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah," (Iſ. I. 1.) which was at leaſt 160 years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year 699 before Chriſt. Jeremiah ſent his prophecies concerning Babylon to Babylon by the hands of Seraiah " in the fourth year of the " reign of Zedekiah," (Jer. LI. 59.) which was 56 years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year 595 before Chriſt. There is therefore no room for ſcepticiſm: but if you are ſtill diſpoſed to doubt and heſitate, what then think you of the preſent condition of the place? Could the prophets, unleſs they were prophets indeed, have foreſeen and foretold what that would be ſo many ages afterwards? And yet they have expreſly foretold that it ſhould be reduced to deſolation. Iſaiah is very ſtrong and poetical: (XIII. 19, &c.) " Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the " Chaldees

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

(7) Ariſt. Polit. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. ὡς γε φασιν ἑαλωκυιας τριτην ἡμεραν ἐκ αισθεσθαι τι μερος της πολεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non ſenſiſſe dicunt. p. 341. Vol. 2. Edit. Du Val.

(8) Herod.

" Chaldees excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew Sodom and " Gomorrah: It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in " from generation to generation; neither ſhall the Arabian pitch tent " there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there: But wild " beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of " doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance " there: And the wild beaſts of the iland ſhall cry in their de- " ſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces; and her time is " near to come, and her days ſhall not be prolonged." Again (XIV. 22, 23.) " I will riſe up againſt them ſaith the Lord of hoſts, " and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and ſon and " nephew" (*or rather ſon and grandſon*) " ſaith the Lord: I will alſo " make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will " ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of hoſts." Jeremiah ſpeaketh much in the ſame ſtrain: (L. 13, 23, 39, 40.) " Be- " cauſe of the wrath of the Lord, it ſhall not be inhabited, but it ſhall " be wholly deſolate; every one that goeth by Babylon ſhall be aſto- " niſhed, and hiſs at all her plagues: How is the hammer of the whole " earth cut aſunder and broken? how is Babylon become a deſolation " among the nations? Therefore the wild beaſts of the deſert, with the " wild beaſts of the ilands ſhall dwell there, and the owls ſhall dwell " therein; and it ſhall be no more inhabited for ever; neither ſhall " it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew " Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, ſaith the " Lord; ſo no man ſhall abide there, neither ſhall any ſon of man " dwell therein." Again (LI. 13, 26, 29, 37, 42, 43.) " O thou " that dwelleſt upon many waters, abundant in treaſures; thine end " is come, and the meaſure of thy covetouſneſs: And they ſhall not " take of thee a ſtone for a corner, nor a ſtone for foundations; but " thou ſhalt be deſolate for ever, ſaith the Lord: And the land ſhall " tremble and ſorrow, for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be per- " formed againſt Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a deſolation

 " without

(8) Herod. ibid. ὑπο δε μεγαθεος της πολιος, ὡς λεγεται ὑπο των ταυτη οικημενων, των περι τα εσχατα της πολιος εαλωκοτων, τως το μεσον οικεοντας των Βαβυλωνιων, ϗ μαθανειν εαλωκοιας. Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quemadmodum narrant accolæ) quum capti eſſent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id neſcirent.

(9) Και

" without an inhabitant: And Babylon ſhall become heaps, a dwell-
" ing place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment and an hiſſing without an in-
" habitant: The ſea is come up upon Babylon; ſhe is covered with
" the multitude of the waves thereof: Her cities are a deſolation, a dry
" land and a wilderneſs, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth
" any ſon of man paſs thereby." We ſhall ſee how theſe and other prophecies have by degrees been accompliſhed, for in the nature of the things they could not be fulfilled all at once. But as the prophets often ſpeak of things future, as if they were already effected; ſo they ſpeak often of things to be brought about in proceſs of time, as if they were to ſucceed immediately; paſt, preſent, and to come being all alike known to an infinite mind, and the intermediate time not revealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Iſaiah addreſſeth Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having never before been taken by any enemy: (Iſ. XLVII. 1.) " Come down and
" ſit in the duſt, O virgin daughter of Babylon, ſit on the ground:"
and (9) Herodotus ſaith expreſly, that this was the firſt time that Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient ſplendor; from an imperial, it became a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing ſtrangers, it came itſelf to be governed by ſtrangers; and the ſeat of empire being transferred to Shuſhan, it decayed by degrees, till it was reduced at laſt to utter deſolation. Beroſus in Joſephus (1) ſaith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, becauſe the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And (2) Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, diſtributed their beſt houſes among his officers, impoſed a tribute upon them, appointed a ſtrong garriſon, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being deſirous to keep them poor as the beſt means of keeping them obedient.

But

(9) Και Βαβυλων μεν ὑτω πρωτον αναιρητο. Atque ita primo capta eſt Babylon. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale.

(1) Κυρ☉ δε Βαβυλωνα καταλαβομει☉, και ζυνταξας τα ἐξω της πολεως τειχη κατασκαψαι, δια το λιαν αὐτω πραγματικην και δυσαλωτον φανηναι την πολιν.——Cyrus autem Babylone capta, conſtitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem—Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1344. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Xenoph.

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, (3) they rebelled againſt Darius, and in order to hold out to the laſt extremity, they took all their women, and each man chooſing one of them, out of thoſe of his own family, whom he liked beſt, they ſtrangled the reſt, that unneceſſary mouths might not conſume their proviſions. "And hereby," ſaith (4) Dr. Prideaux, "was very ſignally fulfilled the prophecy of "Iſaiah againſt them, in which he foretold (Chap. XLVII. 9.) "That two things ſhould come to them in a moment, in one day, "the loſs of children and widowhood, and that theſe ſhall come upon "them in their perfection, for the multitude of their ſorceries, and "the great abundance of their inchantments. And in what greater "perfection could theſe calamities come upon them, than when they "themſelves thus upon themſelves became the executioners of them?" Or rather, this prophecy was then fulfilled a ſecond time, having been fulfilled before, the very night that Babylon was taken, when the Perſians ſlew the king himſelf and a great number of the Babylonians. They ſuſtained the ſiege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months, and at length the city was taken by ſtratagem. As ſoon as Darius had made himſelf maſter of the place, he ordered three thouſand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty, which the Medes and Perſians ſhould uſe towards the Babylonians; (Iſ. XIII. 17, 18. Jer. L. 42.) and he likewiſe demoliſhed the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which, ſaith (5) Herodotus, had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus, or Beroſus muſt have been miſtaken; or we muſt ſuppoſe that Cyrus's orders were never carried into execution; or we muſt underſtand Herodotus to ſpeak of the inner wall, as Beroſus ſpoke of the outer: and yet it doth not ſeem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious highth and thickneſs, that there ſhould be an inner and an outer wall too; and much leſs that there ſhould be three inner and

(2) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 114. et 117. Edit. Steph.

(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 150 &c. p. 220. Edit. Gale.

(4) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

(5) ——το τειχος περιελε, και τας πυλας πασας απεσπασε· (το γαρ προτερον ἑλων Κυρος την Βαβυλωνα, εποιησε τὰτεων ἑτερον) muros circumcidit, et portas omnes amolitus eſt: quorum neutrum Cyrus fecerat prius eidem a ſe captæ. Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 159. p. 223. Edit. Gale.

(6) ——ὑπερ-

three outer walls, as (6) Berosus affirms. Herodotus (7) computes the highth of the wall to be 200 cubits; but later authors reckon it much lower, (8) Quintus Curtius at 100, (9) Strabo who is a more exact writer at 50 cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from 200 to 50 cubits; and by thus taking down the wall and destroying the gates, he remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, (LI. 58.) "Thus "saith the Lord of hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly "broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire."

Xerxes (1) after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expenses, seised the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah; (Is. XXI. 9.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the "graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground: "(Is. XLVI. 1.) "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were "upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, &c: (Jer. L. 2.) Babylon is "taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols "are confounded, her images are broken in pieces: (Jer. LI. 44, "47, 52.) And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth "out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up; Therefore "behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven "images of Babylon;" and again, "Wherefore behold the days come, "saith the Lord, that I will do judgment upon her graven images." What God declares, "I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring "forth that which he hath swallowed," was also litterally fulfilled, when

(5) ------ ὑπερεβαλετο τρεις μεν της ενδον πολεως περιβολης, τρεις δε της εξω τουτων. ternos quidem interiori urbi, ternosque pariter exteriori murorum ambitus circumdedit. Apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1343, Edit. Hudson.

(7) ὑψος διηκοσιων πηχεων. cubitorum ducentorum celsitudine. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(8) Altitudo muri C cubitorum eminet spatio. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(9) ὑψος δε των μεν μεσοπυργιων, πηχεις πεντηκοντα. Altitudine inter turres cubitorum L. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 183. p. 76. Edit. Gale. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. Edit. Gronov. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3526. p. 129. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 4. Anno 479. Xerxes 7.

(2) Quintus Curtius. Lib. 5. Cap. 1. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt; per XC stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt.

(3) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. et Cap. 21. p. 303. Edit. Gronov. Hecatæus apud

when the veſſels of the houſe of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jeruſalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, (Dan. I. 2.) were reſtored by order of Cyrus (Ezra I. 7.) and carried to Jeruſalem again.

Such was the ſtate of Babylon under the Perſians. When Alexander came thither, tho' (2) Quintus Curtius ſays that the whole circuit of the city was 368 furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the ſpace of 90 furlongs it was inhabited. The river Euphrates having been turned out of its courſe by Cyrus, and never afterwards reſtored to its former channel, all that ſide of the country was flooded by it. Alexander indeed (3) purpoſed to have made Babylon the ſeat of his empire, and actually ſet men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into their old channel: and if his deſigns had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? and what providence therefore was it, that his deſigns did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with ſome difficulties in the work, and death ſoon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his ſucceſſors ever attempted it: and (4) Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became *wholly deſolate*. Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called alſo (5) Babylon by ſeveral authors. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valeſius, and quoted from him by (6) Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, ſurpaſſing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no ſort of puniſhment, but ſent many of the Babylonians and for trifling cauſes into ſlavery, and burnt the forum and ſome of the temples of Babylon, and demoliſhed

apud Joſeph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1348. Edit. Hudſon. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1073. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(4) Strabo ibid. Plinii Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(5) Plin. ibid. quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur. See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter. 12.

(6) Vitring. Comment. in Ieſaiam. Cap. 13. p. 421. Vol. 1. Ευημερ῵ ὁ των Παρθων βασιλευς κ. τ. λ. *Evemerus, Parthorum rex* (docuit Valeſius clariſſime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiſerunt, legendum eſſe *Himerum*, Parthorum regis ſatrapam, ex circumſtantiis temporis hiſtoriæ, et collatis locis Juſtini ac Athenæi) *patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum ſævitiæ genus prætermiſit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de cauſſis ſervituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam diſtrahendos miſit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quæque urbis loca evertit.* Accidit caſus ſtante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Domini.

(7) των

moliſhed the beſt parts of the city. This happened about 130 years before Chriſt: and now let us ſee what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

Diodorus Siculus (7) deſcribes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and aſſerts that now only a ſmall part of the city is inhabited, the greateſt part within the walls is tilled. Strabo (8) who wrote not long after Diodorus, ſaith that part of the city the Perſians demoliſhed, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and eſpecially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his ſucceſſors removed their court thither: and now (ſaith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deſerted, ſo that one may apply to this what the comic poet ſaid of Megalopolis in Arcadia, "The great city is now become a great deſert." Pliny in like manner (9) affirms, that it was reduced to ſolitude, being exhauſted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpoſe by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, ſo (1) Pauſanias (who floriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century after Chriſt) compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and ſays in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greateſt city that the ſun ever ſaw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius (2) mentions it as lying neglected and forſaken; and (3) Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be ſought for and not be found, like Nineveh. Conſtantine the great, in an oration preſerved by Euſebius, ſaith that he himſelf was upon the ſpot, and an eye witneſs of the deſolate and miſerable condition of

(7) των δε βασιλειων και των αλλων κατασκευασματων ὁ χρονος τα μεν ὁλοσχερως ηφανισε, τα δ' ελημμηναλο. και γαρ αυτης της Βαβυλωνος νυν βραχυ τι μερος οικειται, το δε πλειστον εντος τειχους γεωρσειλαι. Regiaſque et alias ſtructuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corrupit. Nam et ipſius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui eſt expoſita. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 70. Edit. Steph. p. 98. Edit. Rhod.

(8) ——— και καθηψαν της πολεως, τα μεν οι Περσαι, τα δ' ὁ χρονος· και ἡ των Μακεδονων ολιγωρια περι τα τοιαυτα. και μαλιστα επειδη την Σελευκειαν επι τω Τιγρητι πλησιον της Βαβυλωνος εν τριακοσιοις που σταδιοις ειδιχισε Σελευκος ὁ Νικατωρ. Και γαρ εκεινος και οι μετ' αυτον ἁπαντες περι ταυτην εσπευδασαν την πολιν, και το Βασιλειον ενθαυθα μετηνεγκαν· και δη και νυν ἡ μεν γεγονε Βαβυλωνος μειζων. ἡ δ' ερημος ἡ πολλη· ὡστ' επ' αυτης μη αν οκνησαι τινα ειπειν ὁπερ εφη τις των κωμικων επι των Μεγαλοπολιτων των εν Αρκαδια.

Ερημια μεγαλη εστιν ἡ Μεγαλη πολις.

—et urbis partem Perſæ diruerunt, partem tempus conſumpſit et Macedonum negligentia: præſertim poſtquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit ſtadiis tantum CCC a Babylone diſſitam. Nam et ille et poſteri omnes huic urbi maximoperè ſtuduerunt, et regiam eo tranſtulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major eſt, illa magna ex parte deſerta, ut intrepide de ea uſurpari poſſit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus:

Eſt magna ſolitudo nunc Megalopolis.

Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1073. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(9) Cetero ad ſolitudinem rediit exhauſta vicinitate Seleuciæ,

of the city. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth century after Chriſt) it was converted into a chace to keep wild beaſts within the compaſs of its walls for the hunting of the later kings of Perſia. We have learned, (4) ſaith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of thoſe parts, now liveth as a monk at Jeruſalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beaſts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he ſaith, (5) that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the incloſing of wild beaſts, all the ſpace within is deſolation. Theſe walls might probably be demoliſhed by the Saracens who ſubverted this empire of the Perſians, or they might be ruined or deſtroyed by time: but of this we read nothing, neither have we any account of Babylon for ſeveral hundred years afterwards, there having been ſuch a dearth of authors during thoſe times of ignorance.

Of later authors the firſt who mentions any thing concerning Babylon, is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century. In his Itinerary, which was written almoſt 700 years ago, he aſſerts, (6) that ancient Babylon is now laid waſte, but ſome ruins are ſtill to be ſeen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter there on account of the ſerpents and ſcorpions which are in the midſt of it. Texeira, a Portugueſe, in the deſcription of his travels from India to Italy, affirms (7) that of this great and famous city there is nothing but only a few veſtiges remaining, nor in the whole region is any place leſs frequented.

A German

Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(1) Βαβυλων δε ταυτης ηντινα ειδε πολεων των τοτε μεγιστην ἡλιος, ουδεν ετι ην ει μη τειχος. Babylon omnium, quas unquam ſol aſpexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. Pauſan. Lib. 8. Cap. 33.

(2) Βαβυλωνος κειμενης. Max. Tyr. Differt. 6. prope finem.

(3) Ου μετα πολυ και αυτη ζητηθησομενη, ωσπερ ἡ Νινος. haud ita multo poſt deſideranda et ipſa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus. Lucian. Επιοκ. ſive contemplantes prope finem.

(4) Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hieroſolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias eſſe in Babylone; et omnis generis beſtias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri. Hieron. Comment. in Iſai. Cap. 13. p. 111. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(5) ——exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter beſtias concludendas poſt annos plurimos inſtaurantur, omne in medio ſpatium ſolitudo eſt. Id. in Cap. 14. p. 115.

(6) Benjamin. Itin. p. 76.—eóque homines ingredi verentur, propter ſerpentes et ſcorpiones, qui ſunt in medio ejus. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 15. Col. 234. Vitringa in Iſaiam, Cap. 13. p. 421. Vol. 1. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter 12. Calmet's Dict. in Babylon.

(7) Cap. 5. Hujus nihil niſi pauca ſuperſunt veſtigia: nec in tota regione locus ullus eſt minus frequens. Bochart ibid. et Prideaux.

(8) Calmet's

A German traveler, whoſe name was Rauwolf, paſſed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, and his (8) account of the ruins of this famous city is as follows. " The village of Elugo now lieth on the place " where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was ſituat- " ed. The harbour is a quarter of a league's diſtance from it, where " people go aſhore in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of " Bagdat, which is a day and a half's journey from thence eaſtward on " the Tigris. This country is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, " and ſo bare that I could never have believed that this powerful city, " once the moſt ſtately and renowned in all the world, and ſituated in " the pleaſant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have ever ſtood " there, if I had not known it by its ſituation, and many antiquities " of great beauty, which are ſtill ſtanding hereabout in great deſola- " tion. Firſt by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, " whereof there are ſome pieces and arches ſtill remaining built of " burnt brick, and ſo ſtrong that it is admirable.—Juſt before the vil- " lage of Elugo is the hill whereon the caſtle ſtood, and the ruins of " its fortifications are ſtill viſible, tho' demoliſhed and uninhabited. " Behind it, and pretty near to it, did ſtand the tower of Babylon.— " It is ſtill to be ſeen, and is half a league in diameter; but ſo ruinous, " ſo low, and ſo full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes " made by them in the rubbiſh, that no one durſt approach nearer to it " than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, " when theſe animals never ſtir out of their holes. There is one ſort " particularly, which the inhabitants in the language of the country, " which is Perſian, call *Eglo*, the poiſon whereof is very ſearching: they " are larger than our lizards."

A noble Roman, Petrus Vallenſis, (Della Valle) was at Bagdat in the year 1616, and went to ſee the ruins as they are thought of ancient Babylon; and he informs us (9) that " in the middle of a vaſt and level " plain, about a quarter of a league from Euphrates, which in that " place runs weſtward, appears a heap of ruined buildings, like a huge " mountain, the materials of which are ſo confounded together, that one knows

(8) Calmet's Dict. in Babylon, and Prideaux as before, and Ray's edition of theſe travels in Engliſh. Part 2. Chap. 7.

(9) Vid. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Part 2. Epiſt. 17. Clerici Comment. in Eſaiam. Cap. 13. ver.

" knows not what to make of it.——Its ſituation and form correſpond " with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of Belus; and is in " all likelihood the tower of Nimrod in Babylon, or Babel, as that " place is ſtill called.—There appear no marks of ruins, without the " compaſs of that huge maſs, to convince one ſo great a city as Baby- " lon had ever ſtood there: all one diſcovers within fifty or ſixty paces " of it, being only the remains here and there of ſome foundations " of buildings; and the country round about it ſo flat and level, " that one can hardly believe it ſhould be choſen for the ſituation of " ſo great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were ever any " remarkable buildings on it: but for my part I am aſtoniſhed there " appears ſo much as there does, conſidering it is at leaſt four thou- " ſand years ſince that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus tells " us, it was reduced almoſt to nothing in his time."

Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveler, relates, (1) that " at " the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from Bagdat, " there is the foundation of a city, which may ſeem to have been a large " league in compaſs. There are ſome of the walls yet ſtanding, " upon which ſix coaches may go abreaſt: They are made of burnt " brick, ten foot ſquare, and three thick. The chronicles of the " country ſay here ſtood the ancient Babylon." Tavernier, no doubt, ſaw the ſame ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter della Valle did; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebuchadnez-zar's palace or of the tower of Babel. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be rather the remains of ſome tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to aſſemble his ſubjects in time of war: and this in all probability was the truth of the matter.

Mr. (2) Salmon's obſervation is juſt and pertinent: " What is as " ſtrange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that we cannot " learn either by ancient writers or modern travelers, where this famous " city ſtood, only in general, that it was ſituated in the province of " Chaldæa, upon the river Euphrates conſiderably above the place " where it is united with the Tigris. Travelers have gueſſed from the

ver. 20. Vitring. Comment. ibid. p. 421. Vol. 1. Univerſal Hiſtory. Book 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Note N.

(1) Tavernier in Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 5.

(2) Salmon's Modern Hiſt. Vol. 1. Preſent State of the Turkiſh Empire. Chap. 11.

(3) Hanway's

" great ruins they have diſcovered in ſeveral parts of this country, " that in this or that place Babylon once ſtood: but when we come to " examin nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they are " certainly in the wrong, and have miſtaken the ruins of Seleucia, or " ſome other great town."

Mr. (3) Hanway going to give an account of the ſiege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaceth it in this manner. " Before we enter upon any " circumſtance relating to the ſiege of Bagdat, it may afford ſome " light to the ſubject, to give a ſhort account of this famous city, in " the neighbourhood of which formerly ſtood the metropolis of one " of the moſt ancient and moſt potent monarchies in the world. The " place is generally called Bagdat or Bagdad, tho' ſome writers preſerve " the ancient name of Babylon. The reaſon of thus confounding theſe " two cities is, that the Tigris and Euphrates, forming one common " ſtream before they diſembogue into the Perſian gulf, are not unfre- " quently mentioned as one and the ſame river. It is certain that the " preſent Bagdat is ſituated on the Tigris, but the ancient Babylon, " according to all hiſtorians ſacred and profane, was on the Euphrates. " The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about " fifteen leagues to the ſouth of Bagdat, are now ſo much effaced, that " there are hardly any veſtiges of them to point out the ſituation. " In the time of the emperor Theodoſius, there was only a great park " remaining, in which the kings of Perſia bred wild beaſts for the " amuſement of hunting."

By theſe accounts we ſee, how punctually time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon. When it was converted into a chaſe for wild beaſts to feed and breed there, then were exactly accompliſhed the words of the prophets, that " the wild beaſts of the " deſert with the wild beaſts of the ilands ſhould dwell there, and " cry in their deſolate houſes." One part of the country was overflowed by the river's having been turned out of its courſe and never reſtored again to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marſhy, ſo that it might litterally be ſaid to be " a poſſeſſion for the " bittern

(3) Hanway's Travels. Vol. 4. Part 3. Chap. 10. p. 78.

(4) Hor.

" bittern and pools of water." Another part is deſcribed as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, ſo that thereby was alſo fulfilled another prophecy, which ſeemed in ſome meaſure to contradict the former, " Her cities are a deſolation, a dry land and a wilderneſs, a " land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any ſon of man paſs " thereby." The place thereabout is repreſented as overrun with ſerpents, ſcorpions, and all ſorts of venomous and unclean creatures, ſo that " their houſes are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their " pleaſant palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling place for " dragons, an aſtoniſhment and an hiſſing without an inhabitant." For all theſe reaſons " neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither " can the ſhepherds make their folds there." And when we find that modern travelers cannot now certainly diſcover the ſpot of ground, whereon this renowned city once was ſituated, we may very properly ſay, " How is Babylon become a deſolation among the nations? " Every purpoſe of the Lord hath he performed againſt Babylon, to " make the land of Babylon a deſolation without an inhabitant:" and the expreſſion is no leſs true than ſublime, that " the Lord of " hoſts hath ſwept it with the beſom of deſtruction."

How wonderful are ſuch predictions compared with the events, and what a convincing argument of the truth and divinity of the holy ſcriptures! Well might God allege this as a memorable inſtance of his preſcience, and challenge all the falſe gods, and their votaries, to produce the like. (Iſ. XLV. 21. XLVI. 10.) " Who hath declared this " from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I " the Lord? and there is no God elſe beſide me, a juſt God and a " Saviour, there is none beſide me; Declaring the end from the be- " ginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, " ſaying, My counſel ſhall ſtand, and I will do all my pleaſure." And indeed where can you find a ſimilar inſtance but in ſcripture, from the beginning of the world to this day?

At the ſame time it muſt afford all readers of an exalted taſte and generous ſentiments, all the friends and lovers of liberty, a very ſenſible pleaſure to hear the prophets exulting over ſuch tyrants and oppreſſors as the kings of Aſſyria. In the 14th chapter of Iſaiah there is an Epinikion, or a triumphant ode upon the fall of Babylon. It re-

preſents the infernal manſions as moved, and the ghoſts of deceaſed tyrants as riſing to meet the king of Babylon, and congratulate his coming among them. It is really admirable for the ſevereſt ſtrokes of irony, as well as for the ſublimeſt ſtrains of poetry. The Greek poet (4) Alcæus, who is celebrated for his hatred to tyrants, and whoſe odes were animated with the ſpirit of liberty no leſs than with the ſpirit of poetry, we may preſume to ſay, never wrote any thing comparable to it. The late worthy profeſſor of poetry at Oxford hath eminently diſtinguiſhed it in (5) his lectures upon the ſacred poeſy of the Hebrews, and hath given it the character that it juſtly deſerves, of one of the moſt ſpirited, moſt ſublime, and moſt perfect compoſitions of the lyric kind, ſuperior to any of the productions of Greece or Rome: and he hath not only illuſtrated it with an uſeful commentary, but hath alſo copied the beauties of the great original in an excellent Latin Alcaic ode, which if the learned reader hath not yet ſeen, he will be not a little pleaſed with the peruſal of it. Another excellent hand, Mr. Maſon, hath likewiſe imitated it in an Engliſh ode, with which I hope he will (6) one time or other oblige the public.

But not only in this particular, but in the general the ſcriptures, though often perverted to the purpoſes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature calculated to promote the civil as well as the religious liberties of mankind. True religion, and virtue, and liberty are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly conſider. It is very true, as St. Paul ſaith, (2 Cor. III. 17.) that "where the ſpirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:" or as our Saviour himſelf expreſſeth it, (John VIII. 31, 32.) "If ye continue in "my word, then are ye my diſciples indeed; and ye ſhall know the "truth, and the truth ſhall make ye free."

XI. *The*

(4) Hor. Od. II. XIII. 26.
Et te ſonantem plenius aureo,
Alcæe, plectro, &c.
Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos inſectatur: &c.

(5) Lowth Prælec. XIII. p. 120, &c.——viget per totum ſpiritus liber excelſus, vereque divinus; neque

XI.

The prophecies concerning TYRE.

ANOTHER city that was an enemy to the Jews, and another memorable inſtance of the truth of prophecy, is Tyre, whoſe fall was predicted by the prophets, and particularly by Iſaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been queſtioned among learned men, which of the Tyres was the ſubject of theſe prophecies, whether Palætyrus or old Tyre that was ſeated on the continent, or new Tyre that was built in an iland almoſt over againſt it. The trueſt and beſt anſwer I conceive to be, that the prophecies appertain to both, ſome expreſſions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter. In one place (Ezek. XXVII. 3.) it is deſcribed as "ſituate at the entry of the ſea;" in others (ver. 4 and 25.) as "in "the midſt of the ſeas," or according to the original "in the heart of "the ſeas." Sometimes (Ezek. XXVI. 7, &c.) it is repreſented as beſieged "with horſes and with chariots; *a* fort, *a* mount, *and* engins "of war, *are* ſet againſt it:" at other times (Iſ. XXIII. 2, 4, 6.) it is expreſly called "an iland, *and* the ſea, even the ſtrength of the "ſea." Now it is ſaid (Ezek. XXVI. 10.) "By reaſon of the abund-"ance of his horſes, their duſt ſhall cover thee, thy walls ſhall ſhake at "the noiſe of the horſemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots "when he ſhall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein "is made a breach." Then it is ſaid (ver. 12.) "They ſhall break "down thy walls, and deſtroy thy pleaſant houſes, and they ſhall "lay thy ſtones, and thy timber, and thy duſt in the midſt of the "water;" and again (Ezek. XXVIII. 8.) "They ſhall bring thee "down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the deaths of them that are ſlain "in the midſt of the ſeas." The inſular Tyre therefore, as well as the

neque deeſt quidquam ad ſummam hujuſce Odæ ſublimitatem abſoluta pulchritudine cumulandam: cui, ut planè dicam quod ſentio, nihil habet Græca aut Romana poeſis ſimile aut ſecundum. Prælec. XXVIII. p. 277, &c.

(6) Mr. Maſon hath ſince publiſhed this with ſome other Odes in 1756.

(1) Vitring.

the Tyre upon the continent, is included in theſe prophecies; they are both comprehended under the ſame name, and both ſpoken of as one and the ſame city, part built on the continent, and part on an iland adjoining. It is commonly ſaid indeed, that when old Tyre was cloſely beſieged, and was near falling into the hands of the Chaldæans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the iland: but the learned (1) Vitringa hath proved at large from good authorities, that new Tyre was founded ſeveral ages before, and was the ſtation for ſhips, and conſidered as part of old Tyre; and (2) Pliny ſpeaking of the compaſs of the city, reckons both the old and the new together.

Whenever the prophets denounce the downfall and deſolation of a city or kingdom, they uſually deſcribe by way of contraſt its preſent floriſhing condition, to ſhow in a ſtronger point of view how providence ſhifteth and changeth the ſcene, and ordereth and diſpoſeth all events. The prophets Iſaiah and Ezekiel obſerve the ſame method with regard to Tyre. Iſaiah ſpeaketh of it as a place of great antiquity, (XXIII. 7.) "Is this your joyous city, whoſe antiquity is of ancient days?" And it is mentioned as a ſtrong place as early as in the days of Joſhua, (Joſh. XIX. 29.) "the ſtrong city Tyre," for there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing with (3) Sir John Marſham, that the name is uſed here by way of *prolepſis* or anticipation. Nay there are even heathen authors, who ſpeak of the inſular Tyre, and yet extol the great antiquity of the place. The (4) Greek geographer Strabo ſaith, that after Sidon the greateſt and moſt ancient city of the Phœnicians is Tyre, which is a rival to Sidon in greatneſs, and luſtre, and antiquity. The (5) Roman hiſtorian Quintus Curtius ſaith, that it is a city remarkable to poſterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent change of fortune. Herodotus (6) who was himſelf at Tyre, and inquired into the antiquity of the temple of Hercules, was informed by the prieſts, that the temple was built

(1) Vitring. Comment. in Ieſaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. 1. p. 667—671.

(2) Circuitus XIX mill. paſſuum eſt, intra Palætyro incluſa. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 17. Edit. Harduin.

(3) Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XI. p. 290. Nomen id per prolepſin uſurpatur, &c.

(4) Μετα δε Σιδονα, μεγιστη των Φοινικων, και αρχαιοτατη πολις Τυρος εστιν, ἡ εναμιλλος αυτῃ κατα τε μεγεθος, και κατα την επιφανειαν, και την αρχαιοτητα. Poſt Sidonem maxima et antiquiſſima Phœnicum eſt Tyrus, cum Sidone et magnitudine et forma et antiquitate comparanda. Strab. Lib 16. p. 756. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(5) Urbs et vetuſtate originis et crebra fortunæ varietate ad memoriam poſteritatis inſignis. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(6) εφασαν γαρ, ἁμα Τυρῳ οικιζομενη και το ἱρον του Θεου ἱδρυθηναι. ειναι δε ετεα αφ' ὁ Τυρον οικεεσι, τριηκοσια και δισχιλια. quippe dicentes ab urbe condita fuiſſe dei templum pariter extructum: eſſe autem a Tyro condita annorum

built at the ſame time as the city, and from the building of the city they counted two thouſand and three hundred years. The ironical expreſſion of the prophet, "Is this your joyous city whoſe antiquity is "of ancient days?" implies that the Tyrians were apt to boaſt of their antiquity: and by this account of Herodotus it appears that they did ſo, and much exceeded the truth: but there could have been no pretence for their boaſting of thouſands of years, if the city had not been built (as ſome contend) till after the deſtruction of the old city by the Chaldæans, that is not 130 years before. Joſephus (7) aſſerts, that from the building of Tyre to the building of Solomon's temple were 240 years: but he is with reaſon (8) ſuppoſed to ſpeak of the inſular Tyre; for the other part of the city on the continent was much older, was a ſtrong place, as we have ſeen, in the days of Joſhua, and is mentioned in the fragments of (9) Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician hiſtorian, who is (1) reckoned to have lived about the time of Gideon, (2) or ſomewhat later.

But ancient as this city was, it was the "daughter of Sidon," as it is called by the prophet Iſaiah (XXIII. 12.) and (ver. 2.) "the merchants "of Sidon, who paſs over the ſea, repleniſhed it." *Sidon* was the eldeſt ſon of Canaan, (Gen. X. 15.) and the city of *Sidon* is mentioned by the patriarch Jacob, (Gen. XLIX. 13.) and in the days of Joſhua it is called "great Sidon," (Joſh. XI. 8.) and in the days of the Judges the inhabitants of Laiſh are ſaid (Judg. XVIII. 7.) to have "dwelt careleſs "and ſecure after the manner of the Sidonians." We have ſeen already that Strabo affirms, that *after Sidon* Tyre was the greateſt and moſt ancient city of the Phœnicians; and he (3) aſſerts likewiſe, that the poets have celebrated Sidon more, and Homer hath not ſo much as mentioned Tyre, tho' he commends Sidon and the Sidonians in ſeveral places. It may be therefore with reaſon inferred, that Sidon was the more ancient:

rum duo millia at trecentos. Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. p. 107. Edit. Gale.

(7) ἀπο δε της οικησεως Τυρυ εις την οικοδομιαν τυ ναυ διαγιγονει χρονος ετων τεσσαρακοντα και διακοσιων. A Tyri autem conditu uſque ad exſtructionem templi elapſi ſunt anni quadraginta et ducenti. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Sect. 1. p. 341. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Vide Vitring. ibid. p. 669.

(9) Apud. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 35. Edit. Vigeri.

(1) Itaque commodè rejicitur in Gideonis tempora, &c. Bochart. Chanaan. Lib. 2. Cap. 17. Col. 776.

(2) Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. B. 1. Chap. 2.

(3) Οι μεν ουν ποιηται, την Σιδονα τεθρυλληκασι μαλλον. Ομηρος δε ουδε μεμνηται της Τυρυ. Poetæ quidem magis Sidonem celebrant, atqui adeo Homerus Tyri non meminit. Strabo ibid. p. 1097.

(4) Poſt

cient: and (4) Juſtin, the epitomizer of Trogus, hath expreſly informed us, that the Sidonians being beſieged by the king of Aſcalon, went in ſhips and built Tyre. But tho' Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter ſoon equaled, and in time excelled the mother, and became the moſt celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, the ſeat of commerce and the centre of riches, and is therefore called by Iſaiah (XXIII. 3, 8.) "a mart of nations, the crowning city, whoſe "merchants are princes, whoſe traffickers are the honorable of the "earth:" and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon thoſe words of Iſaiah, "a mart of nations," (Chap. XXVII.) recounts the various nations, whoſe commodities were brought to Tyre, and were bought and ſold by the Tyrians.

It was in this wealthy and floriſhing condition, when the prophets foretold its deſtruction, Iſaiah 125 years at leaſt before it was deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extenſive and beneficial trade ſoon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for theſe and their other vices, as well as for their inſults and injuries done to the Jews, the prophets propheſied againſt them. Iſaiah mentions their pride as the great occaſion of their fall, (XXIII. 9.) "The Lord of hoſts hath "purpoſed it, to ſtain the pride of all glory, and to bring into con-"tempt all the honorable of the earth." (Ezekiel XXVII. 3, &c.) deſcribes at large their luxury even in their ſhipping. Cleopatra's ſailing down the river Cydnos to meet her gallant, Antony, was not with greater finery and magnificence; nor have (5) the hiſtorians and poets painted the one in more lively colors, than the prophet hath the other. He cenſures likewiſe the pride of the king of Tyre in arrogating to himſelf divine honors, (XXVIII. 2, &c.) "Son of man, ſay unto the "prince of Tyrus, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Becauſe thine heart is "lifted up, and thou haſt ſaid, I am a God, I ſit in the ſeat of God, "in the midſt of the ſeas; yet thou art a man, and not God, tho' thou "ſet thine heart as the heart of God:—With thy wiſdom and with "thine underſtanding thou haſt gotten thee riches, and haſt gotten "gold and ſilver into thy treaſures: By thy great wiſdom and by thy "traffic

(4) Poſt multos deinde annos a rege Aſcalionorum expugnati, navibus appulſi Tyron urbem—condiderunt. Juſtin. Lib. 18. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. p. 362. Edit. Grævii.

(5) Plutarch.

" traffic haſt thou increaſed thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up be-
" cauſe of thy riches: Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Becauſe
" thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of God: Behold therefore, I
" will bring ſtrangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they
" ſhall draw their ſwords againſt the beauty of thy wiſdom, and they
" ſhall defile thy brightneſs: They ſhall bring thee down to the pit,
" and thou ſhalt die the deaths of them that are ſlain in the midſt of
" the ſeas." The prophets Joel and Amos had before denounced the divine judgments upon the Tyrians for their wickedneſs in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Iſrael, and for buying and ſelling them like cattle in the markets. Thus ſaith the Lord by the prophet Joel, (III. 5, &c.) " Becauſe ye have taken my ſilver and
" my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleaſant
" things: The children alſo of Judah, and the children of Jeruſalem
" have ye ſold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from
" their border: Behold, I will raiſe them out of the place whither ye
" have ſold them, and will return your recompenſe upon your own
" head." Amos ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, (I. 9.) " Thus ſaith
" the Lord, For three tranſgreſſions of Tyrus, and for four I will not
" turn away the puniſhment thereof; becauſe they delivered up the
" whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly cove-
" nant," that is the league and alliance between Hiram king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The Pſalmiſt reckons them among the moſt inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewiſh name and nation, (Pſal. LXXXIII. 6, 7.) " The tabernacles of
" Edom, and the Iſhmaelites, of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal,
" and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philiſtines with the inhabitants of
" Tyre." Ezekiel alſo begins his prophecy againſt them with a declaration, that it was occaſioned by their inſulting over the Jews upon the taking of Jeruſalem by Nebuchadnezzar, (XXVI. 2, 3.) " Son of
" man, Becauſe that Tyrus hath ſaid againſt Jeruſalem, Aha, ſhe is
" broken that was the gates of the people; ſhe is turned unto me, I
" ſhall be repleniſhed, now ſhe is laid waſte: Therefore thus ſaith the

(5) Plutarch. in Antonio. p. 913. Vol. 1. Edit. Paris 1624. Shakeſpear. Dryden.

(6) Annales.

" Lord God, Behold, I am againſt thee, O Tyrus, and will cauſe " many nations to come up againſt thee, as the ſea cauſeth his waves " to come up."

Theſe were the occaſions of the prophecies againſt Tyre: and by carefully conſidering and comparing the prophecies together, we ſhall find the following particulars included in them; that the city was to be taken and deſtroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconſiderable people, and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; that the inhabitants ſhould fly over the Mediterranean into the ilands and countries adjoining, and even there ſhould not find a quiet ſettlement; that the city ſhould be reſtored after 70 years, and return to her gain and merchandiſe; that it ſhould be taken and deſtroyed again; that the people ſhould in time forſake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worſhip of God; and finally that the city ſhould be totally deſtroyed, and become a place only for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon. We ſhall find theſe particulars to be not only diſtinctly foretold, but likewiſe exactly fulfilled.

I. The city was to be taken and deſtroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconſiderable people. This, we think, is ſufficiently implied in theſe words of the prophet Iſaiah, (XXIII. 13.) " Behold, the land of the Chaldæans; " this people was not till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell " in the wilderneſs, they ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the " palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin." *Behold*, an exclamation to ſhow that he is going to utter ſomething new and extraordinary; *the land of the Chaldæans*, that is Babylon and the country about Babylon; *this people was not*, was of no note or eminence, *till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs*, they dwelt before in tents, and led a wandring life in the wilderneſs, till the Aſſyrians built Babylon for their reception. Babel or Babylon was firſt built by the children of men after the flood. After the diſperſion of mankind, Nimrod made it the capital of his kingdom. With Nimrod

(6) Annales Menandri apud Joſephum, Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Sect. 2. p. 428. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Joſeph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 20. et 21. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Φιλοστρατος εν ταις Ινδικαις αυτου και Φοινικικαις ιστοριαις, ὁτι ἐτος ὁ βασιλευς επολιορκησε Τυρον ἐτη ιγ, βασιλευοντος κατ' ἐκεινον

Nimrod it ſunk again, till the Aſſyrians rebuilt it for the purpoſes here mentioned; *they ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof*, and Herodotus, Cteſias, and other ancient hiſtorians agree that the kings of Aſſyria fortified and beautified Babylon; *and he*, that is, *this people* mentioned before, the Chaldæans or Babylonians, *brought it to ruin*, that is Tyre, which is the ſubject of the whole prophecy. The Aſſyrians were at that time the great monarchs of the eaſt; the Chaldæans were their ſlaves and ſubjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet ſhould ſo many years beforehand foreſee the ſucceſſes and conqueſts of the Chaldæans.

Ezekiel lived nearer the time, and he declares expreſly that the city ſhould be taken and deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; (XXVI. 7--11.) "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring "upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from "the north, with horſes, and with chariots, and with horſemen, and "companies, and much people;—he ſhall ſlay thy people by the ſword, "and thy ſtrong garriſons ſhall go down to the ground." Salmanaſer king of Aſſyria (6) had beſieged Tyre but without ſucceſs; the Tyrians had with a few ſhips beaten his large fleet; but yet Nebuchadnezzar ſhould prevail. Ezekiel not only foretold the ſiege, but mentions it afterwards as a paſt tranſaction, (XXIX. 18.) "Son of man, Nebuchad-"nezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice "againſt Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was "peeled."

Menander the Epheſian tranſlated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and (7) Joſephus aſſerts upon their authority, that Nebuchadnezzar beſieged Tyre 13 years when Ithobal was king there, and began the ſiege in the ſeventh year of Ithobal's reign, and that he ſubdued Syria and all Phœnicia. The ſame (8) hiſtorian likewiſe obſerves, that Philoſtratus in his Indian and Phœnician hiſtories affirms that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) beſieged Tyre thirteen years, Ithobal reigning at that time in Tyre. The ſiege continuing ſo long, the ſoldiers muſt needs endure many hardſhips, ſo that hereby we better underſtand the juſtneſs of

τουτου του καιρου Ιθωβαλω της Τυρου. Philoſtratus tam in Indicis ejus quam Phœniciis hiſtoriis, quod hic rex tredecim annos Tyrum oppugnaverit, cum illo tempore Ithobalus in Tyro regnaret. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 460. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Joſeph.

Ezekiel's expreſſion, that "Nebuchadnezzar cauſed his army to ſerve a "great ſervice againſt Tyrus; every head was made bald and every "ſhoulder was peeled:" ſuch light doth profane hiſtory caſt upon ſacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals quoted by the ſame (9) hiſtorian, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that ſome of the blood royal muſt have been carried captives thither. The Phœnician annals too, as Dr. (1) Prideaux hath clearly ſhown, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year, wherein the city was taken. Tyre therefore according to the prophecies was ſubdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans: and after this we hear little more of that part of the city which ſtood upon the continent. It is ſome ſatisfaction that we are able to produce ſuch authorities as we have produced, out of heathen hiſtorians for tranſactions of ſuch remote antiquity.

II. The inhabitants ſhould paſs over the Mediterranean into the ilands and countries adjoining, and even there ſhould find no quiet ſettlement. This is plainly ſignified by Iſaiah, (XXIII. 6.) "Paſs ye "over to Tarſhiſh," that is to Tarteſſus in Spain, "howl ye inha-"bitants of the ile:" and again (ver. 12.) "Ariſe, paſs over to Chit-"tim," that is the ilands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean; "there alſo ſhalt thou have no reſt." What the prophet delivers by way of advice, is to be underſtood as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the ſame thing, (XXVI. 18.) "The iles that are in the "ſea ſhall be troubled at thy departure." It is well known that the Phœnicians were the beſt navigators of antiquity, and ſent forth colonies into ſeveral parts of the world. A great ſcholar of the laſt century hath written a whole (2) treatiſe of the colonies of the Phœnicians, a work (as indeed all his are) of immenſe learning and erudition. And of all the Phœnicians the Tyrians were the moſt celebrated for their ſhipping and colonies. Tyre exceeded Sidon in this reſpect, as (3) Strabo teſtifies, and ſent forth colonies into Africa and Spain unto and beyond

(9) Joſeph. Contra. Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 21. p. 1344. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 2. Anno 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

(2) Bocharti Chanaan.

(3) Αἱ δὲ εἰς Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀποικίαι, μέχρι καὶ ἐξω στηλῶν, τὴν Τύρον πόλεων ἐξυμνήσαι μᾶλλον. Coloniæ tamen in Africam et Hiſpaniam uſque ad loca extra columnas deductæ, Tyrum plurimum celebraverunt. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1097.

(4) Coloniæ certe ejus pene orbe toto diffuſæ ſunt. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(5) Legimus

beyond the pillars of Hercules: and (4) Quintus Curtius ſaith, that her colonies were diffuſed almoſt over the whole world. The Tyrians therefore having planted colonies at Tarſhiſh and upon the coaſts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were preſſed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad for refuge and protection. That they really did ſo, St. Jerome aſſerts upon the authority of Aſſyrian hiſtories, which are now loſt and periſhed. 'We have read (5) ſaith he, in the hiſtories of the Aſſyrians, 'that when the Tyrians were beſieged, after they ſaw no hope of eſ-'caping, they went on board their ſhips, and fled to Carthage, or 'to ſome ilands of the Ionian and Ægean ſea.' And in another place he (6) ſaith, 'that when the Tyrians ſaw that the works for carrying 'on the ſiege were perfected, and the foundations of the walls were 'ſhaken by the battering of the rams, whatſoever precious things in 'gold, ſilver, cloaths, and various kinds of furniture the nobility had, 'they put them on board their ſhips, and carried to the ilands; ſo 'that the city being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing worthy 'of his labor.' It muſt have been grievous to Nebuchadnezzar, after ſo long and laborious a ſiege, to be diſappointed of the ſpoil of ſo rich a city; and therefore Ezekiel was commiſſioned to promiſe him the conqueſt of Egypt for his reward; (XXIX. 18, 19.) "Son of man, "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great "ſervice againſt Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder "was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the "ſervice that he had ſerved againſt it. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord "God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar "king of Babylon, and he ſhall take her multitude, and take her "ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the wages for his army."

But tho' the Tyrians ſhould paſs over to Tarſhiſh and to Chittim, yet even there they ſhould find no quiet ſettlement, "there alſo ſhalt "thou

(5) Legimus in hiſtoriis Aſſyriorum, obſeſſos Tyrios, poſtquam nullam ſpem evadendi videbant, conſcenſis navibus fugiſſe Carthaginem, ſeu ad alias Ionii Ægeique maris inſulas. Hieron. in Iſ. 23. 6. p. 144. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(6) Quod quum viderent Tyrii jam jamque perfectum, et percuſſione arietum murorum fundamenta quaterentur, quicquid precioſum in auro, argento veſtibuſque, et varia ſupellectili nobilitas habuit, impoſitum navibus ad inſulas aſportavit; ita ut capta urbe, nihil dignum labore ſuo inveniret Nabuchodonoſor. Idem in Ezek. Cap. 29. p. 909.

(7) Arrian.

" thou have no reſt." Megaſthenes, (7) who lived about 300 years before Chriſt, and was employed by Seleucus Nicator in an embaſſy to the king of India, wrote afterwards a hiſtory of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadnezzar with great honor. This hiſtorian is quoted by ſeveral ancient authors, and he is cited particularly by (8) Strabo, Joſephus, and Abydenus in Euſebius, for ſaying that Nebuchadnezzar ſurpaſſed Hercules in bravery and great exploits, that he ſubdued great part of Africa and Spain, and proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules. After Nebuchadnezzar had ſubdued Tyre and Egypt, we may ſuppoſe that he carried his arms farther weſtward: and if he proceeded ſo far as Megaſthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be ſaid to " have no reſt," their conqueror purſuing them from one country to another. But beſides this and after this, the Carthaginians and other colonies of the Tyrians lived in a very unſettled ſtate. Their hiſtory is made up of little but wars and tumults, even before their three fatal wars with the Romans, in every one of which their affairs grew worſe and worſe. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa, the land and their own element the ſea, were theatres of their calamities and miſeries; till at laſt not only the new, but old Carthage too was utterly deſtroyed. As the Carthaginians ſprung from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the firſt-born of Canaan (Gen. X. 15.): ſo the curſe upon Canaan ſeemeth to have purſued them to the moſt diſtant parts of the earth.

III. The city ſhould be reſtored after 70 years, and return to her gain and her merchandiſe. This circumſtance is expreſly foretold by Iſaiah, (XXIII. 15, 16, 17.) " And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, " that Tyre ſhall be forgotten ſeventy years, according to the days of " one king," or kingdom, meaning the Babylonian which was to continue 70 years: " after the end of ſeventy years ſhall Tyre ſing as " an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that haſt " been forgotten, make ſweet melody, ſing many ſongs, that thou " mayſt be remembred. And it ſhall come to paſs after the end of ſe-

" venty

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. p. 203. Ejuſdem Hiſt. Ind. Cap. 5. p. 318. Edit. Gronov. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno. 298. Ptolemy Soter. 7.

(8) Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 460. Contra Apion Lib. 1. Sect. 20. p. 1343. Edit. Hudſon. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang.

" venty years, that the Lord will viſit Tyre, and ſhe ſhall turn to her " hire, and ſhall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the " world upon the face of the earth." Tyre is repreſeuted as a harlot, and from thence theſe figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that ſhe ſhould lie neglected of traders and merchants for 70 years, as long as the Babylonian empire laſted, and after that ſhe ſhould recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in ſeveral of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was famous above all places in the world.

Seventy years was the time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire. So long the nations were to groan under that tyrannical yoke, though theſe nations were ſubdued ſome ſooner, ſome later than others. (Jer. XXV. 11, 12.) " Theſe nations ſhall ſerve the king of " Babylon ſeventy years: And it ſhall come to paſs when ſeventy " years are accompliſhed, that I will puniſh the king of Babylon, and " that nation, ſaith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the " Chaldæans, and will make it perpetual deſolations." And accordingly at the end of ſeventy years Cyrus and the Perſians ſubverted the Babylonian empire, and reſtored the conquered nations to their liberties.

But we may compute theſe 70 years after another manner. Tyre was (9) taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the 32d year of his reign, and in the year 573 before Chriſt. Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year 503 before Chriſt, and the 19th of Darius Hyſtaſpis. At that time it appears from (1) hiſtory that the Ionians had rebelled againſt Darius, and the Phœnicians aſſiſted him with their fleets: and conſequently it is reaſonable to conclude that they were now reſtored to their former privileges. In the ſucceeding reign we find (2) that they together with the Sidonians furniſhed Xerxes with ſeveral ſhips for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Tyrians were grown to ſuch power and greatneſs, that they ſtopped

Evang: Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

(9) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. Book 2. and Book 4.

(1) Herod. Lib. 5. Cap. 108. &c. p. 330. Edit. Gale.

(2) Herod. Lib. 7. Cap. 89, &c. p. 412. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. p. 244. Edit. Steph. p. 3. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(3) Arian.

ſtopped the progreſs of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Perſian empire beſides. But all this is to be underſtood of the inſular Tyre; for as the old city floriſhed moſt before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, ſo the new city floriſhed moſt afterwards, and this is the Tyre that henceforth is ſo much celebrated in hiſtory.

IV. The city ſhould be taken and deſtroyed again. For when it is ſaid by the prophets, (Iſ. XXIII. 6.) "Howl ye inhabitants of the "ile;" (Ezek. XXVII. 32.) "What city is like Tyrus, like the de-"ſtroyed in the midſt of the ſea?" (XXVIII. 8.) "They ſhall bring "thee down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the deaths of them that are "ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas:" theſe expreſſions can imply no leſs than that the inſular Tyre ſhould be deſtroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accompliſhed by Nebuchadnezzar, ſo was the other by Alexander the great. But the ſame thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who propheſied in the reign of Darius, (Zech. I. 1. VII. 1.) probably Darius Hyſtaſpis, many years after the former deſtruction of the city, and conſequently he muſt be underſtood to ſpeak of this latter. His words are theſe, (IX. 3, 4.) "And Tyrus did build herſelf a ſtrong hold, and heaped "up ſilver as the duſt, and fine gold as the mire of the ſtreets. Be-"hold the Lord will caſt her out, and he will ſmite her power in the "ſea, and ſhe ſhall be devoured with fire." It is very true "that "Tyrus did build herſelf a ſtrong hold;" for her ſituation was very ſtrong in an iland, and beſides the ſea to defend her ſhe was (3) fortified with a wall of 150 feet in highth, and of a proportionable thickneſs. "She heaped up ſilver as the duſt, and fine gold as the mire of the "ſtreets," being the moſt celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, "the mart of nations" as ſhe is called, conveying the commodities of the eaſt to the weſt, and of the weſt to the eaſt. But yet "Behold the Lord will caſt her out, and he will ſmite her power in "the ſea, and ſhe ſhall be devoured with fire." Ezekiel had likewiſe foretold that the city ſhould be conſumed with fire, (XXVIII. 18.) "I will

(3) Arian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. p. 96. Edit. Gronov.——το τε ὑψος εις πεντηκοντα και ἑκατον μαλιστα πηχας, και ες πλαθος ξυμμετρον.——— CL admodum pedes altus, latitudine altitudini reſpondente.

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.—ignemque tectis injici jubet.

(5) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 583. Edit. Steph. p. 519. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(6) ——

" I will bring forth a fire from the midſt of thee, it ſhall devour thee, " and I will bring thee to aſhes upon the earth, in the ſight of all " them that behold thee." And accordingly Alexander beſieged, and took, and (4) ſet the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for (5) with the ſtones and timber and rubbiſh of the old city Alexander built a bank or cauſey from the continent to the iland, thereby litterally fulfilling the words of the prophet Ezekiel, (XXVI. 12.) " They ſhall lay thy ſtones, and thy " timber, and thy duſt in the midſt of the water." He was ſeven months in completing this work, but the time and labor were well employed, for by means hereof he was enabled to ſtorm and take the city.

As in the former ſiege the inhabitants according to the prophecies fled over the Mediterranean to the ilands and countries adjoining, ſo they did likewiſe in this latter ſiege; for (6) Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius both teſtify that they ſent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place the (7) Sidonians ſecretly conveyed fifteen thouſand more in their ſhips. Happy were they who thus eſcaped, for of thoſe who remained behind, the (8) conqueror ſlew eight thouſand in the ſtorming and taking of the city, he cauſed two thouſand afterwards cruelly to be crucified, and thirty thouſand he ſold for ſlaves. They had before ſold ſome of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, (III. 6, 7, 8.) " The children alſo of Judah, and the children " of Jeruſalem have ye ſold; Behold I will return your recompenſe " upon your own head, and will ſell your ſons and your daughters." This is the main of the prophecy, that as they had ſold the captive Jews, ſo they ſhould be ſold themſelves: and having ſeen this ſo punctually fulfilled, we may more eaſily believe that the other parts are ſo too, though at this diſtance of time, and in this ſcarcity of ancient hiſtorians,

(6) ——— τεκνα μεν και γυναικας και τας γεγηρακοτας εις Καρχηδονα διακομιζειν εψηφισαντο. liberos et uxores cum ſenio confectis Carthaginem tranſportare decernunt. τελος δε, των τεκνων και γυναικων μερος μεν εφθασαν υπεκθεμενοι προς τους Καρχηδονιους. tandem deponenda quadam apud Carthaginenſes liberorum et uxorum parte (hoſtem) antevertunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. Ibid. Conjuges liberoſque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 3.

(7) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(8) Arrian. Lib. 2. Cap. 24. p. 100. Edit. Gronov. Quintus Curtius ibid.

(9) Diod.

we are not able to prove all the particulars. When the city was taken before, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; and now (9) their king held his crown by Alexander's appointment. The caſes are parallel in many reſpects: but the city recovered much ſooner from the calamities of this ſiege than from the fatal conſequences of the former. For in (1) nineteen years time it was able to withſtand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and ſuſtained a ſiege of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof, as Dr. Prideaux obſerves, of "the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, "where moſt of the trade both of the eaſt and weſt did then center, "by virtue hereof it was, that it ſo ſoon revived to its priſtin "vigor."

V. It is uſual with God to temper his judgments with mercy: and amidſt theſe calamities it is alſo foretold, that there ſhould come a time, when the Tyrians would forſake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worſhip of God. The Pſalmiſt is thought to have hinted as much, in ſaying (XLV. 12.) "The daughter of Tyre "ſhall be there with a gift," and again (LXXII. 10.) "The kings "of Tarſhiſh and of the iles ſhall bring preſents." Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations ſhould ſuffer from Alexander, (IX. 1—7.) at the ſame time predicts their converſion to the true God; "but he that remaineth, even he "ſhall be for our God." But nothing can be plainer than Iſaiah's declaration that they ſhould conſecrate the gains of their merchandiſe for the maintenance of thoſe who miniſter to the Lord in holy things. (XXIII. 18.) "And her merchandiſe and her hire ſhall be holineſs to "the Lord: it ſhall not be treaſured, nor laid up: for her merchandiſe "ſhall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat ſufficiently, and "for durable cloathing." Here particularly we muſt be much obliged to the learned (2) Vitringa, who hath fully ſhown the completion of this article; as indeed every one who would rightly underſtand the prophet

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 587. Edit. Steph. p. 524. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. της μεν Τυριων πολεως κατεστησε βασιλεα τον ονομαζομενον Βαλλωνυμον. Tyriorum urbi regem præfecit cui Ballonymo nomen.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 704. Edit. Steph. p. 703. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

(2) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. 1. p. 704.

(3) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. De Martyr.

prophet Iſaiah, muſt be greatly obliged to that excellent commentator, and will receive more light and aſſiſtance from him than from all beſides him.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worſhip of Hercules as he was called by the Greeks, or of Baal as he is denominated in ſcripture. But in proceſs of time, by the means of ſome Jews and proſelytes living and converſing among them, ſome of them alſo became proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion; ſo that "a great multitude of people from the ſea "coaſt of Tyre and Sidon came to hear" our Saviour (Luke VI. 17.) "and to be healed of their diſeaſes:" and our Saviour, who was "ſent "only to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael," yet came "into the "coaſts of Tyre and Sidon;" (Matt. XV. 21, &c. Mark VII. 24, &c.) and the firſt fruits of the goſpel there was a Tyrian woman, "a woman "of Canaan," as ſhe is called, a "Syro-phœnician by nation." When St. Paul in his way to Jeruſalem came to Tyre, he found diſciples there, who were inſpired by the holy Ghoſt and propheſied, (Acts XXI. 4.) and with them he "tarried ſeven days." The Tyrians were ſuch ſincere converts to Chriſtianity, that in the time of Diocletian's perſecution they exhibited ſeveral glorious examples of confeſſors and martyrs, as (3) Euſebius himſelf ſaw, and hath amply teſtified in his book of the martyrs of Paleſtine. Afterwards when the ſtorm of perſecution was blown over, the Tyrians under their biſhop Paulinus built an oratory or rather a temple for the public worſhip of God, the moſt magnificent and ſumptuous in all Paleſtine and Phœnicia, which temple (4) Euſebius hath deſcribed, and celebrated in a handſome panegyric, whereof he hath inſerted a copy in his hiſtory, but modeſtly concealed the name of the author. Euſebius therefore commenting upon this paſſage of Iſaiah, might very well (5) ſay that 'it is fulfilled in 'our time. For ſince a church of God hath been founded in Tyre 'as well as in other nations, many of its goods gotten by merchandiſe 'are conſecrated to the Lord, being offered to his church;' as he afterwards

Martyr. Palæſtinæ. Cap. 5. et 7.

(4) Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib. 10. Cap. 4.

(5) Ὁ δὲ καὶ πληρεται καθ' ἡμας αυτους. quod noſtro tempore impletum videmus. Nam cum eccleſia Dei in urbe Tyro perinde ac in reliquis gentibus fundata ſit, multæ ex ejus mercibus negotiatione partis Domino conſecrantur, eccleſiæ ejus oblatæ: videlicet ut mox exponit, in uſum miniſtrorum altaris ſive evangelii, ſecundum inſtitutum Domini, ut miniſtri altaris ex eo vivant.

(6) Cernamus

terwards explains himſelf, 'for the uſe of the miniſters of the altar or 'goſpel, according to the inſtitution of our Lord, that they who wait 'at the altar ſhould live of the altar.' In like manner (6) St. Jerome: 'We may behold churches in Tyre built to Chriſt; we may ſee their 'riches that they are not laid up, nor treaſured, but given to thoſe 'who dwell before the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed, that they 'who preach the goſpel ſhould live of the goſpel.' And how liberally and munificently the biſhops and clergy were at that time maintained, how plentifully they were furniſhed with every thing, "to eat ſuf-"ficiently, and for durable cloathing," no man can want to be informed, who is ever ſo little converſant in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. To theſe proofs we will only add, that as Tyre conſecrated its merchandiſe and hire unto the Lord, ſo it had the (7) honor of being erected into an archbiſhopric, and the firſt archbiſhopric under the patriarchate of Jeruſalem, having fourteen biſhops under its primacy; and in this ſtate it continued ſeveral years.

VI. But after all the city ſhould be totally deſtroyed, and become a place only for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the deſtruction of a city or country, it was not intended that ſuch denunciation ſhould take effect immediately. The ſentence of condemnation (as I may ſay) was then paſſed upon it, but the execution might be reſpited for ſome time. When it was threatened that Babylon ſhould become a deſolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till at laſt it came to nothing; and now the place is ſo little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midſt of Babylon. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and deſolated all at once. Other things were to happen firſt. It was to be reſtored after 70 years; it was to be deſtroyed and reſtored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. Theſe events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accompliſhed: (XXVI. 3, 4, 5.) "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Be-"hold, I am againſt thee, O Tyrus, and will cauſe many nations "to come up againſt thee, as the ſea cauſeth his waves to come up: "And

(6) Cernamus in Tyro exſtructas Chriſti eccleſias, conſideremus opes omnium, quod non reponantur, nec theſaurizentur, ſed dentur his qui habitant coram Domino.——Sic enim et Dominus conſtituit, ut qui evangelium prædicant, vivant de evangelio. Hieron. in Iſ. Cap. 23. p. 146. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(7) Sandy's travels. B. 3. p. 168. 6th Edit. 1670. Hoffman's Lexicon, &c.

(8) Pococke's

" And they ſhall deſtroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her " towers; I will alſo ſcrape her duſt from her, and make her like the " top of a rock: It ſhall be a place for the ſpreading of nets in the " midſt of the ſea; for I have ſpoken it, ſaith the Lord God." He repeats it to ſhow the certainty of it, (ver. 14.) " I will make thee like " the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be a place to ſpread nets upon; thou " ſhalt be built no more; for I the Lord have ſpoken it, ſaith the Lord " God:" and again (ver. 21.) " I will make thee a terror, and thou " ſhalt be no more; tho' thou be ſought for, yet ſhalt thou never be " found again, ſaith the Lord God."

Theſe prophecies, like moſt others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have ſeen, deſtroyed the old city; and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbiſh in making his cauſey from the continent to the iland, which henceforwards were joined together. It " is no wonder therefore," as Biſhop (8) Pococke obſerves, " that there " are no ſigns of the ancient city; and as it is a ſandy ſhore, the face " of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is " almoſt buried in the ſand." So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath litterally been fulfilled, " Thou ſhalt be built no more; " though thou be ſought for, yet ſhalt thou never be found again." It may be queſtioned whether the new city ever after that aroſe to that highth of power, wealth, and greatneſs, to which it was elevated in the times of Iſaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its maſters often, being ſometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and ſometimes of the Seleucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the (9) Saracens about the year of Chriſt 639 in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the (1) Chriſtians during the time of the holy war in the year 1124, Baldwin the ſecond of that name being then king of Jeruſalem, and aſſiſted by

(8) Pococke's Deſcript. of the Eaſt. Vol. 2. B. 1. Chap. 20. p. 81, 82.

(9) Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 340.

(1) Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 250. Vers. Pocockii. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. 1. p. 26.

(2) Savage's

by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Chriſtians it was (2) taken again in the year 1289 by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who ſacked and raſed this and Sidon and other ſtrong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or ſhelter to the Chriſtians. From the Mamalucs it was (3) again taken in the year 1516 by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at preſent. But alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! For from being the center of trade, frequented by all the merchant ſhips of the eaſt and weſt, it is now become a heap of ruins, viſited only by the boats of a few poor fiſhermen. So that as to this part likewiſe of the city, the prophecy hath litterally been fulfilled, "I will "make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be a place to ſpread nets "upon."

The famous (4) Huetius knew one Hadrianus Parvillerius, a Jeſuit, a very candid man, and a maſter of Arabic, who reſided ten years in Syria; and he remembers to have heard him ſometimes ſay, that when he approached the ruins of Tyre, and beheld the rocks ſtretched forth to the ſea, and the great ſtones ſcattered up and down on the ſhore, made clean and ſmooth by the ſun and waves and winds, and uſeful only for the drying of fiſhermen's nets, many of which happened at that time to be ſpread thereon, it brought to his memory this prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Tyre; (XXVI. 5, 14.) "I will make thee like the "top of a rock; thou ſhalt be a place to ſpread nets upon; thou ſhalt "be built no more; for I the Lord have ſpoken it, ſaith the Lord "God."

Dr. (5) Shaw in his account of Tyre thus expreſſeth himſelf, "I vi-"ſited ſeveral creeks and inlets in order to diſcover what proviſion there "might have been formerly made for the ſecurity of their veſſels. Yet "notwithſtanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power of this "country, I could not obſerve the leaſt token of either *cothon* or har-"bour that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coaſt-

"ing

(2) Savage's Abridgment. Vol. 1. p. 95. Pocock. Deſcript. of the Eaſt. Vol. 2. B. 1. Chap. 20. p. 83.

(3) Savage's Abridgment. Vol. 1. p. 241.

(4) Hadrianum Parvillerium, e ſocietate Jeſu, virum candidiſſimum et Arabice doctiſſimum, qui decem annos in Syria egit, memini me audire aliquando cum diceret, ſibi olim ad collapſas Tyri ruinas accedenti, et rupes mari prætentas, ac disjectos paſſim in littore lapides procul ſpectanti, ſole, fluctibus,

" ing ſhips indeed, ſtill find a tolerable good ſhelter from the northern " winds under the ſouthern ſhore, but were obliged immediately to re- " tire, when the winds change to the weſt or ſouth: ſo that there muſt " have been ſome better ſtation than this for their ſecurity and recep- " tion. In the N. N. E. part likewiſe of the city, we ſee the traces " of a ſafe and commodious baſon, lying within the walls: but which " at the ſame time is very ſmall, ſcarce forty yards in diameter. Neither " could it ever have enjoyed a larger area, unleſs the buildings, which " now circumſcribe it, were encroachments upon its original dimen- " ſions. Yet even this port, ſmall as it is at preſent, is notwithſtanding " ſo choaked up with ſand and rubbiſh, that the boats of thoſe poor " fiſhermen, who now and then viſit this once renowned emporium, " can with great difficulty only be admitted."

But the fulleſt for our purpoſe is Mr. Maundrell, whom it is a pleaſure to quote as well as to read, and whoſe journal of his journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, though a little book, is yet worth a folio, being ſo accurately and ingeniouſly written, that it might ſerve as a model for all writers of travels. " This city, (6) ſaith he, ſtanding in the " ſea upon a peninſula, promiſes at a diſtance ſomething very magnifi- " cent. But when you come to it, you find no ſimilitude of that glo- " ry, for which it was ſo renowned in ancient times, and which the pro- " phet Ezekiel deſcribes Chap. 26, 27, 28. On the north ſide it has " an old Turkiſh ungarriſoned caſtle; beſides which you ſee nothing " here, but a meer Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there " being not ſo much as one entire houſe left: its preſent inhabitants " are only a few poor wretches harbouring themſelves in the vaults, and " ſubſiſting chiefly upon fiſhing, who ſeem to be preſerved in this place " by divine providence, as a viſible argument, how God has fulfilled " his word concerning Tyre, viz. that " it ſhould be as the top of a " rock, a place for fiſhers to dry their nets on."

Such

bus, et auris deterſos ac levigatos, et ſiccandis ſolum piſcatorum retibus, quæ tum forte plurima deſuper expanſa erant, utiles, veniſſe in memoriam hujus prophetiæ Ezekielis de Tyro (XXVI. 5, 14.) *Dabo te in limpidiſſimam petram: ſiccatio ſagenarum eris, nec ædificaberis ultra, quia ego locutus ſum, ait Dominus Deus.* Huetii Demonſtrat. Evang. Prop. 6. ad finem. p. 328.

(5) Shaw's Travels. p. 330.

(6) Maundrell, p. 48, 49. 5th Edit.

(1) Hom,

Such hath been the fate of this city, once the moſt famous in the world for trade and commerce. But trade is a fluctuating thing: it paſſed from Tyre to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Amſterdam and London, the Engliſh rivalling the Dutch, as the French are now rivalling both. All nations almoſt are wiſely applying themſelves to trade; and it behoves thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it, to take the greateſt care that they do not loſe it. It is a plant of tender growth, and requires ſun, and ſoil, and fine ſeaſons, to make it thrive and floriſh. It will not grow like the palm tree, which with the more weight and preſſure riſes the more. Liberty is a friend to that, as that is a friend to liberty. But the greateſt enemy to both is licentiouſneſs, which tramples upon all law and lawful authority, encourages riots and tumults, promotes drunkenneſs and debauchery, ſticks at nothing to ſupply its extravagance, practiſes every art of illicit gain, ruins credit, ruins trade, and will in the end ruin liberty itſelf. Neither kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private perſons, can long carry on a beneficial floriſhing trade without virtue, and what virtue teacheth, ſobriety, induſtry, frugality, modeſty, honeſty, punctuality, humanity, charity, the love of our country, and the fear of God. The prophets will inform us how the Tyrians loſt it; and the like cauſes will always produce the like effects. (Iſ. XXIII. 8, 9.) "Who hath taken this counſel againſt Tyre, "the crowning city, whoſe merchants are princes, whoſe traffickers are "the honorable of the earth? The Lord of hoſts hath purpoſed it, to "ſtain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the "honorable of the earth." (Ezek. XXVII. 3, 4.) "Thus ſaith the "Lord God, O Tyrus, thou haſt ſaid, I am of perfect beauty. Thy "borders are in the midſt of the ſeas, thy builders have perfected thy "beauty." (XXVIII. 5, &c.) "By thy great wiſdom, and by thy "traffick haſt thou increaſed thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up be-"cauſe of thy riches. By the multitude of thy merchandiſe they have "filled the midſt of thee with violence, and thou haſt ſinned; there-"fore will I caſt thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Thine "heart

(1) Hom. Odyſ. XIV. 257, 258.

Πεμπταῖοι δ' Αἰγυπτίον εὐρρεῖτην ἱκόμεσθα·
Στησα δ' ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ ποταμῳ νῆας ἀμφιελισσας.

Quinto-die autem ad Ægyptum pulcrè-fluentem venimus;

Statui

" heart was lifted up becauſe of thy beauty, thou haſt corrupted thy " wiſdom by reaſon of thy brightneſs. Thou haſt defiled thy ſanctua- " ries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traf- " fick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midſt of thee, it ſhall " devour thee, and I will bring thee to aſhes upon the earth, in the " ſight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among " the people, ſhall be aſtoniſhed at thee; thou ſhalt be a terror, and " never ſhalt thou be any more."

XII.

The prophecies concerning EGYPT.

EGYPT is one of the firſt and moſt famous countries that we read of in hiſtory. In the Hebrew ſcriptures it is called *Mizraim* and *the land of Ham*, having been firſt inhabited after the deluge by Noah's youngeſt ſon *Ham* or *Hammon*, and by his ſon *Mizraim*. The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river was ſo called in (1) Homer's time; and from thence, as Heſychius imagins, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive that the meaning of the name (2) Ægyptus is αια Cuphti, *the land of Cuphti*, as it was formerly called by the Egyptians themſelves and their neighbours the Arabians. All agree in this, that the kingdom of Egypt was very ancient; but ſome have carried this antiquity to an extravagant and fabulous highth, their dynaſties being utterly irreconcileable to reaſon and hiſtory both, and no ways to be

Statui vero in Ægypto fluvio naves remis utrinque-agitatas.

Heſychius: Αιγυπτος, ὁ Νειλος ὁ ποταμος ἀφ' ὲ και ἡ χωρα απο των νεωτερων Αιγυπτος εκληθη. Ægyptus, Nilus fluvius; a quo ipſa regio recentioribus appellata eſt Ægyptus.

(2) Mede's Works. B. 1. Diſc. 50. p. 281. Hoffmanni Lexicon, &c.

(3) מצרא

ſolved or credited but by ſuppoſing that they extend beyond the deluge, and that they contain the catalogues of ſeveral contemporary, as well as of ſome ſucceſſive kings and kingdoms. It is certain, that in the days of Joſeph, if not before thoſe in the days of Abraham, it was a great and floriſhing kingdom. There are monuments of its greatneſs yet remaining to the ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment of all poſterity, of which as we know not the time of their erection, ſo in all probability we ſhall never know the time of their deſtruction.

This country was alſo celebrated for its wiſdom, no leſs than for its antiquity. It was, as I may call it, the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and ſages of Greece and other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moſes (Acts VII. 22.) that he " was learned in all the " wiſdom of the Egyptians:" and the higheſt character given of Solomon's wiſdom (1 Kings IV. 30.) is that it " excelled the wiſdom " of all the children of the eaſt country, and all the wiſdom of Egypt." But with this wiſdom, and this greatneſs, it was early corrupted; and was as much the parent of ſuperſtition, as it was the miſtreſs of learning; and the one as well as the other were from thence propagated and diffuſed over other countries. It was indeed the grand corruptor of the world, the ſource of polytheiſm and idolatry to ſeveral of the eaſtern, and to moſt of the more weſtern nations; and degenerated at laſt to ſuch monſtrous and beaſtly worſhip, that we ſhall ſcarcely find a parallel in all hiſtory.

However this was the country, where the children of Iſrael were in a manner born and bred; and it muſt be ſaid they were much perverted by their education, and retained a fondneſs for the idols of Egypt ever afterwards. Several of Moſes's laws and inſtitutions were plainly calculated to wean them from, and to guard them againſt the manners and cuſtoms of the Egyptians. But ſtill in their hearts and affections they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married his wife from thence. And upon all occaſions they courted the friendſhip and alliance of Egypt rather than of any of the neighbouring powers. Which prejudice of theirs was the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them very injuriouſly. They oppreſſed them with moſt cruel ſervitude in Egypt. They gave them leave to depart, and then

then purſued them as fugitives. Shiſhak king of Egypt came up againſt Jeruſalem, (1 Kings XIV. 25, 26.) and plundered it. And in all their leagues and alliances Egypt was to them as " a broken reed," (Iſ. XXXVI. 6.) " whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and " pierce it." Upon all theſe accounts we might reaſonably expect that Egypt would be the ſubject of ſeveral prophecies, and we ſhall not be deceived in our expectation.

It is remarkable, that the prophecies uttered againſt any city or country, often carry the inſcription of " the burden" of that city or country. The prophecies againſt Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre were inſcribed (Nahum I. 1.) " the burden of Nineveh," (Iſ. XIII. 1.) " the " burden of Babylon," and (Iſ. XXIII. 1.) " the burden of Tyre:" and ſo here likewiſe (Iſ. XIX. 1.) the prophecies againſt Egypt have the title of " the burden of Egypt." And by *burden* is commonly underſtood a threatning burdenſome prophecy, big with ruin and deſtruction, which like a dead weight is hung upon a city or country, to ſink it. But the word in the original is of more general import and ſignification. Sometimes it ſignifies a prophecy at large: as the prophecies of Habakuk and Malachi are entitled " the burden which Habakuk the prophet did ſee," and " the burden of the word of the Lord to Iſrael by Malachi:" and it is rendered a *viſion* or *prophecy* in the Septuagint and other ancient verſions. Sometimes it ſignifies a prophecy of good as well as of evil: as it was ſaid of the falſe prophets who propheſied peace when there was no peace, (Lament. II. 14.) " Thy prophets have ſeen vain and fooliſh " things for thee, they have ſeen for thee falſe burdens;" and Zechariah's prophecy of the reſtoration and triumphs of the Jews in the latter days is entitled (Zech. XII. 1.) " the burden of the word of the Lord for " Iſrael." Sometimes it is tranſlated *a prophecy*, where there is no prophecy, but only ſome grave moral ſayings or ſentences, as (Prov. XXX. 1.) " the words of Agur the ſon of Jakeh, even the pro- " phecy;" and again (Prov. XXXI. 1.) " the words of king Lemuel, " the prophecy that his mother taught him." We may farther obſerve that the word is uſed of the author of the prophecy, as well as of the ſubject of it; and there is " the burden of the Lord," and " the burden " of the word of the Lord," as well as " the burden of Babylon," and " the burden of Egypt." We may be certain too, that this title was

affixed to the prophecies by the prophets themſelves, and not by the ſcribes who collected their writings afterwards, becauſe it appears from Jeremiah (XXIII. 33, &c.) that the ſcoffers and infidels of his time made a jeſt and deriſion of it; and therefore they are forbidden to mention it any more as being a term of ambiguous ſignification; and inſtead of inquiring "what is the burden of the Lord," they are commanded to ſay "what hath the Lord anſwered? and what hath the Lord ſpoken?" The (3) word in the original is derived from a verb that ſignifies to take up, to lift up, to bring forth, and the like; and the proper meaning of it is any weighty important matter or ſentence, which ought not to lie neglected, but is worthy of being carried in the memory, and deſerves to be lifted up and uttered with emphaſis. Such, eminently ſuch are all theſe prophecies, and thoſe relating to Egypt as well as the reſt. For they compriſe the principal revolutions of that kingdom from the times of the prophets to this day.

I. The firſt great revolution, that we ſhall mention, was the conqueſt of this kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Theſe two prophets have both employed ſeveral ſections or chapters upon this occaſion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, and there foretold (Chap. XLIII.) the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and ſome of his prophecies are entitled (XLVI. 13.) "The word that the Lord ſpake to Jeremiah "the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon ſhould come and "ſmite the land of Egypt." Ezekiel alſo declares, (XXX. 10, 11.) "Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will alſo make the multitude of Egypt "to ceaſe by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: He and "his people with him, the terrible of the nations ſhall be brought to "deſtroy the land; and they ſhall draw their ſwords againſt Egypt, "and fill the land with the ſlain:" and the conqueſt of this kingdom was promiſed to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his ſervices againſt Tyre,

(3) משא a נשא Tulit, Attulit, Protulit, &c. Buxtorf.

(4) καλασρεψασθαι γαρ αυτον φησι Λιβυης την πολλην. eum enim vaſtaſſe dicit magnam Libyæ partem. Megaſthenes apud Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon. αισθομενος δε μετ' ου πολυν χρονον την τυ πατρος τελευτην Ναβυχοδονοσορυ, καλαγησας τα καλα πτη Αιγυπτιον πραγματα. κ. τ. λ. Nabuchodonoſorus vero, non multo poſt patris morte cognita, rebuſque in Ægypto ordinatis &c. Beroſus ibid. Vid. etiam Euſebii. Præp. Evangel. Lib. 9. Cap. 40. et 41.

(5) Quod perſpicuè indicatur Jeremiæ, id Herodotus ignoravit: quia ſacerdotes illi Ægyptii, qui ei ſciſcitanti de rebus Ægyptiacis reſpondebant, ea, quæ ad laudem gentis faciebant, tantum docuerunt; cætera quæ ad illorum ignaviam, ſervitutem et tributa,

Tyre, which after a long ſiege he took and deſtroyed, but was diſappointed of the ſpoil, as was obſerved in the foregoing diſſertation; (Ezek. XXIX. 18, 19.) "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his "army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus: every head was made "bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his "army for Tyrus, for the ſervice that he had ſerved againſt it. "Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of "Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he ſhall take her "multitude, and take her ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the "wages for his army."

Now for this early tranſaction we have the (4) teſtimonies of Megaſthenes and Beroſus, two heathen hiſtorians, who lived above 300 years before Chriſt, one of whom affirms expreſly that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greateſt part of Africa, and the other affirms it in effect, in ſaying that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having ſettled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took in Egypt to the care of ſome of his friends to bring them after him, he haſted directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus have recorded this tranſaction, what (5) Scaliger ſaid of one of them may be very juſtly applied to both, that thoſe Egyptian prieſts, who informed them of the Egyptian affairs, taught them only thoſe things which made for the honor of their nation; other particulars of their idleneſs, ſervitude, and the tribute which they paid to the Chaldæans, they concealed. Joſephus, we may preſume, had good authorities, and was ſupported by earlier hiſtorians, when he (6) aſſerted, that Nebuchadnezzar, having ſubdued Cœle-Syria, waged war againſt the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, and ſlew the king who then reigned, and appointed another.

It is indeed moſt highly probable, that Apries was dethroned, and Amaſis conſtituted king by Nebuchadnezzar; and I think we may infer

ta, quæ Chaldæis pendebant, tacuerunt. Scalig. in Fragm. p. 11.

(6) ——— στρατευει ὁ αυτ© [Ναβ&χοδονοσορ©] επι την Κοιλην Συριαν· και κατασχων αυτην, επολεμησε και Αμμανιτας και Μωαβιτας. ποιησαμει© δε ὑπηκοα ταυτα τα εθνη, ενεβαλεν εις την Αιγυπτον καταστρεψομεν© αυτην. και τον μεν τοτε βασιλεα κτεινει. καταστησας δε ἑτερον. κ. τ. λ.——— exercitum ipſe eduxit in Cœlen-Syriam; eaque occupata et Ammanitis et Moabitis bellum intulit. Iſtis autem gentibus in poteſtatem ſuam reductis, impetum fecit in Ægyptum, ut ipſam debellaret, ac regem quidem, qui tunc regnabat, occidit; alio vero conſtituto &c. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. p. 454. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Απριεα

infer as much from Herodotus himſelf. The name of the king of Egypt at that time according to Jeremiah was *Pharaoh-Hophra*, and he can be none other than the *Apries* of Herodotus. Ezekiel repreſents him as an arrogant impious prince, (XXIX. 3.) as " the great " dragon" or crocodile " that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which " hath ſaid, My river is my own, and I have made it for myſelf:" and agreeably hereto (7) Herodotus informs us, that Apries proudly and wickedly boaſted of having eſtabliſhed his kingdom ſo ſurely, that it was not in the power of any god to diſpoſſeſs him of it. However Jeremiah foretold, that he ſhould be taken and ſlain by his enemies, (XLIV. 30.) " Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-" Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the " hand of them that ſeek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah " into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and " that ſought his life:" and accordingly (8) Apries was taken and ſtrangled by Amaſis, who was by Nebuchadnezzar conſtituted king in his room.

Ezekiel foretold, that the country ſhould be deſolated forty years, and the people carried captive into other countries; (XXIX. 12.) " I will make the land of Egypt deſolate in the midſt of the countries " that are deſolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waſte, " ſhall be deſolate forty years; and I will ſcatter the Egyptians among " the nations, and will diſperſe them thro' the countries." We cannot prove indeed from heathen authors, that this deſolation of the country continued exactly forty years, though it is likely enough that this, as well as the other conquered countries, did not ſhake off the Babylonian yoke till the time of Cyrus, which was about 40 years after the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but we are aſſured by (6) Beroſus, that Nebuchadnezzar took ſeveral captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from (1) Megaſthenes we learn, that he tranſplanted and ſettled others in Pontus. So true it is, that they were " ſcattered among the nations, and diſperſed thro' the countries," and

(7) Απριεω δε λεγεσθαι εινσι ηδε η διανοια, μηδ' αν θεον μιν μηδενα δυνασθαι παυσαι της βασιλειης· ὑτω ασφαλεως εαυτῳ ιδρυσθαι εδοκει. Fertur Apries ea fuiſſe perſuaſione, ne deum quidem ullum poſſe ſibi adimere regnum: adeo videbatur ſibi illud ſtabiliſſe. Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. p. 155. Edit. Gale.

(8) Herod. ibid. Diodorus Sic. Lib. 1. p. 43. Edit. Steph. p. 62. Edit. Rhod.

(9) Beroſus

and might upon the diſſolution of the Babylonian empire return to their native country.

II. Not long after this was another memorable revolution, and the country was invaded and ſubdued by Cambyſes and the Perſians, which is the main ſubject of the 19th chapter of Iſaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a near affinity with thoſe of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and St. Jerome and others apply it to Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as ſeveral others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both thoſe periods. For this prophecy of Iſaiah is a general repreſentation of the calamities of the nation; it includes various particulars; it is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyſes and the Perſians. They might therefore be both intended and comprehended in it: but the latter, I conceive, were principally intended, and for this reaſon; becauſe the deliverance of the Egyptians by ſome great conqueror, and their converſion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events conſequent to the dominion of the Perſians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

The prophet begins with declaring that the conqueſt of Egypt ſhould be ſwift and ſudden, and that the idols of Egypt ſhould be deſtroyed; (ver. 1.) "Behold the Lord rideth upon a ſwift cloud, and "ſhall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt ſhall be moved at his "preſence, and the heart of Egypt ſhall melt in the midſt of it." The ſame thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by Jeremiah, (XLIII. 11, &c.) "And when he cometh, he ſhall ſmite the land of Egypt—And I "will kindle a fire in the houſes of the gods of Egypt, and he ſhall "burn them, and carry them away captives—He ſhall break alſo the "images of Bethſhemeſh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the "houſes of the gods of the Egyptians ſhall he burn with fire:" and again

(9) Beroſus apud Joſephum Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudſon. και τες αιχμαλωτες ——των καλα την Αιγυπτον εθνων, ζυλαξας τισι των φιλων—— αναχομιζειν εις την Βαβυλωνιαν——

(1) ——————αποδασμον αυλεων εις τα δξια τε Ποντε κατοικισαι. colonias in dextram Ponti plagam deportaſſe. Megaſthenes apud Euſebium. ibid. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) Polyæni

again by Ezekiel, (XXX. 13.) " Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will alſo " deſtroy the idols, and I will cauſe their images to ceaſe out of Noph," or Memphis. We are not furniſhed with ancient authors ſufficient to prove theſe particulars (however probable) in the hiſtory of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; but we have ample proofs with relation to Cambyſes and the Perſians. The firſt attempt made by Cambyſes was upon (2) Peluſium, a ſtrong town at the entrance of Egypt, and the key of the kingdom; and he ſucceeded by the ſtratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, ſheep, cats, and other animals, which being held ſacred by the Egyptians, not one of them would caſt a javelin, or ſhoot an arrow that way; and ſo the town was ſtormed and taken in a manner without reſiſtance. He (3) treated the gods of Egypt with marvelous contempt, laughed at the people, and chaſtiſed the prieſts for worſhipping ſuch deities. He ſlew Apis, or the ſacred ox which the Egyptians worſhipped, with his own hand; and burnt and demoliſhed their other idols and temples; and would likewiſe, if he had not been prevented, have deſtroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Perſia, and ſubdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, (4) plundered their temples, and cauſed Apis to be ſlain and ſerved up in a banquet to him and his friends.

The prophet foretels, that they ſhould alſo be miſerably diſtracted with civil wars; (ver. 2.) " And I will ſet the Egyptians againſt the " Egyptians; and they ſhall fight every one againſt his brother, and " every one againſt his neighbour, city againſt city, and kingdom " againſt kingdom;" νομος επι νομον as the Seventy tranſlate it, province againſt province, Egypt being divided into νομοι prefectures or provinces. Vitringa and others apply this to the time of the (5) δωδεκαρχια or the reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that preceded, and the civil wars that enſued, wherein the genius and fortune of Pſammitichus

(2) Polyæni Stratagem. Lib. 7. Cap. 9. p. 620. Edit. Maaſvicii.

(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 27, &c. p. 172. Sect. 37, &c. p. 176. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 805. Edit. Paris. p. 1158. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. p. 29. Edit. Grævii.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 537. Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Plutarch. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 355. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(5) Herod. Lib 2. Sect. 147—154. p. 146—150. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 41. &c. Edit. Steph. p. 59, &c. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(6) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. p. 155. Edit. Gale.

mitichus prevailed over the reſt. But it may perhaps be more properly applied to what agrees better in point of time with other parts of the prophecy, (6) the civil wars between Apries and Amaſis at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invaſion, and the (7) civil wars between Tachos, Nectanebus, and the Mendeſian, a little before the country was finally ſubdued by Ochus.

It is no wonder, that in ſuch diſtractions and diſtreſſes as theſe, the Egyptians being naturally a cowardly people, ſhould be deſtitute of "counſel," and that "the ſpirit of Egypt ſhould fail in the midſt thereof," as the prophet foretels; (ver. 3.) and that being alſo a very ſuperſtitious people, "they ſhould ſeek to the idols, and to the charmers, "and to them that have familiar ſpirits, and to the wizards." But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be ſubdued and oppreſſed by cruel lords and tyrants; (ver. 4.) "And the Egyptians "will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king "ſhall rule over them, ſaith the Lord, the Lord of hoſts." This is the moſt eſſential part of the prophecy; and this Grotius and others underſtand of Pſammitichus: but it doth not appear from hiſtory, that Pſammitichus was ſuch a *fierce* and *cruel* tyrant; on the contrary he (8) reeſtabliſhed the government, and reigned long and proſperouſly for Egypt in many reſpects. It may with greater truth and propriety be underſtood of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, whoſe dominion was very grievous to the conquered nations: but with the greateſt propriety and juſtice it may be applied to the Perſians, and eſpecially to Cambyſes and Ochus; one of whom put the yoke upon the neck of the Egyptians, and the other rivetted it there; and who are both branded in hiſtory for cruel tyrants and monſters of men. The Egyptians ſaid that Cambyſes, after his killing of Apis, was ſtricken with madneſs; but his actions, ſaith (9) Dr. Prideaux after Herodotus, ſhowed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed

Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 43. Edit. Steph. p. 62. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Plutarch. in Ageſilao. Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. 506. Edit. Steph. p. 399, &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(8) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 153—157. p. 150, 151. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 42. Edit. Steph. p. 60. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod. Vide etiam Marſhami Chron. Sæc. 17. p. 505.

(9) Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 3. Anno 525. Cambyſes 5. Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 30. p. 173. Edit. Gale. Καμβυσης δε (ὡς λεγουσι Αιγυπτιοι) δια τουτο το αδικημα αυτικα εμανη, εων ουδε προτερον φρενηρης. Ob hoc ſcelus (ut Ægyptii aiunt) continuo Cambyſes inſaniit; quum ne prius quidem compos mentis fuiſſet.

(1) Diod.

thoſe great exploits, if he had been a downright madman: and yet it is certain that he was very much like one; there was a mixture of barbarity and madneſs in all his behaviour. Ochus was the cruelleſt and worſt of all the kings of Perſia, and was ſo deſtructive and oppreſſive to Egypt in particular, that his favorite eunuch (1) Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poiſoned him. The favors ſhown to himſelf could not compenſate for the wrongs done to his country. None other allegation is wanting to prove, that the Perſian yoke was galling and intolerable to the Egyptians, than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which ſerved ſtill but to augment their miſery, and inſlave them more and more.

The prophet then proceeds to ſet forth in figurative language (ver. 5—10.) the conſequences of this ſubjection and ſlavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confuſion and miſery, which ſhould be intailed on them and their poſterity: and afterwards he recounts (ver. 11—17.) the immediate cauſes of theſe evils, the folly of the princes and rulers who valued themſelves upon their wiſdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. Theſe things will plainly appear to any one by peruſing the hiſtory of the nation, but it would carry us beyond all bounds to prove them by an induction of particulars. In general it may be ſaid, that Egypt would not have become a prey to ſo many foreign enemies, but thro' the exceſſive weakneſs of the Egyptians both in counſel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themſelves. They truſted chiefly to their Grecian and other mercenaries, who inſtead of defending, were often the firſt to betray them.

III. The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the great, who ſubverted the Perſian empire in Egypt as well as in all other places: and this event, I entirely agree with Vitringa, is pointed out to us in this ſame 19th chapter of Iſaiah. It is alſo foretold, that about the ſame time ſeveral of the Egyptians ſhould be converted to the true religion and the worſhip of the God of Iſrael. And as theſe events, which are the ſubjects of the latter part of the chapter, (ver. 18—25.) followed upon

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 564. Edit. Steph. p. 490. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Æliani Var. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

(2) Diod.

upon the ſubverſion of the Perſian empire; we may be ſatisfied, that our application of the former part of the chapter to the Perſians in particular, was not a miſapplication of the prophecy. "In that day," that is after that day, after that time, as the phraſe ſignifies, and ſhould be tranſlated in ſeveral paſſages of the prophets, "ſhall five cities in the "land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan," profeſs the religion of the Hebrews; as in Zephaniah (III. 9.) "I will turn to the people a "pure language" ſignifies I will reſtore to the people a pure religion, "that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to ſerve him with "one conſent. And ſwear to the Lord of hoſts: one ſhall be called "the city of deſtruction," or of the ſun, as it is in the margin of our bibles, meaning Heliopolis, a famous city of Egypt. "In that day "ſhall there be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt, "and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord," ſuch as Jacob erected (Gen. XXVIII. 18.) at Bethel. "And it ſhall be for a ſign, and "for a witneſs unto the Lord of hoſts in the land of Egypt: for they "ſhall cry unto the Lord becauſe of the oppreſſors, and he ſhall ſend "them a ſaviour and a great one, and he ſhall deliver them. And "the Lord ſhall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians ſhall know the "Lord in that day, and ſhall do ſacrifice and oblation, yea, they ſhall "vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it." The prophet deſcribes the worſhip of future times, according to the rites and ceremonies of his own time. "And the Lord ſhall ſmite Egypt, he ſhall ſmite and "heal it, and they ſhall return even to the Lord, and he ſhall be in-"treated of them, and ſhall heal them." The prophet then proceeds to ſhow, that Aſſyria or Syria and Egypt, which uſed to be at great enmity with each other, ſhall be united in the ſame worſhip by the intermediation of Iſrael, and they three ſhall be a bleſſing in the earth. "In that day there ſhall be a high way out of Egypt to Aſſyria, and "the Aſſyrian ſhall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Aſſyria, "and the Egyptians ſhall ſerve with the Aſſyrians. In that day ſhall "Iſrael be the third with Egypt, and with Aſſyria, even a bleſſing in "the midſt of the land: Whom the Lord of hoſts ſhall bleſs, ſay-"ing, Bleſſed be Egypt my people, and Aſſyria the work of my hands, "and Iſrael mine inheritance."

Here it is clearly foretold, that a "great" prince, "a ſaviour ſent "by God," from a foreign country, ſhould "deliver" the Egyptians from their Perſian "oppreſſors" and "heal" their country, which was "ſmitten of God" and afflicted: and who could this be but Alexander, who is always diſtinguiſhed by the name of Alexander *the great*, and whoſe firſt ſucceſſor in Egypt was called *the great* Ptolemy, and Ptolemy Soter or *the ſaviour*? Upon Alexander's firſt coming into Egypt, the (2) people all chearfully ſubmitted to him out of hatred to the Perſians, ſo that he became maſter of the country without any oppoſition. For this reaſon he treated them with humanity and kindneſs, built a city there which after his own name he called Alexandria, appointed one of their own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and cuſtoms. By theſe changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle adminiſtration of ſome of the firſt Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning floriſhed, and for a while peace and plenty bleſſed the land.

But it is more largely foretold, that about the ſame time the true religion and the worſhip of the God of Iſrael ſhould begin to ſpread and prevail in the land of Egypt: and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the converſion of a people ſo ſunk and loſt in ſuperſtition and idolatry of the worſt and groſſeſt kind? It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jeruſalem, fled into Egypt, and carried along with them Jeremiah the prophet, (Jer. XLIII. &c.) who there uttered moſt of his prophecies concerning the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence ſome knowlege of God, and ſome notices of the prophecies might eaſily be derived to the Egyptians. It is ſaid that this alteration ſhould be effected principally in "five cities." If a certain number be not here put for an uncertain, I ſhould conclude with (3) Le Clerc, that the *five* cities, wherein the worſhip of the one

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 1, &c. Quint. Curtius Lib. 4. Cap. 7 et 8.

(3) Si liceret conjicere de nominibus quinque [quatuor] aliarum urbium, dicerem eas eſſe, quæ memorantur Jeremiæ Cap. XLIV. 2. Migdol (Herodoto Magdolus) Thachphanches (eidem Daphne) Noph ſive Memphis, et quarta in terra Pathros ſeu Pathyride, quæ nomine non appellatur, forte Amonno ſive Dioſpolis. In iis habitarunt Judæi, qui Chaldæorum metu poſt captam Ieroſolimam in Ægyptum migrârant, eóque invitum Jeremiam abduxerant. Quibus, improbis quippe, licet extrema mala iis propheta minetur, potuerunt tamen nonnulli pii admiſti eſſe, qui vaticinia ejus Ægyptiis aperuerint, et ipſi, cum ea impleta vidiſſent, Judaicam religionem amplexi ſint. Quod intelligi nolim de incolis omnibus eorum locorum: ſed de nonnullis; quod ſatis eſt, ut dicentur quinque urbes *lingua Chanahanitide*,

one true God was received, were *Heliopolis*, which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah (XLIV. 1.) as the places of the reſidence of the Jews, *Migdol* or Magdolum, *Tahpanhes* or Daphne, *Noph* or Memphis, and the fourth *in the country of Pathros* or Thebais, not mentioned by name, perhaps Amon-no or Dioſpolis. There the Jews chiefly reſided at that time: and though they were generally very wicked men, and diſobedient to the word of the Lord, and upon that account the prophet Jeremiah denounced the heavieſt judgments againſt them; yet ſome good men might be mingled among them, who might open his prophecies to the Egyptians, and they themſelves when they ſaw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewiſh religion. But this is to be underſtood not of all the inhabitants of thoſe places, but only of ſome; which is ſufficient to juſtify the expreſſion of "five cities ſpeaking the language of Canaan, "and ſwearing by the Lord of hoſts."

Alexander the great (4) tranſplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them privileges and immunities equal to thoſe of the Macedonians themſelves. Ptolemy Soter (5) carried more of them into Egypt, who there enjoyed ſuch advantages, that not a few of the other Jews went thither of their own accord, the goodneſs of the country and the liberality of Ptolemy alluring them. Ptolemy Philadelphus (6) redeemed and releaſed the captive Jews: and in his reign or his father's, the books of Moſes were tranſlated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Teſtament. The third (7) Ptolemy, called Euergetes, having ſubdued all Syria, did not ſacrifice to the Gods of Egypt in acknowlegement of his victory; but coming to Jeruſalem, made his oblations to God after the manner of the Jews: and the king's example, no doubt, would influence many of his ſubjects. The ſixth (8) Ptolemy, called Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra committed the whole management of the kingdom to two Jews, Onias and

nitide loquuturæ, et per Jehovem juraturæ. Comment. in locum.

(4) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 7. p. 1098. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1364. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 508. Hecatæus apud Joſeph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1347. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 2. p. 508. Contra Apion. Sect. 4. p. 1365. Edit. Hudſon. Hody de Vers. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

(7) Joſeph. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Joſeph. Contra Apion. Ibid. Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 3. p. 562. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Lib. 7. Cap. 10. Sect. 2. p. 1325. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) ουκ

and Doſitheus, who were their chief miniſters and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt like that at Jeruſalem, alleging for this purpoſe this very prophecy of Iſaiah, that there ſhould "be an altar to the Lord "in the midſt of the land of Egypt:" and the king and queen in their reſcript make honorable mention of the law and of the prophet Iſaiah, and expreſs a dread of ſinning againſt God. The place, choſen for the building of this temple, was in the prefecture of Heliopolis or *the city of the ſun*, which place is likewiſe mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jeruſalem, but not ſo ſumptuous and magnificent. He himſelf was made high-prieſt; other prieſts and levites were appointed for the miniſtration; and divine ſervice was daily performed there in the ſame manner as at Jeruſalem, and continued as long; for Veſpaſian, having deſtroyed the temple at Jeruſalem, ordered this alſo to be demoliſhed.

By theſe means "the Lord" muſt in ſome degree "have been known "to Egypt, and the Egyptians muſt have known the Lord:" and without doubt there muſt have been many proſelytes among them. Among thoſe who came up to the feaſt of Pentecoſt (Acts II. 10.) there are particularly mentioned "the dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of "Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and proſelytes." Nay from the inſtance of Candace's eunuch (Acts VIII. 27.) we may infer that there were proſelytes even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews ſettled and encouraged in Egypt, inſomuch that (9) Philo repreſents their number as not leſs than a hundred myriads or ten hundred thouſand men. Nor were they leſs favored or rewarded for their ſervices, by the kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicator (1) made them free of the cities, which he built in Aſia and the lower Syria, and of Antioch itſelf the capital of his kingdom; and granted the ſame rights and privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the great (2) publiſhed ſeveral decrees in favor of the Jews, both of thoſe who inhabited Jeruſalem, and of thoſe who dwelt in Meſopotamia and Babylonia.

(9) ουκ αποδεησι μυριαδων εκατον—In Flaccum. p. 971. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(1) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. p. 519. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Joſeph.

Babylonia. Joſephus (3) ſaith that the Jews gained many proſelytes at Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and proſelytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Iſrael Egypt and Syria were in ſome meaſure united in the ſame worſhip. But this was more fully accompliſhed, when theſe countries became chriſtian, and ſo were made members of the ſame body in Chriſt Jeſus. And we piouſly hope and believe, that it will ſtill receive its moſt perfect completion in the latter days, when Mohammediſm ſhall be rooted out, and Chriſtianity ſhall again floriſh in theſe countries, when "the fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and "all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved."

IV. But there is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, which comprehends in little the fate of Egypt from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the preſent. For therein it is foretold, that after the deſolation of the land and the captivity of the people by Nebuchadnezzar, (XXIX. 14, 15.) it "ſhould be a baſe kingdom: It ſhall be the baſeſt of the "kingdoms, neither ſhall it exalt itſelf any more above the nations; for "I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule over the nations:" and again in the next chapter, (ver. 12, 13.) "I will ſell the land into the "hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waſte, and all that is "therein, by the hand of ſtrangers: and there ſhall be no more a prince "of the land of Egypt." Such general prophecies, like general rules, are not to be underſtood ſo ſtrictly and abſolutely, as if they could not poſſibly admit of any kind of limitation or exception whatever. It is ſufficient if they hold good for the moſt part, and are confirmed by the experience of many ages, tho' perhaps not without an exception of a few years. The prophets exhibit a general view of things, without entring into the particular exceptions. It was predicted (Gen. IX. 25.) that "Canaan ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants unto his brethren;" and generally his poſterity were ſubjected to the deſcendents of his brethren: but yet they were not always ſo; upon ſome occaſions they were ſuperior; and Hannibal and the Carthaginians obtained ſeveral victories over the Romans, tho' they were totally ſubdued at laſt. In like manner it was not intended by this prophecy, that Egypt ſhould ever afterwards, in every point of time, but only that it ſhould for much the greater part of

(2) Joſeph. ibid.
(3) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1299. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) Kan

of time, be "a baſe kingdom," be tributary and ſubject to ſtrangers. This is the purport and meaning of the prophecy; and the truth of it will beſt appear by a ſhort deduction of the hiſtory of Egypt from that time to this.

Amaſis was left king by Nebuchadnezzar; and as he held his crown by the permiſſion and allowance of the Babylonians, there is no room to doubt that he paid them tribute for it. Beroſus, the Chaldæan hiſtorian, (4) in a fragment preſerved by Joſephus, ſpeaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his ſettling the affairs of the country, and carrying captives from thence to Babylon. By his conſtituting and ſettling the affairs of Egypt nothing leſs could be meant than his appointing his governors, and the tribute that they ſhould pay to him: and by carrying ſome Egyptians captive to Babylon, he plainly intended not only to weaken the country, but alſo to have them as hoſtages to ſecure the obedience of the reſt, and the payment of their tribute. If Herodotus hath given no account of theſe tranſactions, the reaſon is evident, according to the obſervation cited before from Scaliger; the Egyptian prieſts would not inform him of things, which were for the diſcredit of their nation. However we may, I think, confirm the truth of this aſſertion even by Herodotus's own narration. The Perſians ſucceeded in right of the Babylonians: and it appears (5) by Cyrus's ſending for the beſt phyſician in Egypt to Amaſis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children; and by Cambyſes's demanding the daughter of Amaſis, not for a wife but for a miſtreſs; by theſe inſtances, I ſay, it appears that they conſidered him as their tributary and ſubject. And indeed no reaſon can be aſſigned for the ſtrong reſentment of the Perſians againſt Amaſis, and their horrid barbarity to his dead body, ſo probable and ſatisfactory, as his having revolted and rebelled againſt them. Herodotus himſelf (6) mentions the league and alliance, which Amaſis made with Crœſus king of Lydia againſt Cyrus.

Upon

(4) Και καλασησας τα κατα την Αιγυπτον πραγμαλα και την λοιπην χωραν, και τυς αιχμαλωλυς—των καλα την Αιγυπλον εθνων, κ. τ. λ. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 1. p. 161. Edit. Gale.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 77. p. 32. Edit. Gale.

(7) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 1. p. 2. Lib. 8. p. 137. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(8) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 10—15. p. 164—167. Edit. Gale.

(9) Herod.

Upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire Cyrus erected the Perſian. Xenophon hath written the life of this extraordinary man: and he affirms (7) both in the introduction and near the concluſion of his hiſtory, that Cyrus alſo conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire; and there is not a more faithful, as well as a more elegant hiſtorian than Xenophon. But whether Cyrus did or not, it is univerſally allowed that his (8) ſon Cambyſes did conquer Egypt, and deprived Pſammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly ſucceeded upon the death of his father Amaſis. Cambyſes purpoſed to have made Pſammenitus adminiſtrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the cuſtom of the Perſians to do to the conquered princes: but Pſammenitus forming ſchemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was forced to drink bull's blood, and thereby put an end to his life. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. Then they (9) revolted toward the latter end of the reign of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes: but his ſon and ſucceſſor Xerxes, in the ſecond year of his reign, ſubdued them again, and reduced them to a worſe condition of ſervitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and twenty years after this, when (1) the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Perſia about the ſucceſſion to the throne after the death of Xerxes, they revolted again at the inſtigation of Inarus king of Lybia; and having drove away the Perſian tribute-collectors, they conſtituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt ſubmitted again to the king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus who reigned in the fens, whither the Perſians could not approach to take him: but Inarus, the author of theſe evils, was betrayed to the Perſians, and was crucified. However they (2) permitted his ſon Thannyra to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in ſubjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the (3) tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who ſallied out of the fens, drove the

(9) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 1. et 7. p. 382 et 384. Edit. Gale.

(1) Thucydides Lib. 1. Sect. 104—110. p. 57—60. Edit. Hudſon. Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 11. p. 279. Edit. Steph. p. 54. &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhodomani.

(2) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. p. 167. Edit. Gale.

(3) Euſebius in Chronico. Uſher's Annals, A. M. 3590. p. 146. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 6. Anno 414.

(4) Herod.

Perſians out of Egpyt, made himſelf maſter of the country, and reigned there ſix years; but his ſon Pauſiris, (4) as Herodotus informs us, ſucceeding him in his kingdom by the favor of the Perſians, this argues that the Perſians had again ſubdued Egypt, or at leaſt that the king was not eſtabliſhed without their conſent and approbation. It is certain that after this, Egypt gave much trouble to the Perſians. Artaxerxes Mnemon (5) made ſeveral efforts to reconquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally ſubdued till the (6) ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Chriſt; when Nectanebus the laſt king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became abſolute maſter of the country, and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory and immenſe treaſures to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties. It hath always been ſubject to ſtrangers. It hath never been governed by a king of its own. From this laſt revolt of the Egyptians in the tenth year of Darius Nothus to their total ſubjugation in the ninth year of Ochus, I think there are computed ſixty four years: and this is the only exception of any ſignificance to the general truth of the prophecy. But what are ſixty four years compared to two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five? for ſo many years have paſſed from the conqueſt of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar to this time. They are really as nothing, and not worth mentioning in compariſon: and during theſe ſixty four years, we ſee, that the Egyptians were not entirely independent of the Perſians; Pauſiris ſucceeded his father Amyrtæus in the kingdom by their conſent and favor: and during the reſt of the time the Egyptians lived in continual fear and dread of the Perſians, and were either at war with them, or with one another. And perhaps this part of the prophecy was not intended to take effect immediately: its completion might be deſigned to commence from this period, when the Perſians had totally ſubdued Egypt,

(4) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. Ibid.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. 478. Edit. Steph. p. 357, &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 537. Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Uſher's Annals. A. M. 3654. p. 196. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 350.

(7) Ἅπαντες μεν ουν οἱ μετα τον τριτον Πτολεμαιον ὑπο τρυφης διεφθαρμενοι, χειρον επολιτευσαντο· χειριστα δ' ὁ τεταρτος, και ὁ ἑβδομος, και ὁ ὑστατος ὁ Αυλητης. Omnes poſt tertium Ptolemæum malè regnum geſſerunt, luxu perditi: omnium verò peſſimè quartus, et ſeptimus, et ultimus, Auletes. Strab. Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris. p. 1146. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(8) Juſtin.

Egypt, and then there ſhould be " no more a prince of the land of " Egypt."

After the Perſians Egypt came into the hands of the Macedonians. It ſubmitted to Alexander the great without ſtriking a ſtroke; made no attempts at that favorable juncture to recover its liberties, but was content only to change its maſter. After the death of Alexander it fell to the ſhare of Ptolemy, one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for ſeveral generations. The two or three firſt of the Ptolemies were wiſe and potent princes, but moſt of the reſt were prodigies of luxury and wickedneſs. It is (7) Strabo's obſervation, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill, being corrupted by luxury; but they who governed worſt of all were the fourth, and the ſeventh, and the laſt called Auletes. The perſons here intended by Strabo were (8) Ptolemy Philopator or *the lover of his father*, ſo called (as Juſtin conceives) by way of antiphraſis, or with a contrary meaning, becauſe he was a parricide, and murder'd both his father and his mother; and (9) Ptolemy Phyſcon or the big-bellied, who affected the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*, but the Alexandrians more juſtly named him *Kakergetes* or *the malefactor*; and (1) Ptolemy Auletes or *the piper*, ſo denominated, becauſe he ſpent much of his time in playing on the pipe, and uſed to contend for the prize in the public ſhows. This kingdom of the Macedonians (2) continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, of whom it is not eaſy to ſay, whether ſhe excelled more in beauty, or wit, or wickedneſs.

After the Macedonians Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. The Romans had either by virtue of treaties or by force of arms obtained great authority there, and were in a manner arbiters of the kingdom before, but after the death of Cleopatra (3) Octavius Cæſar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, to whom the tenth eclogue is inſcribed,

(8) Juſtin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. p. 466. Edit. Grævii. Ægyptum, patre ac matre interfectis, occupaverat Ptolemæus, cui ex facinoris crimine, cognomentum *Philopatori* fuit.

(9) Athenæus Lib. 12. p. 549. Edit. Caſaubon.

(1) Strabo ibid.

(2) Clemens Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1. p. 143. Edit. Sylburg. p. 396. Edit. Potter. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 30. Herod. 8.

(3) Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 797, et 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1147, et 1175. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Dion. Caſſ. Lib. 51. p. 455. Edit. Leunclav.

(4) See

the firſt preſect or governor: and ſo it continued to be governed by a preſect or viceroy ſent from Rome, or from Conſtantinople, when after the diviſion of the Roman empire it fell to the ſhare of the eaſtern emperors. It was firſt made a province of the Roman empire in the year (4) 30 before Chriſt, and in this ſtate it remained without much variation till the year 641 after Chriſt, that is 670 years in the whole from the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the (5) Saracens, in the reign of Omar their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou the ſon of Aas, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Miſrah (formerly Memphis, now Cairo) by ſtorm, and alſo Alexandria, after they had beſieged it fourteen months, and had loſt twenty three thouſand men before it: and the reſt of the kingdom ſoon followed the fortune of the capital cities, and ſubmitted to the conqueror. There is one thing which was effected partly in the wars of the Romans and partly by the Saracens, and which no lover of learning can paſs over without lamentation; and that is the deſtruction of the library at Alexandria. This famous library was founded by the firſt Ptolemies, and was ſo much inlarged and improved by their ſucceſſors, that it (6) amounted to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes. It conſiſted (7) of two parts, one in that quarter of the city called Bruchion, containing four hundred thouſand volumes, and the other within the Serapeum, containing three hundred thouſand volumes. It happened, that while Julius Cæſar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, (8) the library in Bruchion together with other buildings was burnt, and the (9) four hundred thouſand volumes which were kept therein were all conſumed. But this loſs was in ſome meaſure repaired by the (1) Pergamean library, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand volumes, which Anthony preſented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards, ſo that (2) this latter library was reckoned

(4) See Uſher, Prideaux, &c. under that year.

(5) Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 23, 24. Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 112. Verſ. Pocockii. Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 344, &c.

(6) Ammianus Marcellinus Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 343. Edit. Valeſii 1681. ubi vide etiam quæ Valeſius adnotavit. A. Gellius. Lib. 6. Cap. 17.

(7) Epiphanius de Menſuris et Ponderibus. Op. Vol. 2. p. 168. Edit. Petavii. Paris. 1622. Chryſoſtom. Adverſ. Judæos. Orat. 1. p. 595. Op. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(8) Plutarch in Julio Cæſare. Op. Vol. 1. p. 731. Edit. Paris. 1624. Dion Caſſius, Lib. 42. p. 202. Edit. Leunclav.

(9) Seneca de Tranquill. animi. Cap. 9. Op. Vol. 1. p. 362. Edit. Varior. Oroſii Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 15. p. 421. Edit. Havercamp.

(1) Plutarch

reckoned as numerous and as famous as the other ever was: and it came to the ſame fatal end, this being alſo deſtroyed by fire. For (3) John the Grammarian, a famous philoſopher of Alexandria, being in great favor with Amrou the Saracen general, aſked of him the royal library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to give it him, without leave firſt obtained from the emperor of the faithful. Amrou therefore wrote to Omar, and acquainted him with John's petition, to which the caliph returned this anſwer; that if what was contained in thoſe books was agreeable to the book of God or the Koran, the Koran was ſufficient without them; but if it was repugnant to the Koran, it was no ways uſeful; and therefore he commanded them to be deſtroyed. Amrou in obedience to the caliph's commands ordered them to be diſtributed among the baths of the city, and to be burnt in warming them, whereof there were no fewer at that time in Alexandria than four thouſand: and yet there paſſed ſix months before the books were all conſumed; which ſufficiently evinces how great their number was, and what an ineſtimable loſs not only Egypt, but all the learned world hath ſuſtained. Egypt before this (4) was frequented by learned foreigners for the ſake of this library, and produced ſeveral learned natives; but after this it became more and more "a baſe kingdom," and ſunk into greater ignorance and ſuperſtition. Mohammediſm was now eſtabliſhed there inſtead of Chriſtianity, and the government of the Caliphs and Sultans continued till about the year of Chriſt 1250.

About that time it was that the (5) Mamalucs uſurped the royal authority. The (6) word in general ſignifies a ſlave bought with money, but is appropriated in particular to thoſe Turkiſh and Circaſſian ſlaves, whom the Sultans of Egypt bought very young, trained up in military exerciſes, and ſo made them their choiceſt officers and ſoldiers,

(1) Plutarch in Antonio. Op. Vol. 1. p. 943. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(2) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 18. p. 18. Edit. Rigaltii. 1675.

(3) Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 114. Verſio Pocockii. Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 359, &c. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 1. Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. 1.

(4) Vide Amm. Amm. Marcellin. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 344, &c. Edit. Valeſii Paris. 1681.

(5) Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 325, &c. et Pocockii Supplementum p. 8, &c.

(6) Pocockii Supplem. p. 7. *Mamluc* autem (et cum de pluribus dicitur *Mamalic*) ſervum emptitium denotat, ſeu qui pretio numerato in domini poſſeſſionem cedit. Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale. p. 545. *Mamlouk*. Ce mot dont le pluriel eſt Memalik, ſignifie en Arabe un eſclave en general, mais en particulier, il a été appliqué a ces eſclaves Turcs et Circaſſiens, &c.

(7) Sir

ſoldiers, and by them controlled their ſubjects, and ſubdued their enemies. Theſe ſlaves perceiving how neceſſary and uſeful they were, grew at length inſolent and audacious, ſlew their ſovrans, and uſurped the government to themſelves. It is commonly ſaid, that none but the ſons of Chriſtians were taken into this order; and there are other popular miſtakes about them, which are current among European authors, and which (7) Sir William Temple among others hath adopted and expreſſed, as he doth every thing, in a lively and elegant manner. "The ſons of the deceaſed Sultans enjoyed the eſtates and riches left "by their fathers, but by the conſtitutions of the government no ſon of "a ſultan was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected Sultan: "So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to "be born of a prince, was a certain and unalterable excluſion from "the kingdom; and none was ever to be choſen Sultan, that had not "been actually ſold for a ſlave, brought from Circaſſia, and trained up "a private ſoldier in the Mamaluc bands." But (8) they who are better verſed in oriental authors, aſſure us that theſe are vulgar errors: and it appears from the (9) Arabian hiſtorians, that among the Mamalucs the ſon often ſucceeded the father in the kingdom. Their government is thus characterized by an (1) Arabic author quoted by Dr. Pocock; 'If 'you conſider the whole time that they poſſeſſed the kingdom, eſpe-'cially that which was nearer the end, you will find it filled with 'wars, battles, injuries and rapines.' Their government (2) began with Sultan Ibeg in the 648th year of the Hegira and the year of Chriſt 1250; and continued through a (3) ſeries of 24 Turkiſh and 23 Circaſſian Mamaluc Sultans, 275 Arabic and 267 Julian years; and (4) ended with Tumanbäi in the 923d year of the Hegira and the year of Chriſt 1517.

For at that time (5) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their laſt Sultan Tumanbäi before one of the gates

(7) Sir W. Temple's Works. Vol. 1. Miſcellanea. Part 2. Eſſay on Heroic Virtue. Sect. 5. p. 224.

(8) Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. Ex his quæ dicta ſunt facile patet, in errore eſſe eos qui Mamlucos Chriſtianorum tantummodo filios fuiſſe autumant; nec non in aliis erraſſe, quæ de ſucceſſionis apud eos jure, eorumque diſciplina tradunt. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 545. Il paroît par ce que l'on vient de voir, que les Mamelucs n'etoient pas fils de Chrétiens (ſi ce n'eſt peut être quelqu'un d'entr'eux) comme pluſieurs de nos hiſtoriens l'ont avancé.

(9) Pocockii Supplem. p. 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

(1) Al.

gates of Cairo, put an end to their government; cauſed five hundred of the chiefeſt Egyptian families to be tranſported to Conſtantinople, as likewiſe a great number of Mamalucs wives and children, beſides the Sultan's treaſure and immenſe riches; and annexed Egypt to the Othman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed as Prince Cantemir informs us, by a Turkiſh Baſha (6) with twenty four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from ſervitude to the adminiſtration of public affairs; a ſuperſtitious notion poſſeſſing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives ſhall reign, and the natives be ſubject to them. But it cannot well be called a ſuperſtitious notion, being a notion in all probability at firſt derived from ſome tradition of theſe prophecies, that "Egypt ſhould be a baſe kingdom," that "there ſhould be no more "a prince of the land of Egypt," and that "Ham" in his poſterity "ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants unto his brethren."

By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fully atteſted by the whole ſeries of the hiſtory of Egypt from that time to the preſent. And who could pretend to ſay upon human conjecture, that ſo great a kingdom, ſo rich and fertil a country, ſhould ever afterwards become tributary and ſubject to ſtrangers? It is now a great deal above two thouſand years, ſince this prophecy was firſt delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians ſhould for ſo many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never in all that time be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, ſo is the event. For not long afterwards Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians (7) by the Perſians; and after the Perſians it became ſubject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and is now a province of the Othman empire.

Thus

(1) Al. Jannabius in Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus reſpicias, præſertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis et rapinis refertum.
(2) Pocock. p. 8. Herbelot. p. 479.
(3) Pocock. p. 8—30. Herbelot. p. 545.
(4) Pocock. p. 30. Herbelot. p. 1031.
(5) Pocockii Supplem. p. 30 et 49. Herbelot. Bibli. Orient. p. 545, et 802, et 1031. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut's Turkiſh Hiſt. Vol. 1. p. 241.
(6) Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman Empire. Part 1. B. 3. p. 156. in the Notes.
(7) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 1. Anno 589. Zedekiah 10.
(8) Strabo.

Thus we ſee how Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre and Egypt, the great adverſaries and oppreſſors of the Jews, have been viſited by divine vengeance for their enmity and cruelty to the people of God. Not that we muſt think God ſo partial as to puniſh theſe nations only for the ſake of the Jews; they were guilty of other flagrant ſins, for which the prophets denounced the divine judgments upon them. Egypt in particular was ſo ſeverely threatn'd by the prophet Ezekiel, (Chap. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII.) for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedneſs. And the Egyptians have generally been more wretched, as they have generally been more wicked, than other nations. Ancient authors deſcribe them every where as ſuperſtitious and luxurious, as an (8) unwarlike and unſerviceable people, as (9) a faithleſs and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as (1) lovers of wine and ſtrong drink, as (2) cruel in their anger, as (3) thieves and tolerating all kinds of theft, as (4) patient of tortures, and tho' put to the rack, yet chooſing rather to die than to confeſs the truth. Modern authors paint them ſtill in blacker colors. The famous (5) Thevenot is very ſtrong and ſevere; "The people of Egypt (generally ſpeaking) "are all ſwarthy, exceeding wicked, great rogues, cowardly, lazy, "hypocrites, buggerers, robbers, treacherous, ſo very greedy of "money, that they will kill a man for a *maidin* or three half-pence." Biſhop (6) Pococke's character of them is not much more favorable, though not ſo harſh and opprobrious; "The natives of Egypt are now "a ſlothful people, and delight in ſitting ſtill, hearing tales, and indeed "ſeem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any "active ſcenes.—They are alſo malicious and envious to a great "degree, which keeps them from uniting and ſetting up for them-"ſelves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural "cunning and artifice as well as falſhood, and this makes them always "ſuſpicious of travelers—The love of money is ſo rooted in them, "that

(8) Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1175. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Juvenal Sat. XV. 126. imbelle et inutile vulgus.

(9) Lucan V. 58. non fidæ gentis. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. Cap. 16. fallacem gentem, ſemperque alia cogitantem, alia ſimulantem.

(1) Athenæus ex Dione Lib. 1. p. 34. Edit. Caſaubon. φιλοινους και φιλοπολας. vinoſos ac bibaces.

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719. Edit. Caſaubon. Δεινη γαρ τις η παρα τους θυμους ωμοτης γινεσθαι των κατα την Αιγυπτον ανθρωπων. Eſt enim hoc Ægyptiis hominibus innatum, ut dum fervent ira mirum in modum ſint crudeles.

(3) A. Gellius. Lib. 11. Cap. 18. Ex Ariſtone. furta

"that nothing is to be done without bribery.—They think the greateſt "villanies are expiated, when once they waſh their hands and feet. "—Their words paſs for nothing, either in relations, promiſes, or "profeſſions of friendſhip, &c." Such men are evidently born not to command, but to ſerve and obey. They are altogether unworthy of liberty. Slavery is the fitteſt for them, as they are fitteſt for ſlavery. It is an excellent political aphoriſm of the wiſeſt of kings, and all hiſtory will bear witneſs to the truth of it, that (Prov. XIV. 34.) "righteouſneſs exalteth a nation, but ſin is a reproach" and ruin "to "any people."

XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR's *dream of the great empires.*

WE have ſeen how it pleaſed God to reveal unto the prophets the future condition of ſeveral of the neighbouring countries; but there are other prophecies which extend to more remote nations, thoſe nations eſpecially and their tranſactions, wherein the church of God was particularly intereſted and concerned. It pleaſed God too to make theſe revelations, at a time when his people ſeemed in other reſpects abandoned and forſaken, and did not ſo much deſerve, as ſtand in need of light and comfort. Iſaiah and Jeremiah propheſied in

niel

furta omnia fuiſſe licita et impunita. Diod: Sic. Lib. 1. p. 50. Edit. Steph. p. 72. Edit. Rhod.

(4) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 18. Αἰγυπτίους φασι δεινως ἐνχαρτερειν ταις βασανοις, και ὁτι θᾶτ̃ον τεθνηξεται ανηρ Αἰγυπτιος τρεχλημενος, ἡ τ'αληθες ὁμολογησει. Ægyptios aiunt patientiſſime ferre tormenta; et citius mori hominem Ægyptium in quæſtionibus, tortum examinatumque, quam veritatem prodere. Ammianus Marcell. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 347. Edit. Valeſii 1681.

(5) Thevenot in Harris's collection. Vol. 2. Chap. 8. p. 429.

(6) Pococke's Deſcription of the Eaſt. Vol. 1. Book 4. Chap. 4. p. 177, &c.

(1) Cave

the declenſion of the kingdoms of Iſrael and Judah. Ezekiel and Daniel propheſied during the time of the Babyloniſh captivity. And the prophecies of Daniel are ſo clear and exact, that in former as well as in later times it hath confidently been aſſerted, that they muſt have been written after the events, which they are pretended to foretel.

The famous Porphyry (who floriſhed at the latter end of the third century after Chriſt) was I think the firſt who denied their genuinneſs and authority. He wrote (1) fifteen books againſt the Chriſtian religion, the twelfth of which was deſigned to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel; and therein he affirmed, that they were not compoſed by Daniel whoſe name they bore, but by ſome body who lived in Judea about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; becauſe all to that time contained true hiſtory, but all beyond that were manifeſtly falſe. This work of Porphyry together with the anſwers of Euſebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, is wholly loſt, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preſerved in Jerome and others of the fathers. But as (2) Jerome rightly obſerves, this method of oppoſing the prophecies is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their truth. For they were fulfilled with ſuch exactneſs, that to infidels the prophet ſeemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things paſt.

The celebrated author of *the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy conſider'd* hath followed the ſteps of Porphyry. He hath collected every thing, that in the courſe of his reading he thought could be turned to the diſparagement of the book of Daniel. He hath framed all that he had collected into eleven objections againſt it; and upon the whole concludes with much poſitiveneſs and aſſurance, that it muſt be written in the days of Maccabees. But his (3) two learned opponents, both of the ſame name, have ſolidly and clearly refuted his eleven objections, and ſhown them all to be mere cavils or direct falſities, groundleſs aſſertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

And indeed it may be proved, it hath been proved to a demonſtration, as much as any thing of this nature can be proved to a demonſtration,

(1) Cave Hiſt. Lit. Vol. 1. p. 156. Hieron. Præf. in Danielem. Vol. 3. p. 1072. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Cujus impugnatio teſtimonium veritatis eſt. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixiſſe, ſed narraſſe preterita. Hieron. ibid.

(3) See

tion, by all the characters and teſtimonies both internal and external, that the prophecies of Daniel were written at the time that the ſcripture ſays they were written, and he "proſpered" on account of theſe prophecies (Dan. VI. 28.) "in the reign of Darius the Mede, and in "the reign of Cyrus the Perſian:" that is between five and ſix hundred years before Chriſt. It is very capricious and unreaſonable in unbelievers to object, as Collins doth, to the prophecies of Daniel, ſometimes that they are too plain, and ſometimes that they are too obſcure. But it will entirely overthrow the notion of their being written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Maccabees, and will eſtabliſh the credit of Daniel as a prophet beyond all contradiction, if it can be proved that there are ſeveral prophecies of his which have been fulfilled ſince the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees as well as before, nay that there are prophecies of his which are fulfilling in the world at this very time.

Daniel's firſt prophecy, and the groundwork as I may ſay of all the reſt, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This monarch "in the ſecond year of his reign" (Dan. II. 1.) according to the Babylonian account, or the fourth according to the Jewiſh, that is in the ſecond year of his reigning alone, or the fourth from his firſt reigning jointly with his father, having ſubdued all his enemies and firmly eſtabliſhed his throne, was thinking "upon his bed, (ver. 29.) what "ſhould come to paſs hereafter," what ſhould be the future ſucceſs of his family and kingdom, and whether any or what families and kingdoms might ariſe after his own: and as our waking thoughts uſually give ſome tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of ſomething to the ſame purpoſe, which aſtoniſhed him, but which he could not rightly underſtand. The dream affected him ſtrongly at the time; but awaking in confuſion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it, he could not recollect all the particulars. He called therefore (ver. 2.) for "the magicians and aſtrologers;" and as abſurdly as imperiouſly demanded of them (ver. 5.) upon pain of death and deſtruction, "to make known unto him both the dream and the interpretation

(3) See Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defenſe of Chriſtianity, and Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, in anſwer to the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy conſider'd.

(4) Hiero[illegible]

" thereof." They anſwered very reaſonably, that no king had ever required ſuch a thing, that it tranſcended all the powers and faculties of man, God alone or only beings like God could diſcloſe it; (ver. 10, 11.) " There is not a man upon earth that can ſhow the " king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that " aſked ſuch things at any magician, aſtrologer, or Chaldæan: And it is " a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can " ſhow it before the king, except the God, whoſe dwelling is not " with fleſh." But the pride of abſolute power cannot hear any reaſon, or bear any controll; and the king greatly incenſed preſently ordered all the magicians and wiſe-men of Babylon to be deſtroyed; (ver. 12.) " For this cauſe the king was angry and very furious, and " commanded to deſtroy all the wiſe-men of Babylon."

Daniel and his fellows would have been involved in the ſame fate as the reſt; but by their joint and earneſt prayers to the God of heaven, " the ſecret was revealed unto Daniel in a night-viſion; (ver. 19.) " and Daniel bleſſed the God of heaven." Daniel thus inſtructed was deſirous to ſave the lives of the wiſe-men of Babylon, who were unjuſtly condemned, as well as his own: and he " went unto Arioch, the " captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordained to deſtroy " the wiſe-men of Babylon: he went (ver. 24.) and ſaid thus unto " him, Deſtroy not the wiſe-men of Babylon; bring me in before " the king, and I will ſhow unto the king the interpretation." The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and ſaid (ver. 25.) " I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will " make known unto the king the interpretation." *I have found a man* ſaid he, tho' Daniel had voluntarily offered himſelf; where Jerome remarks the manner of courtiers, *qui quum bona nunciant, ſua videri volunt*, who when they relate good things, are willing to have them thought their own, and to have the merit aſcribed to themſelves. But Daniel was far from aſſuming any merit to himſelf, and ſaid very modeſtly,

(4) Hieron. Comment. in ver. 1. Vidit rex impius ſomnium futurorum, ut interpretante Sancto quod viderat, Deus glorificaretur; et captivorum Deoque in captivitate ſervientium ſit grande ſolatium. Hoc idem in Pharaone legimus, non quod Pharao et Nabuchodonoſor videre meruerint; ſed quod Joſeph et Daniel digni extiterint, qui interpretatione eorum omnibus præferrentur. Et poſtea in ver. 29.—et ut Nabuchodonoſor divinæ inſpirationis miretur gratiam, non ſolum quid in ſomnio viderit; ſed

modeſtly, that " this ſecret (ver. 27.) which the wiſe-men, aſtrologers, " magicians, and ſoothſayers could not ſhow unto the king, was not " revealed to him (ver. 30.) for any wiſdom that he had more than " others: but there is a God in heaven (ver. 28.) that revealeth ſecrets, " and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what ſhall be in the " latter days;" or " what ſhall come to paſs hereafter," as it is expreſſed (ver. 29 & 45.) twice afterwards. The impious king, as (4) Jerome juſtly obſerves, had a prophetic dream, that the Saint interpreting it, God might be glorified, and the captives and thoſe who ſerved God in captivity might receive great conſolation. We read the ſame thing of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deſerved to ſee ſuch things, but that Joſeph and Daniel by interpreting them might be preferred to all others. And as St. Jerome farther obſerves, that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inſpiration, Daniel not only told him what he ſaw in his dream, but alſo what he thought within himſelf before his dream. (ver. 29.) " As for thee, O " king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what ſhould " come to paſs hereafter: and he that revealeth ſecrets, maketh known " unto thee what ſhall come to paſs."

Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of " a great image. This great image, (ver. 31.) " whoſe brightneſs was excellent, ſtood before him, and the " form thereof was terrible." It appears from ancient coins and medals, that cities and people were often repreſented by figures of men and women. A great terrible human figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was compoſed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which ſhould ariſe. It conſiſted of four different metals, gold and ſilver and braſs and iron mixed with clay; and theſe four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean ſo many kingdoms: and the order of their ſucceſſion is clearly denoted by the order of the parts, the (5) head and higher parts ſignifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts, the later the times. From hence, (6) as Calvin conceives, the

ſed ante ſomnium quid tacitus cogitarit exponit. Vol. 3. p. 1077, et 1080. Edit. Benedict.

(5) Pars ſtatuæ quò ſuperior, eò priora, quò inferior, eò ſeriora tempora ſignificat. Grot. in loc.

(6) Ex hoc Danielis loco hauſerunt poetæ fabulas ſuas de quatuor ſæculis, aureo, argenteo, æneo, ferreo; qua declinatione h. l. ſignificatur, mundum ſemper decidere, et mores prolabi in deterius. Calvin apud Poli Synopſ.

(7) Κρεα-

the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron age; by which declenſion in this place it is ſignified, that the world always degenerates, and manners grow worſe and worſe. But Heſiod, who lived above 200 years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world; ſo that this viſion was formed agreeably to the common received notion, and the common received notion was not firſt propagated from hence. Whether this notion of the world's degenerating and growing worſe and worſe be true or not, theſe different kingdoms will naturally conſtitute the different heads of our diſcourſe. And we ſhall follow the beſt commentators from Joſephus down to Sir Iſaac Newton, but we ſhall regard no commentator ſo much as the truth of hiſtory, the evidence of reaſon, and the analogy of ſcripture.

I. "This images head was of fine gold," (ver, 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 38.) "Thou art this head of gold," thou, and thy family, and thy repreſentatives. The *Babylonian* therefore was the firſt of theſe kingdoms; and it was fitly repreſented by "the head of fine "gold," on account of its great riches; and Babylon for the ſame reaſon was called by Iſaiah (XIV. 4.) "the golden city." The *Aſſyrian* is uſually ſaid to be the firſt of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to paſs, if it be not taken too ſtrictly. For the Aſſyrian empire properly ſo called was diſſolved before this time; the Babylonian was erected in its ſtead: but the Babylonians are ſometimes called Aſſyrians in the beſt claſſic authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others, as well as in the holy ſcriptures. Daniel addreſſeth Nebuchadnezzar, as if he was a very powerful king, and his empire very large and extenſive; (ver. 37.) "Thou, O king, art a king of kings." He perhaps might think, like ſome of his predeceſſors, that his conqueſts were owing to his own fortitude and prudence: (Iſ. X. 13.) "By the "ſtrength

(7) Κρατησαι δε φησι τον Βαβυλωνιον Αιγυπτου, Συριας, Φοινικης, Αραβιας, παντας δε υπερβαλλομενον ταις πραξεσι τους προ αυτου Χαλδαιων και Βαβυλωνιων βασιλευσαντας. Dicit inſuper quod Babylonius tenuerit Ægyptum, Syriam, Phœniciam, Arabiam; quodque priores Chaldæorum, et Babyloniorum reges univerſos rebus a ſe *præclare* geſtis ſuperarit. Apud Joſeph. Contr. Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1342. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) —εν τοις αρχαιοις των Φοινικων συμφωνα τοις υπο Βηρωσσου λεγομενοις αναγεγραπται, περι του των Βαβυλωνιων βασιλεως, ὁτι και την Συριαν και την Φοινικην απασαν εκεινος καταστρεψαιτο. περι τουτων γουν συμφωνει και Φιλοστρατος εν ταις ιστοριαις,—και Μεγασθενης εν τη τεταρτη των Ινδικων, δι' ὁν αποφαινειν πειραται τον προειρημενον βασιλεα των Βαβυλωνιων, Ηρακλους ανδρεια και μεγεθει πραξεων διενηνοχεναι. καταστρεψασθαι γαρ αυτον φησι και Λιβυης την πολλην και Ιβηριαν.——in archivis Phœnicum ſcripta

" ſtrength of my hand I have done it, and by my wiſdom, for I am " prudent; and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have " robbed their treaſures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a " valiant man." But the prophet aſſures him that his ſucceſs muſt be primilarly imputed to the God of heaven; (ver. 37 and 38.) " For " the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and ſtrength, " and glory; And whereſoever the children of men dwell, the beaſts of " the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, " and hath made thee ruler over them all."

All the ancient eaſtern hiſtories almoſt are loſt: but there are ſome fragments even of heathen hiſtorians yet preſerved, which ſpeak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Beroſus in Joſephus (7) ſaith, that he held in ſubjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits ſurpaſſed all the Chaldæans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Joſephus (8) ſubjoins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things conſonant to thoſe which are ſaid by Beroſus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he ſubdued Syria and all Phœnicia: With theſe likewiſe agrees Philoſtratus in his hiſtory, and Megaſthenes in his fourth book of his Indian hiſtory, throughout which he attempts to ſhow, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatneſs of exploits; for he affirms that he ſubdued the greateſt part of Lybia and Spain. Strabo likewiſe from the ſame Megaſthenes (9) aſſerts, that this king among the Chaldæans was more celebrated than Hercules, and that he proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it (1) ended in his grandſon Belſhazzar, not 70 years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above 23 years after the death of Nebu-

ſcripta reperiuntur, quæ cum iis conveniunt a Beroſo narratis de rege Babyloniorum, Syriam ſcilicet et univerſam Phœniciam illum ſubegiſſe. His fane adſtipulatur Philoſtratus in hiſtoriis,—et Megaſthenes in quarto volumine rerum Indicarum, ubi oſtendere contendit prædictum Babyloniorum regem et fortitudine Herculem et magnitudine præſtitiſſe, dicit enim eum Lybiæ bonam partem et Iberiam ſubjugaſſe. Joſeph. ibid. Sect. 20. p. 1343.

(9) Ναυοκοδροσορον δε τον παρα Χαλδαιοις ενδοκιμησαντα Ηρακλους μαλλον, και εως Στηλων ελασαι,—και εκ της Ιβηριας εις την Θρακην και τον Πονλον αλασειν την στρατιαν.——Navocodroſorum autem qui magis a Chaldæis probatur quam Hercules, uſque ad Columnas perveniſſe,—et exercitum ex Hiſpania in Thraciam Pontumque duxiſſe. Strab. Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(1) See Uſher's Annals. A. M. 3466. p. 100. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 539. Belſhazzar 17.

(2) as

Nebuchadnezzar; which may be the reaſon of Daniel's ſpeaking of him as the only king, "thou art this head of gold," and "after thee ſhall "ariſe, &c." the reſt being to be conſidered as nothing; nor do we read of any thing good or great that was performed by them.

II. "His breaſt and his arms of ſilver," (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) "And after thee ſhall ariſe another kingdom inferior "to thee." It is very well known, that the kingdom which aroſe after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Perſian. The two hands and the ſhoulders, ſaith (2) Joſephus, ſignify that the empire of the Babylonians ſhould be diſſolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Perſians, whoſe powers were united under Cyrus, who was ſon of one of the kings and ſon-in-law of the other, and who beſieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Perſian, or the Perſian as it is more uſually called, the Perſians having ſoon gained the aſcendency over the Medes. This empire is ſaid to be *inferior* as being *leſs* than the former, *minus te* as the Vulgar Latin tranſlates it, becauſe neither Cyrus nor any of his ſucceſſors ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain ſo far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done; or rather *inferior* as being *worſe* than the former, *deterius te* as Caſtalio tranſlates it, for (3) Dr. Prideaux aſſerts, and I believe he may aſſert very truly, that the kings of Perſia were "the worſt race of men that ever governed an empire." This empire from its firſt eſtabliſhment by Cyrus to the death of the laſt king Darius Codomannus laſted not much above 200 years. Thus far all critics and commentators are agreed, that the two firſt kingdoms repreſented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were the Babylonian and the Perſian. As to the reſt there hath been ſome controverſy, but with little reaſon or foundation for it, only that ſome perſons are troubled with

(2) αἱ δὲ δυο χειρες και οἱ ωμοι ϛημαινουσιν ὑπο δυο καϛαλυθησεσθαι βασιλεων την ἡγεμονιαν ὑμων duæ vero manus et humeri indicant imperium veſtrum a duobus regibus everſum iri. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 559. Nerigliſſar. 1.

(4) την δε ἐκεινων ἑτερϑ τις απο δυσεως καθαιρησει χαλκον ημφιεσμενϑ. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente *veniens* deſtruet, ære *totus* obductus. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Accepto deinde imperio, *regem ſe terrarum omnium ac mundi* appellari juſſit. Juſtin. Lib. 12. Cap. 16. Sect. 9. Edit. Grævii.

(6) κατα δε τϐτον τον χρονον, ἐξ ἁπασης ϛχεδον της οικϐμενης ἡκον πρεσϐεις, κ. τ. λ. quo tempore è cunctis fere orbis terrarum partibus legati ad Alexandrum venerunt, &c.

with the ſpirit of contradiction, and will diſpute about the plaineſt points.

III. "His belly and his thighs of braſs," (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) "And another third kingdom of braſs which ſhall "bear rule over all the earth." It is univerſally known, that Alexander the great ſubverted the Perſian empire. The kingdom therefore which ſucceeded to the Perſian, was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly repreſented by *braſs*; for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their uſual epithet being χαλκοχίτωνες Αχαιοι, *the brazen-coated Greeks*. Daniel's interpretation in (4) Joſephus is, that another coming from the weſt, completely armed in braſs, ſhall deſtroy the empire of the Medes and Perſians. This third kingdom is alſo ſaid to "bear rule over all the earth" by a figure uſual in almoſt all authors. Alexander himſelf (5) commanded, that he ſhould be called "the king "of all the world;" not that he really conquered, or near conquered the whole world, but he had conſiderable dominions in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, that is in all the three parts of the world then known; and (6) Diodorus Siculus and other hiſtorians give an account of embaſſadors coming from almoſt all the world to congratulate him upon his ſucceſs, or to ſubmit to his empire: and then eſpecially, as (7) Arrian remarks, did Alexander himſelf appear to himſelf and to thoſe about him to be *maſter both of all the earth and ſea*.

That this third kingdom therefore was the Macedonian, every one allows, and muſt allow: but then it is controverted, whether this kingdom ended in the perſon of Alexander, or was continued in his ſucceſſors. St. Jerome ſaith (8) expreſly, that the third kingdom ſignifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Which is rightly named brazen, ſaith he: for among all metals braſs is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its ſound is

&c. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 622. Edit. Steph. p. 579. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(7) και τότε μαλιστα αυτον τε αυτω Αλεξανδρον και τοις αμφ' αυτον φανηναι γης τε απασης και θαλλασσης κυριον. ac tum primum Alexandrum ſibi ipſi et qui cum eo erant *univerſæ terræ ac maris dominum* viſum eſſe. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 15. p. 294. Edit. Gronov.

(8) *Et regnum tertium aliud æneum, quod imperabit univerſæ terræ.* Alexandrum ſignificat, et regnum Macedonum, ſucceſſorumque Alexandri. Quod rectè æneum dicitur: Inter omnia enim metalla æs vocalius eſt, et tinnit clarius, et ſonitus ejus longè latèque diffunditur, ut non ſolum famam et potentiam regni, ſed et eloquentiam Græci ſermonis oſtenderet. Hieron. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(9) Confertur

diffuſed far and wide, ſo that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but alſo the eloquence of the Greek language. Another commentator obſerves, (9) that this kingdom is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenneſs of Alexander, and the profuſe luxury of his ſucceſſors eſpecially of the Ptolemies. It was a ſtrange wild conceit in Grotius and others, to think that the kingdom of Alexander and of his ſucceſſors made two different kingdoms. Grotius was indeed a very great man, and for the moſt part a very able and uſeful commentator: but the greateſt and ableſt men have their weakneſſes, and none hath betrayed more weakneſs, or committed more errors in chronology and hiſtory than he hath done, in explaining the prophecies. His notions here are as mean and contracted, as they are generous and inlarged in other inſtances.

The Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be deſigned particularly by *the two thighs* of braſs. Of all Alexander's ſucceſſors they might be pointed out alone, becauſe they alone had much connection with the Jewiſh church and nation. But their kingdom was no more a different kingdom from that of Alexander, than the parts differ from the whole. It was the ſame government ſtill continued. They who governed were ſtill Macedonians. The metal was the ſame, and the nation was the ſame: nor is the ſame nation ever repreſented by different metals, but the different metals always ſignify different nations. All ancient authors too ſpeak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his ſucceſſors as one and the ſame kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are uſually called, *the ſucceſſors of Alexander*. Alexander being dead, (1) ſaith Joſephus, the empire was divided among his ſucceſſors; he doth not ſay that ſo many new empires were erected. After the death of Alexander, ſaith (2) Juſtin, the kingdoms of the eaſt were divided among his ſucceſſors: and he ſtill denominates them Macedonians, and their empire the Macedonian; and reckons Alexander the ſame to the Macedonians,

(9) Confertur hoc ventri, ad notandum Alexandri crapulam, et ſucceſſorum ejus præcipue Ptolemæorum effuſam luxuriam. Tirinus apud Poli Synopſ.

(1) Τελευτησαντος δε Αλεξανδρου, ἡ μεν αρχη εις τους διαδοχους εμερισθη. Alexandro autem vita defuncto, imperium inter ſucceſſores diviſum eſt. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 505. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Poſt mortem Alexandri magni, dum inter ſucceſſores ejus orientis regna dividerentur, &c. Juſtin. Lib. 41. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. Speaking of the Parthians,

Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Perſians, and Romulus to the Romans. Grotius himſelf (3) acknowlegeth, that even now the Hebrews call thoſe kingdoms by one name *the kingdom of the Grecians*. There is one inſuperable objection againſt the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ being a different kingdom from that of Alexander, becauſe if they are not conſidered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted as one kingdom, they conſtitute properly two ſeparate and diſtinct kingdoms.

IV. "His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay," (ver. 33.) which is thus interpreted by Daniel (ver. 40, 41, 42, 43.) "And the fourth kingdom ſhall be ſtrong as iron; foraſmuch as iron "breaketh in pieces, and ſubdueth all things; and as iron that break-"eth all theſe, ſhall it break in pieces and bruiſe. And whereas thou "ſaweſt the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron; the "kingdom ſhall be divided, but there ſhall be in it of the ſtrength of "the iron, foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt the iron mixed with miry clay. "And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay; ſo "the kingdom ſhall be partly ſtrong and partly broken. And where-"as thou ſaweſt iron mixed with miry clay, they ſhall mingle them-"ſelves with the ſeed of men; but they ſhall not cleave one to ano-"ther, even as iron is not mixed with clay." Here are farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ cannot poſſibly be the fourth kingdom, becauſe the marks and characters here given of the fourth kingdom by no means agree with either of thoſe kingdoms. This fourth kingdom is deſcribed as ſtronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiſeth all other metals, ſo this breaketh and ſubdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were ſo far from being ſtronger, that they were much weaker, and leſs than any of the former kingdoms. This kingdom too is repreſented as divided into ten toes: but when or where were the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ divided

thians, Poſtremò *Macedonibus* triumphato oriente ſervierunt. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. Hi poſtea diductis *Macedonibus* in bellum civile, &c. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Adminiſtratio gentis poſt defectionem *Macedonici imperii* ſub regibus fuit. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Sic Arſaces quæſito ſimul conſtitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, *quam Perſis Cyrus*, *Macedonibus Alexander*, *Romanis Romulus*, matura ſenectute decedit. Cap. 5. Sect. 5. Edit. Grævii.

(3) Etiam nunc Hebræi iſta imperia uno nomine appellant *regnum Græcorum*. Grot. in Dan. VII. 7.

(4) See

into ſo many parts? Beſides, the metal here is different, and conſequently the nation ſhould be different from the preceding. The four different metals muſt ſignify four different nations: and as the gold ſignified the Babylonians, and the ſilver the Perſians, and the braſs the Macedonians; ſo the iron cannot ſignify the Macedonians again, but muſt neceſſarily denote ſome other nation: and we will venture to ſay that there is not a nation upon earth, to which this deſcription is applicable, but the Romans.

The Romans ſucceeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore in courſe were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was ſtronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces, and ſubdued all the former kingdoms. As Joſephus ſaid, that the two arms of ſilver denoted the kings of the Medes and Perſians; ſo we might ſay in like manner, that the two legs of iron ſignified the two Roman conſuls. The iron was "mixed with miry clay," and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten leſſer kingdoms, anſwering to the ten toes of the image, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Theſe kingdoms retained much of the old Roman ſtrength, and manifeſted it upon ſeveral occaſions, ſo that "the kingdom was partly ſtrong and partly broken." They "mingled themſelves with the ſeed of men;" they made marriages and alliances one with another, as they continue to do at this day: but no hearty union enſued; reaſons of ſtate are ſtronger than the ties of blood, and intereſt generally avails more than affinity. Some expound it of the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical powers, ſometimes agreeing, ſometimes claſhing and interfering with each other, to the weakening of both, and endangering their breaking to pieces. Or if by "the ſeed of men" we are to underſtand the ſame as by "the daughters of men" (Gen. VI. 2.) thoſe of a falſe and different religion, it may allude to the intermarriages, which ſeveral of the European nations, and particularly the French Spaniſh and Portugueſe, have made with the Indians Africans and Americans. Thus ſome

(4) See Uſher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(5) Regnum autem quartum, quod perſpicuè pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum eſt quod comminuit et domat omnia; ſed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte ſunt fictiles, quod hoc tempore manifeſtiſſimè comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit; ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adverſum diverſas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum

ſome of the ten kingdoms who call themſelves " ſons of God," and the *only* ſons of God by adoption, have mixed with " the ſeed of men," with ſtrangers to him; and yet no ſolid union enſues. Which obſervation was ſuggeſted to me by an unknown Correſpondent, Mr. Hercules Younge, an ingenious Clergyman of Carrick in Ireland. The Roman empire therefore is repreſented in a double ſtate, firſt with the ſtrength of iron, conquering all before it, " his legs of iron;" and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, " his feet part " of iron, and part of clay." It ſubdued Syria, and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the (4) year 65 before Chriſt; it ſubdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 before Chriſt: and in the fourth century after Chriſt, it began to be torn in pieces by the incurſions of the barbarous nations.

St. Jerome lived to ſee the incurſions of the barbarous nations: and his (5) comment is, that 'the fourth kingdom, which plainly belongs 'to the Romans, is the iron that breaketh and ſubdueth all things; 'but his feet and toes are part of iron, and part of clay, which is moſt 'manifeſtly proved at this time: For as in the beginning nothing was 'ſtronger and harder than the Roman empire, ſo in the end of things 'nothing is weaker; ſince both in civil wars, and againſt divers na-'tions, we want the aſſiſtance of other barbarous nations.' He hath given the ſame interpretation in other parts of his work; and it ſeemeth that he had been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and therefore he maketh this apology for himſelf. 'If (6) ſaith he in 'explaining the ſtatue and the difference of his feet and toes, I have 'interpreted the iron and clay of the Roman kingdom, which the 'ſcripture foretels ſhould firſt be ſtrong, and then weak, let them not 'impute it to me, but to the prophet: For we muſt not ſo flatter 'princes, as to neglect the verity of the holy ſcriptures, nor is a general 'diſputation an injury to a ſingle perſon.'

All

rarum indigemus auxilio. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Quod ſi in expoſitione ſtatuæ pedumque ejus, et digitorum diſcrepantia, ferrum et teſtam ſuper Romano regno interpretatus ſum, quod primum forte, dein imbecillum ſcriptura portendit, non mihi imputent, ſed prophetæ. Neque enim ſic adulandum eſt principibus, ut ſanctarum ſcripturarum veritas negligatur, nec generalis diſputatio unius perſonæ injuria eſt. Præf. in Iſaiæ Cap. XXXVI. Vol. 3. p. 283. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Medes

All ancient writers, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, agree with Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. Porphyry, who was a heathen, and an enemy to Chriſt, was the firſt who broached the other opinion; which, though it hath been maintained ſince by ſome of the moderns, is yet not only deſtitute of the authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both ſcripture and hiſtory. It is a juſt obſervation of (7) Mr. Mede, who was as able and conſummate a judge as any in theſe matters: "The Roman empire to be the fourth king-"dom of Daniel, was believed by the church of Iſrael both before and "in our Saviour's time; received by the diſciples of the apoſtles, "and the whole Chriſtian church for the firſt 300 years, without any "known contradiction. And I confeſs, having ſo good ground in "ſcripture, it is with me *tantum non articulus fidei, little leſs than an* "*article of faith.*"

V. Beſides this image, Nebuchadnezzar ſaw (ver. 34, 35.) "till that "a ſtone was cut out without hands, which ſmote the image upon his "feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces: Then "was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver and the gold broken to "pieces together, and became like the chaff of the ſummer threſhing-"floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for "them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, "and filled the whole earth:" Which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel, (ver. 44, 45.) "And in the days of theſe kings ſhall the "God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; "and the kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it ſhall break "in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for "ever: Foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt that the ſtone was cut out of the "mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the "braſs, the clay, the ſilver and the gold." They who maintain that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ, do, many of them, maintain likewiſe that this fifth kingdom was the Roman. But how can theſe characters agree with the Roman empire? How was the Roman empire "cut out of the mountain with-"out

(7) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epiſt. 6. p. 736.
(8) Juſtin. Martyr. cum Tryphone Dial. p. 301. Edit. Thirlbii. Irenæi. Lib. 3. adverſ. Hæreſes. Cap. 28.

" out hands," or formed without human force and human policy? How was the Roman empire " of God's erection" more than any of the former kingdoms? How can the Roman empire which is " left to other " people," be ſaid " not" to be " left to other people," and how can that which is " broken in pieces," be ſaid to " ſtand for ever?"

This deſcription can with propriety only be underſtood, as the ancients underſtood it, of the kingdom of Chriſt. " And in the days " of theſe kings," that is in the days of ſome of them. As " in the " days when the judges ruled" (Ruth I. 1.) ſignifies " in the days when" ſome of " the judges ruled;" ſo " in the days of theſe kings" ſignifies " in the days of" ſome of " theſe kingdoms:" and it muſt be during the days of the laſt of them, becauſe they are reckoned " four" in ſucceſſion, and conſequently this muſt be the fifth kingdom. Accordingly the kingdom of Chriſt was ſet up during the days of the laſt of theſe kingdoms, that is the Roman. The " ſtone" was totally a different thing from the " image," and the kingdom of Chriſt is totally different from the kingdoms of this world. " The ſtone was cut out of the mount- " ain without hands," as our heavenly body is ſaid (2 Cor. V. 1.) to be " a building of God, an houſe not made with hands;" that is ſpiritual, as the phraſe is uſed in other places. (Mark XIV. 58. compared with John II. 21. See alſo Coloſſ. II. 11.) This the (8) fathers generally apply to Chriſt himſelf, who was miraculouſly born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it ſhould rather be underſtood of the kingdom of Chriſt, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or ſtrength of armies, but without human means, and the virtue of ſecond cauſes. This kingdom was " ſet up by " the God of heaven;" and from hence the phraſe of " the kingdom " of heaven" came to ſignify the kingdom of the Meſſiah; and ſo it was uſed and underſtood by the Jews, and ſo it is applied by our Saviour in the New Teſtament. Other kingdoms were raiſed by human ambition and worldly power: but this was the work not of man but of God; this was truly as it is called " the kingdom of heaven," and (John XVIII. 36.) " a kingdom not of this world;" its laws, its powers were

28. p. 258. Edit. Grabe. Hieron. Comment. in loeum, Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

(9) Mede's

were all divine. This kingdom was "never to be deſtroyed," as the Babylonian, the Perſian, and the Macedonian empire have been, and in great meaſure alſo the Roman. This kingdom was to "break in pieces "and conſume all the kingdoms," to ſpread and inlarge itſelf, ſo that it ſhould comprehend within itſelf all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was to "fill the whole earth," to become univerſal, and to "ſtand for ever."

As the fourth kingdom or the Roman empire was repreſented in a twofold ſtate, firſt ſtrong and floriſhing "with legs of iron," and then weakened and divided "with feet and toes part of iron and part of "clay;" ſo this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Chriſt is deſcribed likewiſe in two ſtates, which (9) Mr. Mede rightly diſtinguiſheth by the names of *regnum lapidis* the kingdom of the ſtone, and *regnum montis* the kingdom of the mountain; the firſt when "the ſtone was cut out "of the mountain without hands," the ſecond when it became itſelf "a mountain and filled the whole earth. The ſtone was cut out of the "mountain without hands," the kingdom of Chriſt was firſt ſet up, while the Roman empire was in its full ſtrength with "legs of iron." The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten leſſer kingdoms, the remains of which are ſubſiſting at preſent. The image is ſtill ſtanding upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Chriſt is yet "a ſtone of ſtumbling, and a rock of offenſe:" but the ſtone will one day ſmite the image upon the feet and toes, and deſtroy it utterly, and will itſelf "become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth:" or in other words (Rev. XI. 15) "the kingdoms of this world ſhall become "the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for "ever and ever." We have therefore ſeen the kingdom of the "ſtone," but we have not yet ſeen the kingdom of the "mountain." Some parts of this prophecy ſtill remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of

(9) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epiſt. 8. p. 743.

(1) Waltoni Prolegom. XII. 10. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 27. Herod. 1.

(2) Habak. III. 17, 18. Etenim regnum Babel non permanebit, nec exercebit dominium in Iſrael; trucidabuntur reges Mediæ, et fortes Greciæ non proſperabuntur; delebuntur Romani, nec colligent tributum de Jeruſalem. Itaque propter ſignum et redemptionem quæ facies Chriſto tuo et reliquiis populi tui, qui remanebunt confitebuntur dicendo, &c.

(3) Defenſe of Chriſtianity. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 104, &c. 3d Edit.

(4) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. p. 1143. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) την δε εκειων ἑτερος τις απο δυσεως καθαιρησει χαλκον ημφιεσμενος, και ταυλην αλλη παυσει της ισχυος ὁμοιαν σιδηρω, και κρατησει δε εις ἁπασαν δια την του σιδηρου φυσιν, ειναι γαρ αυλην τερροτεραν

of the other parts will not ſuffer us to doubt of the accompliſhment of the reſt alſo in due ſeaſon.

As we may preſume to ſay that this is the only true and genuin interpretation of this paſſage, ſo likewiſe is it the moſt conſonant to the ſenſe of all ancient writers, both Jews and Chriſtians; and its antiquity will be a farther recommendation and confirmation of its truth. Jonathan Bel Uzziel, who made the Chaldee Targum or paraphraſe upon the prophets, (1) lived a little before our Saviour. He made no Chaldee verſion of Daniel, the greater part of this book being originally written in Chaldee, or his verſion is loſt: but however he applies the prophecies of Daniel in his interpretation of other prophets. Thus in his paraphraſe upon Habakuk he ſpeaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth, (2) that they ſhould in their turns be deſtroyed, and be ſucceeded by the kingdom of the Meſſiah. 'For the kingdom of Babylon ſhall not 'continue, nor exerciſe dominion over Iſrael; the kings of Media ſhall 'be ſlain, and the ſtrong men of Greece ſhall not proſper; the Romans 'ſhall be blotted out, nor collect tribute from Jeruſalem. Therefore 'becauſe of the ſign and redemption which thou ſhalt accompliſh for 'thy Chriſt and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain ſhall 'praiſe thee, &c.'

The ſenſe of Joſephus we will give in the words of Biſhop (3) Chandler together with his reflections upon it. "Joſephus's expoſition of this "text is ſo full in the point, that it ought not to be omitted. Joſephus "was born while Jeſus Chriſt lived, and was, as he (4) ſays, ſkilful in "the knowlege of the ſacred books of the prophets, being himſelf a "prieſt, and the ſon of a prieſt, and exerciſed this way. Hear then "his ſenſe of that part of the dream we have been upon. Daniel "foretold, (5) that the ſecond kingdom ſhould be taken out of the "way, by one that ſhould come from the weſt cloathed with brazen

ροτεραν της τϖ χρυσϖ και τϖ αρ∫υρϖ και τϖ χαλκῦ. εδηλωσε δε και περι τϖ λιθϖ Δανιηλ☉ τῳ βασιλει αλλ' εμοι μεν ϖκ εδοξε τϖδε ἱ∫ορειν, τα παρελθοντα και τα γεγενημενα ζυ∫γραφειν, ϖ τα μελλοντα οφειλοντι. ει δε τις της αληθειας γλιχομεν☉ ϖ περιϊ∫ασθαι πολυπρα∫μονειν, ὡς και περι των αδηλων ει γενησεσθαι βελεσθαι μαθειν, ζητησατω το βιβλιον αναγνωναι τϖ Δανιηλ· ευρησει δε τϖδε εν ταις ἱεροις γραμμασιν. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente *veniens* deſtruet, ære *totus* obductus; atque hujus vires alia vis debellabit ferro ſimilis, eaſque in univerſum imperio premet propter ferri naturam, quod ea ſit auro et argento et ære validior. Quin et Danielus regi oſtendit omnia de ſaxo: ſed mihi iſta narrare non libuit, cui id negotii datum eſt, ut præterita non futura litteris conſignarem. Si quis autem veritatis avidus nolit ab iis paulo curioſius inquirendis deſiſtere, ut qui de incertis, an futura ſint, ſcire deſiderat, det operam ut Danieli librum perlegat, quem in ſacrorum librorum codice inveniet. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) τϖ☉

" arms: and alſo that the ſtrength of this (empire) another ſhould put
" an end to, that ſhould be like to iron, which from the nature of the
" mineral is ſuperior to gold, ſilver, and braſs. Daniel added his in-
" terpretation of the ſtone; but I don't think fit to relate that; my
" buſineſs being only to give a hiſtory *of paſt and newly done things*,
" not to write *of future things*. Yet if there be any one that is eager after
" truth, and will not give over inquiring, in order to learn theſe ob-
" ſcure events that are to come, let him carefully read the book itſelf,
" which he will find among our ſacred (or canonical) books. Upon
" this paſſage obſerve, that the fourth empire is the Roman, in his
" judgment; becauſe the third kingdom, which he begins in Alexander,
" was deſtroyed, not by the Greek generals, but by the Romans. Again,
" the fourth empire he reckons to be paſt, i. e. to be ſet up in the room
" of the Greek, and therefore he gives an hiſtorical explication of that,
" among the paſt events. But the kingdom of the *ſtone* being
" future, he refuſes to touch on that. But he had a better reaſon than
" he gave: he feared to offend the power in being, whoſe protection
" he needed, and which, he foreſaw, muſt be offended, if he ſhould
" publiſh the hope of his captive nation, one day to ſubdue their
" conquerors. We ſee however, in his excuſe for ſtopping ſhort, his
" ſenſe of the prophecy that is yet unfulfilled, viz. that the kingdom of
" the God of heaven ſhould break in pieces the Roman; and which
" he muſt conſequently ſuppoſe will continue, till it gives place to the
" everlaſting kingdom of the Meſſiah. And in this belief Chriſt con-
" firmed the Jews, at the time he warned them of his own exciſion.
" *The kingdom of God*, ſaith he, (Mat. XXII. 43, 44.) or all the advan-
" tages of the Meſſiah's coming, *ſhall be taken from you and given to a*
" *nation*

(6) τινος δ' ενεκεν την αυλε βασιλειαν καλει χρυσην, την δε των Περσων αρ∫υραν, και την των Μακεδονων χαλκην και την των Ρωμαιων ∫ιδηραν και ο∫ρακινην; ὁρα καλαλληλως τας ὑλας. ὁ γαρ χρυσος πολλε μεν ε∫ι εμφανε∫ικον——ὕτω και εκεινη ἡ βασιλεια——κεφαλην δε επεχει, επειδη πρωτη εφανη. ἡ δε Περσων εκ ὑτως ευπορος, ὡσπερ ουν ουδε Μακεδονων, ἡ δε Ρωμαιων χρησιμωτερα τε και ισχυροτερα, ὑ∫τερα μεν τοις χρονοις, διο και ποδων ταξιν επεχει. ε∫ι δε αυτης τα μεν ασθενη, τα δε ισχυροτερα. Quare autem regnum Nabuchodonoſoris vocat aureum, Perſarum autem argenteum, Macedonum æreum, Romanorum ferreum atque teſtaceum? Vide diſpoſitas convenienter materias. Nam aurum divitias quidem repræſentat——Sic et regnum Babylonium——Caput autem occupat; quia regnum illud fuit primum. Perſarum vero imperium non adeo opulentum fuit: ſicut nec Macedonum: at Romanorum utilius ac fortius, tempore quidem poſterius, quare et pedum locum obtinet. Porro ſunt hujus regni quædam infirma, et quædam robuſtiora.——και εν ταις ἡμεραις των βασιλεων εκεινων αναστησει ὁ θεος του ουρανου βασιλειαν, ἡτις εις τους αιωνας ου διαφθαρησεται. και ἡ βασιλεια αυτε λαῳ ἑτερῳ ουχ ὑπολημφθησεται, λεπτυνει και λικμησει πασας τας βασιλειας· και αυτη αναστησεται εις τους αιωνας. αγε μοι τους Ιουδαιους ελαυθα. τι αν ειποιεν περι της προφητειας ταυτης; ου γαρ δηπου περι ανθρωπινης ταυτα θεμις ειπειν, ὁτι απειρος ε∫αι ἡ βασιλεα

——ει

" *nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. For whoſoever ſhall fall*
" *againſt this ſtone* (as one of your prophets predicted, Iſ. VIII. 14, 15.)
" *ſhall be broken: but*, I add from another prophet (Dan. II. 34, 35.)
" ſomething more grievous for thoſe that ſhall break you, *on whomſo-*
" *ever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder.* The kingdom of the
" *ſtone* ſhall bruiſe the Jews that ſtumbled at Chriſt's firſt coming;
" but the kingdom of the *mountain*, when manifeſted, ſhall beat the
" feet of the monarchial ſtatue to duſt, and leave no remains of the
" fourth monarchy in its laſt and degenerate ſtate."

The ſame notion was prevalent among the ancient Chriſtians, as well as among the Jews. St. Jerome and all the fathers, who have occaſion to comment upon this paſſage, give the ſame interpretation: but we love not to multiply quotations; it will be ſufficient to produce the teſtimonies of that eloquent preacher St. Chryſoſtom, and of that elegant hiſtorian Sulpicius Severus. St. Chryſoſtom is too copious to be quoted at large; we muſt content ourſelves with ſome extracts out of him. 'For what reaſon, (6) ſaith he, doth he call Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom 'of gold, and that of the Perſians of ſilver, and that of the Macedonians of braſs, and that of the Romans of iron and clay? See the materials rightly diſpoſed; for gold repreſents riches, &c; ſo likewiſe 'was that kingdom——and it occupies the head, becauſe it appeared 'the firſt. But that of the Perſians was not ſo wealthy, as neither was 'that of the Macedonians: but that of the Romans was both more 'uſeful and ſtronger, and later in time, wherefore it occupies the place 'of the feet. But ſome parts of this kingdom are weak, and others 'are ſtronger.'——" And in the days of thoſe kings ſhall the God of " heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; and the

——εν ταις ἡμεραις των βασιλεων εκεινων, των Ρωμαιων δηλονοτι. αλλως δε ει λεγοιεν, και πως τον χρυσον ζυνελριψε, την Βαβυλωνιων βασιλειαν παλαι καλασκευασθεισαν [καλασκεδασθεισαν]; πως δε τον αργυρον, την Περσων; πως δε τον χαλκον, την Μακεδονων; ταυτα γαρ παλαι εγενετο, και τελω ελαβεν.——πως τας ηδη σβεσθεισας βασιλειας καθαιρει; αλλα το καθαιρειν ἑτερας εν αις αι τοιαυται εισιν, εικοτως εμποιει. *Et in diebus regum illorum ſucitabit Deus cæli regnum, quod in ſæcula non corrumpetur: et regnum ejus populo alteri non relinquetur: comminuet et ventilabit univerſa regna: et ipſum exſurget in ſæcula.* Adducito mihi huc Judæos. Quid de hac prophetia dicturi ſunt? Neque enim profecto de humano regno hæc fas eſt dicere; ſcilicet regnum infinitum fore——*In diebus regum illorum*; Romanorum videlicet. Quod ſi dicant: quomodo aurum conterere potuit, nempe regnum Babyloniorum, quod jam olim erat deſtructum? Quomodo etiam argentum, nimirum regnum Perſarum? Et quomodo æs, ſcilicet regnum Macedonum? Hæc enim quondam fuerant, et finem acceperant.——Quomodo jam extincta regna deſtruat? Quia nimirum deſtruit alia regna, in quibus hæc continentur. S. Jo. Chryſoſt. in Danielem. p. 214 et 216. Tom. 6. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Igitur

" kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it ſhall break in pieces,
" and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever." ' Bring
' hither to me the Jews. What will they ſay concerning this prophecy?
' for it is by no means right to ſay of any human kingdom, that it ſhall
' be everlaſting or without end.'—" In the days of thoſe kings," ' to
' wit the Romans. But if they ſay how can he break in pieces the
' gold, the kingdom of the Babylonians deſtroyed long ago? how the
' ſilver, the kingdom of the Perſians? how the braſs, the kingdom of
' the Macedonians? for theſe are paſt long ago, and are come to an
' end——how can he deſtroy kingdoms which are already deſtroyed?
' But to deſtroy others in which theſe are included, amounts to the ſame
' thing.'

Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and of all the particulars relating to it, ſubjoins (7) an expoſition of it, agreeable to Daniel's interpretation. ' The image is an emblem of
' the world. The golden head is the empire of the Chaldæans: for-
' aſmuch as that was the firſt and moſt wealthy. The breaſt and arms
' of ſilver ſignify the ſecond kingdom: for Cyrus, the Chaldæans and
' Medes being overcome, transferred the empire to the Perſians. In the
' brazen belly the third kingdom is declared to be portended; and that
' we ſee fulfilled: Foraſmuch as the empire taken from the Perſians
' Alexander vindicated to Macedonia. The iron legs are the fourth
' kingdom: and that is the Roman, the ſtrongeſt of all the kingdoms
' before it. But the feet, part of iron and part of clay, prefigure the
' Roman empire to be ſo divided as that it ſhould never unite again:
' which is equally fulfilled——Foraſmuch as the Roman territory is
' occupied by foreign nations or rebels:——and we ſee (ſaith he, and
' he

(7) Igitur ſecundum prophetæ interpretationem imago viſa, figuram mundi gerit. Caput aureum, Chaldæorum imperium eſt: ſiquidem id primum, et opulentiſſimum fuiſſe accepimus. Pectus et brachia argentea ſecundum regnum annunciant. Cyrus enim, victis Chaldæis atque Medis, imperium ad Perſas contulit. In ventre æreo, tertium regnum portendi pronunciatur: idque impletum videmus. Siquidem Alexander ereptum Perſis imperium Macedoniæ vindicavit. Crura ferrea, imperium quartum: idque Romanum intelligitur, omnium ante regnorum validiſſimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fictiles, dividendum eſſe Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam inter ſe coëat, præfigurant: quod æque impletum eſt, ——Siquidem Romanum ſolum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum:——exercitibuſque noſtris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes —videmus.——In lapide vero ſine manibus abſciſſo, qui aurum, argentum, æs, et ferrum teſtamque comminuit, Chriſti figuram eſſe. Is enim mundum iſtum, in quo ſunt regna terrarum, in nihilum rediget, regnumque aliud incorruptum confirmabit. De quo

'he lived at the beginning of the (8) fifth century) barbarous nations 'mixed with our armies, cities, and provinces——But in the ſtone 'cut out without hands, which brake in pieces the gold, the ſilver, 'the braſs, the iron, and the clay, we have a figure of Chriſt. For he 'ſhall reduce this world, in which are the kingdoms of the earth, to 'nothing, and ſhall eſtabliſh another everlaſting kingdom. Of which 'alone the faith of ſome is ſtill dubious, and they will not credit future 'things, when they are convinced of the paſt.'

Nay Grotius himſelf, the great patron of the other opinion, that the fifth kingdom is the Roman empire, commenting upon thoſe words (ver. 45.) "it brake in pieces the iron, the braſs, the clay, the ſilver, "and the gold," cannot but acknowlege that (9) the ſublimer ſenſe is, that Chriſt will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Corinth. XV. 24. that "he ſhall put down all rule, and all authority, and "power."

Thus it pleaſed God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the greateſt and moſt ſignal events of this world. As Daniel ſaid unto Nebuchadnezzar, (ver. 45.) "The great God hath made "known to the king what ſhall come to paſs hereafter; and the "dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is ſure." The king hearing his dream related with ſuch exactneſs, might be better aſſured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which ſhould follow. And from hence we are enabled in ſome meaſure to account for Nebuchadnezzar's propheſying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his hiſtory is loſt: but there is a fragment of it preſerved by Euſebius, wherein it is aſſerted upon the authority of Megaſthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inſpired, and propheſied in (1) this manner:

quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo eſt, non credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convincantur. Sulpicii Sacr. Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 66, 67. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(8) Cave Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 1. p. 374.

(9) Senſus ſublimior, Chriſtum finem impoſiturum omnibus imperiis terreſtribus, 1 Cor. XV. 24. Grot. in locum.

(1) εγω Ναβυκοδροσορ⊙, ω Βαβυλωνιοι, την μελλυσαν υμιν προαγγελλω Συμφορην, την ο τε Βηλ⊙ εμ⊙ προγονος, η τε βασιλεια Βηλτις αποτρεψαι μοιρας πεισαι ασθενυσιν. ηξει Περσης ημιονος, τοισιν υμετεροισι δαιμοσι χρεωμενος Συμμαχοισιν· επαξει δε δελοσυνην. ὁ δε Συναιτιος εσαι Μηδης, το Ασσυριον αυχημα. Ego Nabuchodroſorus, O Babylonii, imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuncio, quam Parcis uti averruncent, nec Belus generis noſtri auctor, nec regina Beltis perſuadere unquam poterunt. Perſicus veniet mulus, qui dæmonum veſtrorum uſus auxilio, durum cervicibus veſtris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Aſſyrii magnopere gloriabantur. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) Αλλ'

manner: 'I Nebuchadnezzar foretel unto you, O Babylonians, an im-'minent calamity, which neither Belus my progenitor, nor queen 'Beltis can perſuade the fates to avert: A Perſian mule ſhall come 'aſſiſted by your demons, and impoſe ſervitude upon you; whoſe 'coadjutor ſhall be a Mede, the boaſt of the Aſſyrians.' And ſoon after he died. Herodotus, who was a much older hiſtorian than Megaſthenes, relates that a Delphic oracle was given to Crœſus king of Lydia, that (2) when a mule ſhould rule over the Medes, then he ſhould not be aſhamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian prieſteſs; (3) Cyrus was this mule; for he was born of parents of different nations, the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for ſhe was a Mede, and the daughter of the king of the Medes, but he was a Perſian, and ſubject to the Medes. If any credit is to be given to theſe ſtories, if any ſuch prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any ſuch oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Perſians ſubduing Aſia, the notion, the tradition may very well be ſuppoſed to have been derived originally from this prophecy of Daniel, which being ſo ſolemnly delivered to a great king, and publiſhed in Chaldee, might come to be generally known in the eaſt: and the event ſoon afterwards evinced the truth of it.

It was from this prophecy too, that the diſtinction firſt aroſe of the four great empires of the world, which hath been followed by moſt hiſtorians and chronologers in their diſtribution of times. Theſe four empires, as they are the ſubject of this prophecy, are likewiſe the ſubject of the moſt celebrated pens both in former and in later ages. The hiſtories of theſe empires are the beſt writ, and the moſt read of any; they are the ſtudy of the learned, and the amuſement of the polite; they are of uſe both in ſchools, and in ſenates; we learn them when we are young, and we forget them not when we are old; from hence examples, inſtructions, laws and politics are derived for all ages;

(2) Ἀλλ' ὁταν ἡμιονος βασιλευς Μηδοισι γενηται. Και τοτε κ. τ. λ.
Regis apud Medos mulo jam ſede potito, Lyde fugam, &c.
Herod Lib. 1. Cap. 55. p. 21. Edit. Gale.

(3) ην γαρ δη ὁ Κυρος ὑτος ἡμιονος· εκ γαρ δυοιν εκ ὁμοεθνεων εγεγονεε, μητρος αμεινονος, πατρος δε υποδεεστερυ. ἡ μεν γαρ ην Μηδις, και Ασυαγεος θυγατηρ τυ Μηδων βασιλεως· ὁ δε, Περσης τε

ages; and very little in compariſon is known of other times, or of other nations. Not but there have been empires as great or greater than ſome of theſe, as thoſe of the Tartars for inſtance, and of the Saracens, and of the Turks; and you may think perhaps, that they are as well deſerving of a place in this ſucceſſion of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wiſdom of their conſtitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But theſe four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were ſubject to each of them in their turns. They were therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as I may ſay) extending from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and complete eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of the Meſſiah. He who is arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the univerſe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaſeth: and he hath revealed enough to manifeſt his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel ſaid upon the firſt diſcovery of theſe things, well may we ſay after the completion of ſo many particulars: (ver. 20, 21, 22.) "Bleſſed be the name of God for ever and ever; "for wiſdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the "ſeaſons: he removeth kings, and ſetteth up kings: he giveth wiſ"dom unto the wiſe, and knowlege to them that know underſtanding. "He revealeth the deep and ſecret things: he knoweth what is in the "darkneſs, and the light dwelleth with him."

XIV.

τε ην, και ἀρχομενον ὑπ' ἐκεινοισι. Nam mulus hic, Cyrus erat: quippe qui duobus diverſarum gentium parentibus ortus ſit, generoſiore matre quam patre. Nam illa quidem, Medea erat, Aſtyagis Medorum regis filia: hic autem, Perſa, et Medis ſubjectus. Herod. ibid. Cap. 91. p. 39.

(1) Lowth's

XIV.

DANIEL's *viſion of the ſame.*

WHAT was revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the ſecond year of his reign concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed unto Daniel (Chap. VII.) with ſome inlargements and additions in the firſt year of Belſhazzar, that is about eight and forty years afterwards. But there is this difference, that what was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was repreſented to Daniel in the ſhape of great wild beaſts. The reaſon of which is ingeniouſly aſſigned by Grotius, and after him by (1) Mr. Lowth, " that this image appeared with a glorious luſtre in the " imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whoſe mind was wholly taken up " with admiration of worldly pomp and ſplendor; whereas the ſame " monarchies were repreſented to Daniel under the ſhape of fierce " and wild beaſts, as being the great ſupporters of idolatry and ty- " ranny in the world."

Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. " Theſe great beaſts, " which are four," (ſays the angel ver. 17.) " are four kings," or kingdoms, as it is tranſlated in the vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic verſions, and as the angel himſelf explains it, (ver. 23.) " The " fourth beaſt ſhall be the fourth kingdom upon earth." They ariſe out of a ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſea, that is out of the wars and commotions of the world: and they are called " great" in compariſon of other leſſer ſtates and kingdoms, as they are denominated " beaſts" for their tyrannical and cruel oppreſſions and depredations. Theſe beaſts are indeed monſtrous productions; a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in the mouth of it, a leopard with four wings and four heads, and a beaſt with ten horns: but ſuch emblems and hieroglyphics

(1) Lowth's Comment. on Chap. II. 31. Grotius ibid.

(2) See Sir John Chardin and other travelers.

(3) Regnum Babylonium propter ſævitiam et crudelitatem,

phics were uſual among the eaſtern nations; a winged lion and ſuch like fictitious animals may ſtill be ſeen in the (2) ruins of Perſepolis; horns are attributed to beaſts, which naturally have none; and theſe figures were, as I may ſay, the arms and ſymbols of ſuch and ſuch nations, and are no ſtranger than ſeveral which are ſtill uſed in modern heraldry. We will conſider them in order, and take notice only of ſuch interpretations as carry in them ſomething probable and plauſible, to the end that we may eſtabliſh what is more certain. To recite all the various opinions of commentators would be but heaping up a monument of the abſurdities of former ages. We may collect ſomething from one, and ſomething from another, and yet in all reſpects perfectly agree with none.

I. The firſt kingdom is repreſented by a beaſt, (ver. 4.) that was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof "were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made ſtand upon "the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is in like manner compared to a lion by Jeremiah, (IV. 7.) "The lion is come up "from his thicket, and the deſtroyer of the Gentiles is on his way;" and he is ſaid to fly as an eagle, (XLVIII. 40.) "Behold, he ſhall fly "as an eagle, and ſhall ſpread his wings over Moab;" and he is alſo compared to an eagle by Ezekiel, (XVII. 3, et 12.) "Thus ſaith the "Lord God, A great eagle with great wings, &c." The lion is eſteemed the king of beaſts, and the eagle the king of birds: and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is deſcribed as the firſt and nobleſt kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is ſaid to partake of the nature of both. Inſtead of a "lion," the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic verſions have a *lioneſs*; and it is (3) Jerome's obſervation, that the kingdom of Babylon for its cruelty is compared not to a lion, but to a lioneſs, which naturaliſts ſay is the fiercer of the two.

The "eagle's wings" denote its ſwiftneſs and rapidity: and the conqueſts of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to the highth within a few years by a ſingle perſon, by the conduct and arms

delitatem,—non leo, ſed leæna appellatur. Aiunt enim hi qui de beſtiarum ſcripſere naturis leænas eſſe ferociores, &c. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Vol. 3. p. 1099. Edit. Benedict.

(4) *Et*

of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther ſaid, " the wings thereof were pluckt, " and it was lifted up from the earth," that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly underſtood, and as it is tranſlated in almoſt all the (4) ancient verſions: or it may be rendered thus, " the wings " thereof were pluckt" wherewith " it was lifted up from the earth," as (5) Grotius explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our bibles, the conjunction copulative ſometimes ſupplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be pluckt at the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for at this time the Medes and Perſians were incroaching upon it; Belſhazzar the king now reigning was the laſt of his race; and in the (6) ſeventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Perſians.

" And it was made ſtand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart " was given to it." It is not eaſy to ſay what is the preciſe meaning of this paſſage; unleſs it be an alluſion to the caſe of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his madneſs (IV. 6.) " a beaſt's heart was given unto him," and after he was reſtored to his ſenſes, " a man's heart was given to " him" again. What appears moſt probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was ſubverted, the people become more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as if they had been gods, now felt themſelves to be but men. They were brought to ſuch a ſenſe as the Pſalmiſt wiſheth ſuch perſons to have, (Pſal. IX. 20.) " Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations " may know themſelves to be but men."

II. The ſecond kingdom is repreſented (ver. 5.) by " another beaſt " like to a bear, and it raiſed up itſelf on one ſide, and it had three " ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they ſaid thus " unto it, Ariſe, devour much fleſh." This is the kingdom of the Medes and Perſians: and for their cruelty and greedineſs after blood they are compared to a *bear*, which is a moſt voracious and cruel animal.

(4) *Et ſublata eſt*, inquit, *de terra*; ſubverſo videlicet impio [imperio] Chaldæorum. Hieron. ibid. και εξηρθη απο της γης. Sept. Videbam evulſas eſſe alas ejus, et ab humo ſublatam. Syriac. et egreſſa eſt de terra. Arab.

(5) *Et ſublata eſt de terra.* Verte: *per quas efferebatur ſupra terram.* Sæpe enim Chaldæis, ut et Hebræis, copula vim habet relativi. Grot. in locum.

(6) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 4. p. 462. Edit. Hudſon. Uſher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(7) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 816, &c.

(8) Urſus

mal. The very learned (7) Bochart recounts ſeveral particulars, wherein the Perſians reſembled bears: but the chief likeneſs conſiſted in what I have mentioned; and this likeneſs was principally intended by the prophet, as I think we may infer from the words of the text itſelf, "Ariſe, devour much fleſh," A bear, ſaith Ariſtotle, is an all-devouring animal: and ſo, ſaith (8) Grotius, the Medo-Perſians were great robbers and ſpoilers according to Jeremiah (LI. 48. 56.)

"And it raiſed up itſelf on one ſide," or as it is in the margin, "it raiſed up one dominion;" for the Perſians were ſubject to the Medes at the conqueſt of Babylon, but ſoon after raiſed up themſelves above them. "And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the "teeth of it:" theſe (9) Jerome underſtands of the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Perſians, which were reduced into one kingdom; and ſo likewiſe Vatablus and Grotius: but (1) Sir Iſaac Newton and Biſhop Chandler with greater propriety explain them to ſignify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but were not properly parts and members of its body. They might be called *ribs*, as the conqueſt of them much ſtrengthened the Perſian empire; and they might be ſaid to be "between the teeth "of the bear," as they were much grinded and oppreſſed by the Perſians.

"And they ſaid thus unto it, Ariſe, devour much fleſh:" this was ſaid, as it was before obſerved, to denote the cruelty of the Medes and Perſians. They are alſo repreſented very cruel by the prophet Iſaiah, (XIII. 18.) "Their bows alſo ſhall daſh the young men to pieces, and "they ſhall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye ſhall "not ſpare children." Cambyſes, Ochus, and others of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Inſtances of their cruelty abound in almoſt all the hiſtorians, who have written of their affairs,

(8) Urſus ζωον παμφαγον [animal omnia vorans] ait Ariſtoteles VIII. 5. Sic Medoperſæ raptores magni, prædones, Jeremiæ LI. 48, 56. Grot. in locum.

(9) Ergo tres ordines in ore regni Perſarum, et in dentibus ejus, tria regna debemus accipere, Babyloniorum, Medorum, atque Perſarum; quæ in unum redacta ſunt regnum. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict. Vatablus et Grotius in locum.

(1) Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel. Chap. 4. p. 29. Biſhop Chandler's Vindication Book 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 198.

(2) Superbi,

from Herodotus down to Ammianus Marcellinus, (2) who deſcribes them proud, cruel, exerciſing the power of life and death over ſlaves and obſcure plebeians. They pull off the ſkins, ſays he, from men alive by pieces or altogether: and they have abominable laws, by which for one man's offenſe all the neighbourhood is deſtroyed. Well therefore might a learned (3) French commentator ſay, that the Perſians have exerciſed the moſt ſevere, and the moſt cruel dominion that we know of. The puniſhments uſed among them beget horror in thoſe who read of them.

III. The third kingdom is repreſented (ver. 6.) by "another beaſt "like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; "the beaſt had alſo four heads; and dominion was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who under the command of Alexander the Great overcame the Perſians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a *leopard* upon ſeveral accounts. The leopard is remarkable for ſwiftneſs; "their horſes" (ſaith the prophet Habbakuk, I. 8.) "are ſwifter than the leopards:" and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly ſwift and rapid in their conqueſts. The leopard is a ſpotted animal: and ſo was a proper emblem, according to (4) Bochart, of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or, according to (5) Grotius, of the various manners of Alexander himſelf, who was ſometimes merciful, and ſometimes cruel; ſometimes temperate, and ſometimes drunken; ſometimes abſtemious, and ſometimes incontinent. The leopard, as (6) Bochart obſerves, is of ſmall ſtature, but of great courage, ſo as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largeſt beaſts; and ſo Alexander, a little king in compariſon, of ſmall ſtature too, and with a ſmall army, dared to attack the king of kings, that is Darius, whoſe kingdom was extended from the Ægean ſea to the Indies. Others have purſued the compariſon farther,

(2) Superbi, crudeles, vitæ neciſque poteſtatem in ſervos et plebeios vindicantes obſcuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel ſolidas.—Leges apud eos—abominandæ—per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 6. p. 384. Edit. Valeſii. Paris. 1681.

(3) Les Perſes ont exercé la domination la plus ſevére, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoiſſe. Les ſupplices uſitez parmi eux ſont horreur à ceux qui les liſent. Calmet in Dan.

(4) Maculas pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diverſi mores. Bochart. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Col. 789.

(5) Pardus varium animal. Sic Alexander moribus variis; modo clemens, modo crudelis; modo victus temperati, modo ebriofus; modo abſtinens, modo indulgens amoribus. Grot. in locum.

(6) Ut

farther, but with more ſuttlety than ſolidity; for I conceive the principal point of likeneſs was deſigned between the ſwiftneſs and impetuoſity of the one and the other.

For the ſame reaſon the beaſt "had upon the back of it four wings of "a fowl." The Babylonian empire was repreſented with "two" wings, but this is deſcribed with "four." For, as (7) Jerome ſaith, nothing was ſwifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries, from Illyricum and the Adriatic ſea to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not ſo much fighting as conquering, and in *ſix* years (he ſhould have ſaid in *twelve)* ſubjugated part of Europe, and all Aſia to himſelf. "The beaſt had alſo four heads:" to denote the four kingdoms into which this ſame third kingdom ſhould be divided, as it was divided into four kingdoms after the death of Alexander, (8) his four captains Caſſander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lyſimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. "And dominion was given to it;" which ſhoweth, as (9) Jerome ſaith, that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And indeed unleſs he had been directed, preſerved, and aſſiſted by the mighty power of God, how could Alexander with thirty thouſand men have overcome Darius with ſix hundred thouſand, and in ſo ſhort a time have brought all the countries from Greece as far as to India into ſubjection?

IV. The fourth kingdom is repreſented (ver. 7.) by a "fourth beaſt, "dreadful and terrible; and ſtrong exceedingly; and it had great iron "teeth: it devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue "with the feet of it, and it was divers from all the beaſts that were "before it." Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean; (ver. 19.) "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beaſt, "which was divers from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whoſe teeth "were

(6) Ut pardus ſtaturâ parvus eſt, ſed animo et robore maxime præſtans, ita ut cum leone et proceriſſimis quibuſque feris congredi non vereatur: Sic Alexander penè regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi auſus eſt, id eſt, Darium, cujus regnum a mari Ægæo uſque ad Indos extendebatur. Bochart. ibid.

(7) Nihil enim Alexandri victoria velocius fuit, qui ab Illyrico, et Adriatico mari uſque ad Indicum oceanum, et Gangen fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in ſex annis partem Europæ, et omnem ſibi Aſiam ſubjugavit. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(8) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

(9) Quodque additur, *Et poteſtas data eſt ei*, oſtendit, non Alexandri fortitudinis, ſed Domini voluntatis fuiſſe. Hieron. ibid.

(1) Qua

" were of iron, and his nails of braſs, which devoured, brake in pieces, " and ſtamped the reſidue with his feet." And he was anſwered thus by the angel; (ver. 23.) " The fourth beaſt ſhall be the fourth king- " dom upon earth, which ſhall be divers from all kingdoms, and ſhall " devour the whole earth, and ſhall tread it down, and break it in " pieces." This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire; for it is as abſurd, as it is ſingular, to pretend to reckon the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ in Syria and of the Lagidæ or Ptolemies in Egypt as the fourth kingdom. Calmet himſelf (1) acknowlegeth, that this is uſually explained of the Roman empire; and tho' for reaſons of church, as well as reaſons of ſtate, he may prefer the other hypotheſis, yet it is ' without pretending to deſtroy the ſyſtem which underſtands ' the fourth empire of the Roman, and which, as he confeſſeth, is the ' moſt commonly received among interpreters.'

The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ can in no reſpect anſwer to this deſcription of the fourth beaſt or kingdom. It is deſcribed as " dreadful, and terrible, and ſtrong exceedingly:" but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were *leſs* terrible, and *leſs* ſtrong than any of the former kingdoms. It " devoured, and brake " in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue," that is the remains of the former kingdoms, " with the feet of it:" but the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ were almoſt continually at war with each other; and inſtead of ſubduing other kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was " divers from all kingdoms," that is of a different nature and conſtitution of government: but Egypt and Syria were governed much in the ſame manner as the former kingdoms, and were equally abſolute monarchies. Of the fourth kingdom it is ſaid, " that it ſhall devour " the whole earth, and ſhall tread it down, and break it in pieces:" but this can never be applied to the kings of Egypt and Syria, who were ſo far from inlarging their dominions, that they could not preſerve what was left them by their anceſtors.

Wherefore

(1) On l'explique ordinairement de l'empire Romain.———ſans pretendre pour cela détruire le ſyſtême qui entend le quatriéme empire, de l'empire Romain, et qui eſt le plus communément reçu parmi les interprétes. Calmet in locum.

(2) Quartum quod nunc orbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanum eſt, de quo in ſtatua dicitur: *Tibiæ ejus ferreæ: pedum quædam pars ferrea, quædam fictilis*; et tamen ipſius ferri ex parte nunc meminit, dentes ejus ferreos et magnos eſſe conteſtans. Satiſque

Wherefore (2) Jerome rightly concluded, that ‘ the fourth empire ‘ which now poſſeſſeth the world, is the Roman, whereof it is ſaid in ‘ the ſtatue,’ “ his legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of “ clay ;” ‘ and yet he mentions now the iron in part, atteſting that it ‘ had great iron teeth. And I greatly wonder, ſaith he, that when he ‘ had before placed a lion, and a bear, and a leopard in three kingdoms, ‘ he ſhould compare the Roman empire to no beaſt: unleſs perhaps ‘ that he might make the beaſt more formidable, he concealed the ‘ name ; ſo that whatſoever we could imagin the moſt fierce in beaſts, ‘ that we ſhould underſtand the Romans to be.’ The fourth beaſt was ſo great and horrible, that it was not eaſy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was “ dreadful, and terrible, and ſtrong “ exceedingly,” beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was “ divers “ from all kingdoms,” not only in its republican form of government, but likewiſe in ſtrength, and power, and greatneſs, length of duration, and extent of dominion. “ It devoured, and brake in pieces, and “ ſtamped the reſidue with the feet of it ;” it reduced Macedon into a Roman province (3) about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years before Chriſt. And beſides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it ſubdued many other provinces and kingdoms, ſo that it might by a very uſual figure be ſaid, to “ devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, “ and break it in pieces,” and became in a manner what the Roman writers delighted to call it, *terrarum orbis imperium*, the empire of the whole world.

A Greek writer too, and he a grave and judicious hiſtorian, who floriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, hath a remarkable paſſage, which is very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. Speaking of the great ſuperiority of the Roman empire to all former empires he ſaith, that the Perſian was ſucceeded by the Macedonian, and the Macedonian by the Roman ; ſo that he had no conception of Alexander's erecting one kingdom, and his ſucceſſors another, but conſidered them both as one and

Satiſque miror, quod quum ſuprà leænam, et urſum, et pardum, in tribus regnis poſuerit, Romanum regnum nulli beſtiæ comparârit ; niſi forte ut formidoloſam faceret beſtiam, vocabulum tacuit ; ut quicquid ferocius cogitaverimus in beſtiis hoc Romanos intelligamus. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(3) See Uſher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(4) ñ

and the ſame kingdom. His words are, (4) ‘ The Macedonian em-
‘ pire having overturned the force of the Perſians, in greatneſs indeed
‘ of dominion exceeded all the kingdoms which were before it: but
‘ yet it did not floriſh a long time, but after the death of Alexander it
‘ began to grow worſe and worſe. For being immediately diſtracted
‘ into ſeveral principalities by his ſucceſſors, and after them having
‘ ſtrength to go on to the ſecond or third generation, it was weakened
‘ by itſelf, and at laſt was deſtroyed by the Romans. And yet it did
‘ not reduce all the earth and ſea to its obedience. For neither did it
‘ poſſeſs Africa, except that part adjoining to Egypt; neither did it ſub-
‘ due all Europe, but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace,
‘ and weſtwards it deſcended to the Adriatic ſea. But the city of
‘ Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it is inhabited; and com-
‘ mands all the ſea, not only that within the pillars of Hercules, but
‘ alſo the ocean, as far as it is navigable, having firſt and alone of all
‘ the moſt celebrated kingdoms, made the eaſt and weſt the bounds of
‘ its empire: and its dominion hath continued not a ſhort time, but
‘ longer than that of any other city or kingdom.’

2. Another remarkable property of this beaſt is (ver. 7.) that “ it “ had ten horns:” and according to the angel’s interpretation (ver. 24.) “ the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings” or kingdoms “ that ſhall ariſe. Four kings” a little before (ver. 17.) ſignified “ four kingdoms:” and ſo here “ ten kings” are “ ten kingdoms” according to the uſual phraſeology of ſcripture. And this is a farther argument, that the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ cannot poſſibly be the fourth kingdom, becauſe they were never divided into

(4) ἡ δε Μακεδονικη δυναστεια, την Περσων καθελυσα ισχυν, μεγεθει μεν αρχης ἁπασας ὑπερεβαλετο τας προ αυτης· χρονον δε ουδε αυτη πολυν ηνθησεν, αλλα μετα την Αλεξανδρυ τελευτην επι το χειρον ηρξατο φερεσθαι. διασπασθεισα γαρ εις πολλους ἡγεμονας [εις πολλας ἡγεμονιας Sylb.] ευθυς απο [ὑπο] των διαδοχων, και μετ' εκεινους αχρι της δευτερας η τριτης ισχυσασα προελθειν γενεας, ασθεις αυτη δι' ἑαυτης εγενετο, και τελευτωσα ὑπο Ρωμαιων ηφανισθη. και ὑδε αυτη μεντοι πασαν εποιησατο γην τε και θαλλασσαν ὑπηκοον. ὑτε γαρ Λιβυης ὁτι μη της προ Αιγυπτῳ, πολλης ὑσης εκρατησεν, ὑτε την Ευρωπην ὁλην ὑπηγαγετο, αλλα των μεν βορειων αυτης μερων μεχρι Θρακης προηλθε, των δε ἑσπεριων αχρι της Αδριανης κατεβη θαλλασσης.—ἡ δε Ρωμαιων πολις ἁπασης μεν αρχει γης, ὁση μη ανεμβατος εστιν, αλλ' ὑπ' ανθρωπων κατοικειται· πασης δε κρατει θαλασσης, ὑ μονον της εντος Ηρακλειων ςηλων, αλλα και της Ωκεανιτιδος, ὁση πλεισθαι μη αδυνατος εστι, πρωτη και μονη των εκ του παντος αιωνος μνημονευομενων, αιατολας και δυσεις ορας ποιησαμενη της δυναστειας· χρονος τε αυξη του κραιους ὑ βραχυς, αλλ' ὁσος ὑδεμια των αλλων ὑτε πολεων ὑτε βασιλειων. Imperium vero Macedonicum, fractis Perſarum opibus, imperii amplitudine omnia quotquot ante fuerant, ſuperavit: ſed ne ipſum quidem diu floruit, at poſt Alexandri obitum in pejus cæpit ruere. Statim enim in multos principes a ſucceſſoribus diſtractum, et poſt illos ad ſecundam uſque tertiamve ætatem progreſſum, ipſum per ſe debilitatum eſt, tandemque a Romanis deletum. Verum ne ipſum

into ſo many parts. The Macedonian empire was divided a few years after the death of Alexander into four kingdoms, whereof Egypt and Syria were two; but theſe two were never again ſubdivided into ten leſſer kingdoms. Porphyry therefore, who made two ſeparate kingdoms of the kingdom of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, contrary to the received interpretation of "kings" for "kingdoms," reckons down to Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he ſuppoſeth to be the "little horn," ten kings who were moſt cruel: but theſe kings, as (5) Jerome obſerves, were not all of one kingdom, of Macedonia for inſtance, or Syria, or Aſia, or Egypt; but the liſt was made up out of the different kingdoms.

Grotius (6) indeed, and Collins after him, form their catalogue of the ten kings, who were very oppreſſive and cruel to the Jews, out of the kings of Egypt and Syria: and they thus enumerate them, five out of one kingdom, and five out of the other, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Eupator [I ſuppoſe they meant Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next after Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, and next before Ptolemy Euergetes, being the ſon of the former, and the father of the latter] Ptolemy Euergetes, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the great, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. But it happens, that ſome of theſe kings did not perſecute the Jews at all, as Seleucus Callinicus. Others were ſo far from perſecuting them, that they were their patrons and protectors. Such were Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetes, and Antiochus the great: and ſuch they are reckoned by (7) Joſephus himſelf. So that out of

ipſum quidem omnes terras omniaque maria in ſuam ditionem redegit. Neque enim Africæ, quæ late patet, niſi partis Ægypto proximæ, potitum eſt: neque totam Europam ſubegit, ſed ab ejus ſeptentrionalibus partibus ad Thraciam uſque proceſſit, ab occidentalibus vero uſque ad Adriaticum mare deſcendit. ——At reſpublica Romana totius terræ, quæ non eſt deſerta, ſed ab hominibus incolitur, imperium habet: et totius maris eſt domina, non ſolum ejus quod eſt intra columnas Herculis, ſed et oceani quacunque navigari poteſt, primaque et ſola poſt hominum memoriam ortu et occaſu fines imperii ſui terminavit: ejuſque potentia non ad exiguum tempus duravit, ſed quantum nulli alii vel reipublicæ vel regno contigit. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 1. p. 2 et 3. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) —— et deinde uſque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt ſæviſſimi: ipſoſque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratia, Macedoniæ, Syriæ, Aſiæ, et Ægypti; ſed de diverſis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1130. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Grotius in locum. Scheme of litteral prophecy, &c. p. 162.

(7) Vide Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1, 2, 3. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4 et 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Calmet

the ten kings only *four* were perſecutors and oppreſſors of the Jews. The ten horns too are repreſented as exiſting all at once; they ſhoot out and appear upon the head of the beaſt all together: but theſe kings were not all contemporaries, many of them were ſucceſſive, and one fell before another aroſe. So forced and arbitrary is this expoſition, and ſo contrary to the truth of hiſtory.

We muſt therefore look for the ten kings or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire. The Roman empire, as the (8) Romaniſts themſelves allow, was by means of the incurſions of the northern nations, diſmember'd into ten kingdoms: and (9) Machiavel, little thinking what he was doing, (as Biſhop Chandler obſerves) hath given us their names; 1. the Oſtrogoths in Mœſia, 2. the Viſigoths in Pannonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gaſcoigne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Heruli and Turingi in Italy, 8. the Saxons and Angles in Britain, 9. the Huns in Hungary, 10. the Lombards at firſt upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.

Mr. Mede, whom (1) a certain writer eſteemed as a man divinely inſpired for the interpretation of the prophecies, (2) reckons up the ten kingdoms thus in the year 456, the year after Rome was ſacked by Genſeric king of the Vandals: 1. the Britons, 2. the Saxons in Britain, 3. the Franks, 4. the Burgundians in France, 5. the Wiſigoths in the ſouth of France and part of Spain, 6. the Sueves and Alans in Gallicia and Portugal, 7. the Vandals in Afric, 8. the Alemanes in Germany, 9. the Oſtrogoths whom the Longobards ſucceeded, in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy, 10. the Greeks in the reſidue of the empire.

That excellent chronologer Biſhop Lloyd exhibits the following (3) liſt of the ten kingdoms with the time of their riſe: 1. Huns about A. D. 356. 2. Oſtrogoths 377. 3. Wiſigoths 378. 4. Franks 407. 5. Vandals 407. 6. Sueves and Alans 407. 7. Burgundians 407. 8. Herules and Rugians 476. 9. Saxons 476. 10. Longobards began

(8) Calmet upon Rev. XIII. 1. and he refers likewiſe to Berengaud, Boſſuet, and Du Pin.

(9) Machiavel Hiſt. Flor. Lib. 1. Biſhop Chandler's Vindication, &c. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 3. p. 253.

(1) Monſ. Jurieu, in the Preface to his Accompliſhment of the Scripture Prophecies.

(2) Mede's

gan to reign in Hungary Anno Dom. 526. and were ſeated in the northern parts of Germany about the year 483.

Sir Iſaac Newton enumerates them (4) thus, 1. the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa, 2. the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain, 3. the kingdom of the Viſigoths, 4. the kingdom of the Alans in Gallia, 5. the kingdom of the Burgundians, 6. the kingdom of the Franks, 7. the kingdom of the Britons, 8. the kingdom of the Huns, 9. the kingdom of the Lombards, 10. the kingdom of Ravenna.

The few variations in theſe accounts muſt be aſcribed to the great diſorder and confuſion of the times, one kingdom falling, and another riſing, and ſcarce any ſubſiſting for a long while together. As a learned (5) writer remarks, "all theſe kingdoms were variouſly divided either "by conqueſt or inheritance. However, as if that number of *ten* "had been fatal in the Roman dominions, it hath been taken notice "of upon particular occaſions. As about A. 1240 by Eberard biſhop "of Saltſburg in the diet at Ratiſbon. At the time of the Reformation "they were alſo ten. So that the Roman empire was divided into *ten* "in a manner, firſt and laſt." Mr. Whiſton, who publiſhed his eſſay on the Revelation of St. John in the year 1706, farther (6) obſerves, "that as the number of the kingdoms, into which the Roman empire "in Europe, agreeably to the ancient prophecies, was originally "divided A. D. 456, was exactly *ten*: ſo it is alſo very nearly returned "again to the ſame condition; and at preſent is divided into ten grand "or principal kingdoms or ſtates.—For tho' there are many more "great kingdoms and dominions in Europe beſides, yet are they out "of the bounds of the old Roman empire, and ſo not ſo directly "within our preſent inquiry."

We would, for reaſons which will hereafter appear to the attentive reader, fix theſe ten kingdoms at a different æra from any of the foregoing; and let us ſee how they ſtood in the eighth century. The principal ſtates and governments then were 1. of the ſenate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the

 privilege

(2) Mede's Works. Book 3. p. 661.
(3) Addenda to Lowth's Comment. p. 524.
(4) Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſ. on Daniel. Ch. 6. p. 47.
(5) Daubuz on Rev. XIII. 1. p. 559.
(6) Eſſay on the Rev. Part 3. Viſion 4.

(7) Sir

privilege of chooſing a new weſtern emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemanes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain; 9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons in Britain. Not that there were conſtantly *ten* kingdoms; they were ſometimes more, and ſometimes fewer: but, as (7) Sir Iſaac Newton ſays, "whatever was their number afterwards, they are ſtill called the *ten kings* from their firſt number."

3. Beſides theſe ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to ſpring up among them another little horn. "I conſidered the "horns," ſaith Daniel, (ver. 8.) "and behold there came up among "them another little horn, before whom there were three of the firſt "horns plucked up by the roots." Daniel was eager to know (ver. 20.) as "of the ten horns," ſo likewiſe "of the other which came up, and "before whom three fell." And he was informed by the angel, (ver. 24.) that as "the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings" or kingdoms "that ſhould ariſe," ſo likewiſe that "another ſhall riſe "after them, and he ſhall ſubdue three kings" or kingdoms. One abſurdity generally produceth another: and (8) Grotius, in conſequence of his former ſuppoſition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, ſuppoſeth alſo, that "the little "horn" was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that "the three horns which "were pluckt up before him" were his elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the ſon of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the ſame notion after Grotius, for Collins was only a retailer of ſcraps, and could not advance any thing of this kind of his own. But ſurely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the ſame time as the little horn, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an *eleventh* horn, diſtinct from the former ten. There were "three of the firſt horns" to be pluckt

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel. Chap. 6. p. 73.

(8) Grotius and Collins ibid.

(9) Appian in Syriac. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(1) Appian ibid. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 188. Edit. Tollii. Juſtin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. p. 548. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Ptolemy Philopator died Anno 204, Antiochus became king Anno 175 before Chriſt. See Uſher, Prideaux, &c.

(3) Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164, Ptolemy Philometor Anno 146 before Chriſt. See Uſher, Prid. &c.

(4) Daniel

pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not all in his firſt catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they "pluckt up by the roots" by Antiochus, or by his order. Seleucus was (9) poiſoned by his treaſurer Heliodorus, whoſe aim it was to uſurp the crown to himſelf, before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hoſtage ſeveral years. Demetrius (1) lived to dethrone and murder the ſon of Antiochus, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopator (2) died king of Egypt almoſt thirty years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria: or if Ptolemy Philometor (as is moſt probable) was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he ſuffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet ſurvived him (3) about eighteen years, and died in poſſeſſion of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion to the crown of Syria. Neither doth Antiochus Epiphanes anſwer to the character of the little horn in other reſpects, and particularly in this. The little horn continues (ver. 21, 22, 26.) to reign till the ſecond coming of Chriſt in glory; but Antiochus Epiphanes died about 164 years before his firſt coming in the fleſh. Theſe are all farther arguments to prove, that the "fourth beaſt" muſt needs ſignify the Roman empire, and that "the ten horns" repreſent the ten kingdoms into which that empire was divided, and therefore we muſt look for "the little horn" among them, and no where elſe: and that we may not be led away by modern prejudices, let us ſee whether the ancients will not afford us ſome light and direction.

Irenæus, a father who floriſhed in the ſecond century, treating of the fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichriſt, aſſerts that (4) Daniel reſpecting the end 'of the laſt kingdom, that is, the laſt ten kings, among whom 'that kingdom ſhould be divided, upon whom the ſon of perdition 'ſhall

(4) Daniel autem noviſſimi regni finem reſpiciens, id eſt, noviſſimos decem reges, in quos divideretur regnum illorum, ſuper quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem naſci beſtiæ: ei alterum cornu puſillum naſci in medio ipſorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicare a facie ejus——De quo et apoſtolus Paulus in ſecunda ad Theſſalonicenſes, &c. Manifeſtius adhuc etiam de noviſſimo tempore, et de his qui ſunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium, ſignificavit Joannes Domini diſcipulus in Apocalypſi, ediſſerens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele viſa ſunt, &c. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 25, 26. p. 438, &c. Edit. Grabe.

(5) Τανῦα

'ſhall come, ſaith that ten horns ſhall grow on the beaſt, and another 'little horn ſhall grow up among them, and three of the firſt horns 'ſhall be rooted out before him. Of whom alſo Paul the apoſtle ſpeak-'eth in his ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, calling him' "the ſon "of perdition," 'and' "the wicked one." St. John, our Lord's 'diſciple, hath in the Apocalyps ſtill more plainly ſignified of the laſt 'time, and of theſe ten kings, among whom the empire that now 'reigneth ſhall be divided, explaining what the ten horns ſhall be, 'which were ſeen by Daniel.'

St. Cyril of Jeruſalem, who floriſhed about the middle of the fourth century, ſpeaking of Antichriſt's coming in the latter times of the Roman empire, (5) ſaith, 'We teach theſe things not of our own inven-'tion, but having learned them out of the divine ſcriptures, and eſpe-'cially out of the prophecy of Daniel which was juſt now read; even 'as Gabriel the archangel interpreted ſaying thus;' "the fourth beaſt "ſhall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which ſhall exceed all "the kingdoms:" 'but that this is the empire of the Romans, ec-'cleſiaſtical interpreters have delivered. For the firſt that was made 'famous, was the kingdom of the Aſſyrians; and the ſecond, was 'that of the Medes and Perſians together; and after theſe the third, 'was that of the Macedonians; and the fourth kingdom, is now that 'of the Romans. Afterwards Gabriel interpreting ſaith,' "Its ten "horns are ten kings that ſhall ariſe; and after them ſhall ariſe ano-"ther king, who ſhall exceed in wickedneſs all before him;" 'not only 'the

(5) Ταυτα δε διδασκομεν, ουκ ευρεσιλογουντες, αλλ' εκ των θειων εκκλησιαζομενων γραφων, και μαλιστα εκ της αρτιως αναγνωσθεισης του Δανιηλ προφητειας μεμαθηκοτες· καθως και Γαβριηλ ὁ Αρχαγγελος ἑρμηνευσε λεγων ὑτω· το θηριον το τεταρτον, βασιλεια τεταρτη εσαι εν τη γη, ἡτις ὑπερεξει πασας τας βασιλειας, ταυτην δε ειναι των Ρωμαιων οἱ εκκλησιαστικοι παραδεδωκασιν εξηγηται. πρωτης γαρ επισημου γενομενης, της Ασσυριων βασιλειας· και δευτερας, της Μηδων ὁμου και Περσων. και μετα ταυτας, της Μακηδονων, τριτης· ἡ τεταρτη βασιλεια νυν ἡ Ρωμαιων εστιν ειτα ἐξης ὁ Γαβριηλ ἑρμηνευων φησι· τα δεκα κερατα αυτου, δεκα βασιλεις αναστησονται. και οπισω αυτων αναστησεται βασιλευς ἑτερος, ὁς υπεροισει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν. ε μονον φησι τους δεκα, αλλα και παντας τους προγεγονοτας. Και τρεις βασιλεις ταπεινωσει· δηλον και [δε] απο των δεκα των προτερων, απο των δεκα τουτων τους τρεις ταπεινων, παντως ὁτι αυτος ογδοος βασιλευσει· και λογους, φησι, προς τον ὑψιστον λαλησει. Hæc autem docemus, non comminiſcentes, ſed e ſcripturis divinis colligentes, et ex ea maxime, quæ nuper lecta eſt, ex Daniele propheta edocti: ſicut Gabriel Archangelus interpretatus eſt, dicens ſic: *Quarta beſtia, quartum eſt regnum in terra, quod majus erit aliis omnibus regnis:* hoc autem eſſe Romanorum, eccleſiaſtici interpretes tradiderunt. Primum enim erat regnum Aſſyriorum: alterum Medorum ſimul et Perſarum: tertium poſtea Macedonum: quartum eſt nunc regnum Romanorum. Deinceps vere Gabriel interpretans dicit: *Decem cornua ipſius, decem regna conſurgent: poſt iſta alter conſurget, qui omnes ante ſe malis vincet:* neque ſolum illos decem reges, ſed omnes qui ante ſe fuerunt. *Et tres reges deprimet.* Manifeſtum autem eſt, quod ex iſtis decem tres opprimet, prorſus ut ipſemet octavus

'the ten he ſaith, but alſo all who were before him.' "And he ſhall "depreſs three kings:" 'but it is manifeſt that of the firſt ten he ſhall 'depreſs three, that he himſelf may reign the eighth: and he ſhall 'ſpeak words, ſaith he, againſt the moſt High.'

St. Jerome having refuted Porphyry's notion of Antiochus Epiphanes being the little horn, (where by the way the paſſage appears to want much emendation) (6) concludes thus: 'Therefore let us ſay what all 'eccleſiaſtical writers have delivered, that in the latter days, when the 'empire of the Romans ſhall be deſtroyed, there will be ten kings, who 'ſhall divide it between them, and an eleventh ſhall ariſe, a little king, 'who ſhall ſubdue three of the ten kings, and the other ſeven ſhall 'ſubmit their necks to the conqueror.' Theodoret ſpeaketh much to the ſame purpoſe in his comment upon Daniel: and (7) St. Auſtin expreſly approveth of Jerome's interpretation. 'Thoſe four kingdoms,' ſaith 'he, ſome have expounded to be the Aſſyrian, Perſian, Macedonian 'and Roman. How properly they have done that, thoſe who are 'deſirous of knowing, may read the preſbyter Jerome's book upon 'Daniel, which is very accurately and learnedly written.'

The fathers, it appears by theſe inſtances, conceived that the fourth empire was the Roman, that the Roman empire was to be divided between ten kings, and that among them would ariſe Antichriſt, who ſhould root up three of the ten kings, and domineer over the other ſeven. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe ſame fathers entertained ſtrange wild notions concerning this Antichriſt, (8) that he ſhould

octavus regnet: et verba faciet contra Altiſſimum. Cyrill. Hieroſ. Catech. 15. Cap. 6. p. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon.

(6) Ergo dicamus quod omnes ſcriptores eccleſiaſtici tradiderunt: in conſummatione mundi, quando regnum deſtruendum eſt Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter ſe dividant: et undecimum ſurrecturum eſſe regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus ſuperaturus ſit—Quibus interfectis, etiam ſeptem alii reges victori colla ſubmittent. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1101. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Quatuor illa regna expoſuerunt quidam Aſſyriorum, Perſarum, Macedonum, et Romanorum. Quam vero convenienter id fecerint, qui noſſe deſiderant, legant preſbyteri Hieronymi librum in Danielem, ſatis diligenter eruditéque conſcriptum. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 20. Cap. 23. Tom. 7. p. 457. Edit. Benedict. Ant.

(8) Irenæi Lib. 5. Cap. 25 et 30. Cyrilli Hieroſ. Catech. 15. Cap. 7.——tres reges de decem regibus ſuperaturus ſit, id eſt, Ægyptiorum regem, et Africæ et Ethiopiæ. Hieron. Comment. p. 1101.——naſciturus eſt de populo Judæorum, et de Babylone venturus, primum ſuperaturus eſt regem Ægypti, &c. et poſtea Libyas et Æthiopas ſuperaturus, quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua ſupra legimus. Idem in Cap. 11. p. 1128 et 1132. Edit. Benedict. Cum Jacob filios ſuos benediceret, talia dixit de iſto Dan, ut de ipſa tribu exiſtimetur exſurrecturus Antichriſtus. Auguſtin. Quæſtiones in Joſ. Lib. 6. Quæſt. 22. p. 441. 3d Tom. Edit. Benedict. Antwerpiæ.

(9) Sir

ſhould be a Jew, that he ſhould deſcend from the tribe of Dan, that he ſhould come from Babylon, that he ſhould fix his reſidence in the temple at Jeruſalem, that he ſhould firſt ſubdue Egypt, and afterwards Lybia and Ethiopia, which were the three horns that ſhould fall before him. But it is no wonder that the fathers, nor indeed that any one ſhould miſtake in particularly applying prophecies, which had not then received their completion. The fathers might underſtand the prophecies ſo far as they were fulfilled, and might ſay with certainty which were the four great kingdoms of the world, that the fourth was the Roman, and that the Roman would be divided in the manner that Daniel had foretold. So far was plain and obvious, and ſo far they might proceed with ſafety: but when they ventured farther, and would define particularly who were the ten kings, and who was Antichriſt, and who were the three kings that ſhould fall before him, then they plunged out of their depth, and were loſt in the abyſs of error. Such prophecies can be explained only by the events, and theſe events were yet in the womb of time. Some other miſtaken prophecies might lead the fathers into this interpretation. There is not the leaſt foundation for it in this prophecy. On the contrary this prophecy might have inſtructed them better, and have taught them that as the weſtern empire was to be divided into ten kingdoms, ſo the little horn ſhould ariſe among them, and ſubdue three of them: and conſequently the little horn could not ariſe in the eaſt, he could not be a Jew, he could not come from Babylon, and neither could Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia be the three kingdoms which ſhould fall before him.

Antichriſt then (as the fathers delight to call him) or the little horn is to be ſought among the ten kingdoms of the weſtern Roman empire. I ſay of the weſtern Roman empire, becauſe that was properly the body of the fourth beaſt; Greece and the countries which lay eaſtward of Italy belonged to the third beaſt; for the former beaſts were ſtill ſubſiſting, tho' their dominion was taken away. "As concerning the reſt "of the beaſts," ſaith Daniel (ver. 12.) "they had their dominion "taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a ſeaſon and a time."

"And

(9) Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel. Chap. 4. p. 31, 32.

(1) Comme le regne de l'Antichriſt eſt encore eloigné, on ne peut pas montrer l'accompliſſement des prophéties

" And therefore, as Sir Iſaac (9) Newton rightly infers, all the four " beaſts are ſtill alive, though the dominion of the three firſt be taken " away. The nations of Chaldæa and Aſſyria are ſtill the firſt beaſt. " Thoſe of Media and Perſia are ſtill the ſecond beaſt. Thoſe of " Macedon, Greece and Thrace, Aſia minor, Syria and Egypt, are " ſtill the third. And thoſe of Europe, on this ſide Greece, are ſtill " the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beaſt is confined " to the nations on this ſide the river Euphrates, and the body of the " fourth beaſt is confined to the nations on this ſide Greece; we are to " look for all the four heads of the third beaſt, among the nations on " this ſide the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the " fourth beaſt, among the nations on this ſide of Greece. And there- " fore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of " the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldæans, Medes and Per- " ſians in thoſe kingdoms, becauſe they belonged to the bodies of the " two firſt beaſts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire ſeated at " Conſtantinople, among the horns of the fourth beaſt, becauſe it be- " longed to the body of the third." For the ſame reaſon, neither can the Saracen nor the Turk be the little horn or Antichriſt, as ſome have imagined them to be; and neither do they come up to the character in other reſpects.

Let us therefore look for the little horn, as the prophecy itſelf directs us, among the other ten horns of the weſtern Roman empire. If indeed it be true, as the Romaniſts pretend, that this part of the prophecy is not yet fulfilled, and that Antichriſt will come only for a little time before the general judgment, it would be in vain to inquire who or what he is; we ſhould ſplit upon the ſame rock as the fathers have done; it would better become us to ſay with (1) Calmet, that 'as 'the reign of Antichriſt is ſtill remote, we cannot ſhow the accom- 'pliſhment of the prophecies with regard to him; we ought to con- 'tent ourſelves with conſidering the paſt, and comparing it with the 'words of the prophet; the paſt is an aſſurance of the future.' But perhaps upon examination we ſhall ſee reaſon to conclude with the

prophéties à ſon egard. On doit ſe contenter de conſidérer le paſſé, et de le comparer avec les paroles du prophéte. Le paſſé eſt une aſſurance de ce qui doit arriver un jour. Calmet in locum.

(2) Machiavel's

generality of the proteſtants, that this part of the prophecy is fulfilled. We have ſeen already that the Roman empire was divided into ten horns or kingdoms, and among them poſſibly we may find another little horn or kingdom anſwering in all reſpects to the character here given. Machiavel himſelf will lead us by the hand; for having ſhown how the Roman empire was broken and divided by the incurſions of the northern nations, he (2) ſays "About this time the biſhops of "Rome began to take upon them, and to exerciſe gre ter authority "than they had formerly done. At firſt the ſucceſſors of St. Peter "were venerable and eminent for their miracles, and the holineſs of "their lives; and their examples added daily ſuch numbers to the "chriſtian church, that to obviate or remove the confuſions which were "then in the world, many princes turned Chriſtians, and the emperor "of Rome being converted among the reſt, and quitting Rome, to "hold his reſidence at Conſtantinople; the Roman empire (as we have "ſaid before) began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as "faſt." And ſo he proceeds to give an account, how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increaſed, firſt under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by the calling in of the Franks.

Here then is a little horn ſpringing up among the other ten horns. The biſhop of Rome was reſpectable as a biſhop long before, but he did not become a *horn* properly, (which is an emblem of ſtrength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *riſe after* the other, that is *behind them*, as the Greek tranſlates it οπισω αυτων, and as (3) Mr. Mede explains it, ſo that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it overtopped them; the word in the original ſignifying as well *behind* in place, as *after* in time; as alſo *poſt* in Latin is uſed indifferently either of place or time. "Three of the "firſt horns," that is three of the firſt kings or kingdoms, were to be "pluckt up by the roots," and to "fall before him." And theſe three, according to Mr. Mede, "were thoſe whoſe dominions extended into "Italy, and ſo ſtood in his light: firſt, that of the *Greeks*, whoſe "emperor

(2) Machiavel's Hiſt. of Florence. B. 1. p. 6. of the Engliſh tranſlation.

(3) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epiſt. 24. p. 778, &c.

(4) Sir

" emperor Leo Iſaurus, for the quarrel of image-worſhip, he excom-
" municated, and made his ſubjects of Italy revolt from their alle-
" giance: ſecondly, that of the *Longobards* (ſucceſſors to the Oſtro-
" goths) whoſe kingdom he cauſed by the aid of Franks to be wholly
" ruined and extirpated, thereby to get the exarchate of Ravenna
" (which ſince the revolt from the Greeks the Longobards were ſeiſed
" on) for a patrimony to St. Peter: thirdly, the laſt was the kingdom
" of the *Franks* itſelf, continued in the empire of Germany; whoſe
" emperors from the days of Henry the fourth he excommunicated,
" depoſed and trampled under his feet, and never ſuffered to live in
" reſt, till he made them not only to quit their intereſt in the election
" of popes and inveſtitures of biſhops, but that remainder alſo of juriſ-
" diction in Italy, wherewith together with the Roman name he had once
" infeoffed their predeceſſors. Theſe were the kings by diſplanting or
" (as the Vulgar hath) *humbling* of whom the pope got elbow-room by
" degrees, and advanced himſelf to that highth of temporal majeſty
" and abſolute greatneſs, which made him ſo terrible in the world."

Sir Iſaac Newton reckons them up with ſome variation. " Kings, (4)
" ſaith he, are put for kingdoms, as above; and therefore the little
" horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beaſt, and
" rooted up three of his firſt horns; and therefore we are to look for
" it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the riſe of the ten
" horns.——In the eighth century, by rooting up and ſubduing the
" exarchate of *Ravenna*, the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and the
" ſenate and dukedom of *Rome*, he acquired Peter's patrimony out
" of their dominions; and thereby roſe up as a temporal prince or
" king, or horn of the fourth beaſt." Again. " It was certainly by
" the victory of the ſee of Rome over the *Greek* emperor, the king of
" *Lombardy*, and the ſenate of *Rome*, that ſhe acquired Peter's patri-
" mony, and roſe up to her greatneſs."

In both theſe ſchemes there is ſomething to be approved, and ſome-
thing perhaps to be diſapproved. In Mr. Mede's plan it is to be ap-
proved, that the three kingdoms which he propoſeth, are mentioned in
his firſt table of the ten kingdoms; but then it may be queſtioned,

(4) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel. Chap. 7. p. 74, et 75, et 76.

(5) עקר

whether the kingdom of the Franks or Germans in Italy can be ſaid properly to have been "pluckt up by the roots" through the power or policy of the popes. There were indeed long ſtruggles and conteſts between the popes and emperors; but did the pope ever ſo totally prevail over the emperors, as to *exſtirpate* and *eradicate* them out of Italy, (for ſo the (5) original word ſignifies) and to ſeiſe and annex their dominions to his own? If all hiſtory anſwers in the affirmative, as it hath been ſaid, it would be eaſy to point out the time or times. But for my part I recollect no period when the pope diſpoſſeſſed the emperor of all his Italian dominions, and united them to the eſtates of the church, and enjoyed them as ſuch for any time. The emperor poſſeſſeth dominions in Italy to this day. In Sir Iſaac Newton's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he propoſeth, were "pluckt up by the "roots," were totally ſubdued by the popes, and poſſeſſed as parts of Peter's patrimony: but then it may be objected, that only two of the three are mentioned in his firſt catalogue of the ten kingdoms, the ſenate and dukedom of Rome being not included in the number. There were not only "three horns" to be pluckt up before the little horn, but "three of the firſt horns." We have therefore exhibited a catalogue of the ten kingdoms, as they ſtood in the eighth century; and therein are comprehended the three ſtates or kingdoms, which conſtituted the pope's dominions, and which we conceive to be the ſame as Sir Iſaac Newton did, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards*, and the *ſtate* of *Rome*.

Firſt, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, which of right belonged to the Greek emperors, and which was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the inſtigation of the pope, was unjuſtly ſeiſed by (6) Aiſtulphus king of the Lombards, who thereupon thought of making himſelf maſter of Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pipin king of France, who marched into Italy, beſieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to ſurrender the exarchate and other territories, which were not reſtored to the Greek emperor as in juſtice they

(5) עקר Evellere, exſtirpare, eradicare. Buxtorf.

(6) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ann. 753—755. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Pepin, Roy 22. Platina's Lives of the Popes tranſlated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut in Stephen II. Sir. Is. Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 7. Voltaire of *the origin of the power of the popes* in the firſt part of his General Hiſt. of Europe.

(7) Platina

they ought to have been, but at the ſollicitation of the pope were given to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors for a perpetual ſucceſſion. Pope Zachary had acknowleged Pipin, uſurper of the crown of France, as lawful ſovran; and now Pipin in his turn beſtowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon pope Stephen II, the ſucceſſor of Zachary. "And ſo, as (7) Platina ſays, the name of the exarchate, which had "continued from the time of Narſes to the taking of Ravenna by "Aiſtulphus an hundred and ſeventy years, was extinguiſhed." This was effected in the year 755 according to Sigonius. And henceforward the popes, being now become temporal princes, did no longer date their epiſtles and bulls by the years of the emperors reign, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards* was often troubleſome to the popes: and now again (8) king Deſiderius invaded the territories of pope Adrian I. So that the pope was obliged to have recourſe again to the king of France, and earneſtly invited Charles the great, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Pipin, to come into Italy to his aſſiſtance. He came accordingly with a great army, being ambitious alſo himſelf of inlarging his dominions in Italy, and conquered the Lombards, and put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations of his father Pipin, but alſo made an addition of other countries to them, as Corſica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Sabin territory, the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuſcany which belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of theſe donations he ſigned himſelf, and cauſed them to be ſigned by the biſhops, abbats, and other great men then preſent, and laid them ſo ſigned upon the altar of St. Peter. And this (9) was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their poſſeſſing Italy, and in the year of Chriſt 774.

Thirdly, the *ſtate of Rome*, though ſubject to the popes in things ſpiritual, was yet in things temporal governed by the ſenate and people, who after their defection from the eaſtern emperors, ſtill retained many of

(7) Platina ibid. p. 140.

(8) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ann. 772—774. Platina in Adrian. I. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Charlemagne, Roy 23. Ann. 772—774. & vi. Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 80.

(9) Atque hic quidem finis regni Longobardorum in Italia fuit, anno poſtquam Italiam occupaverant, ducenteſimo ſexto, Chriſti vero ſeptingenteſimo ſeptuageſimo quarto. Sigonius in fine libri tertii.

(1) Si-

of their old privileges, and elected both the weſtern emperor and the popes. After (1) Charles the great had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he came again to Rome, and was there by the pope, biſhops, abbats, and the people of Rome, choſen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honor and power next to the emperor. He then ſettled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but after a few years, the (2) Romans deſirous to recover their liberty, conſpired againſt pope Leo III, accuſed him of many great crimes, and impriſoned him. His accuſers were heard on a day appointed before Charles and a council of French and Italian biſhops: but the pope, without pleading his own cauſe or making any defenſe, was acquitted, his accuſers were ſlain or baniſhed, and he himſelf was declared ſuperior to all human judicature. And thus the foundation was laid for the abſolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles in return was choſen emperor of the weſt. However (3) after the death of Charles the great, the Romans again conſpired againſt the pope; but Lewis the pious, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Charles, acquitted him again. In the mean while Leo was dangerouſly ill: which as ſoon as the Romans his enemies perceived, they roſe again, burnt and plundered his villa's, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things they complained were taken from them by force; but they were repreſſed by ſome of the emperor's troops. The ſame (4) emperor Lewis the pious, at the requeſt of pope Paſchal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the ſee of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation: and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy containing part of Tuſcany and Campania, Ravenna with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuſcany and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all theſe are granted to the pope and his ſucceſſors to the end of the world, *ut in ſuo detineant jure, principatu, atque ditione*, that they ſhould hold them in their own right, principality, and dominion. Theſe, as we conceive, were "the

(1) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 4. Ann. 774. Mezeray ibid.

(2) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 798---801. Platina in Leo III. Mezaray ibid. Ann. 799, &c. Sir Iſ. Newton ibid. Voltaire *of the revival of the empire of the weſt*, in the firſt part of his General Hiſt. of Europe.

(3) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 814, 815.

(4) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 817. Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſerv.

" the three horns, three of the firſt horns," which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath in a manner pointed himſelf out for the perſon by wearing *the triple crown*.

4. In other reſpects too the pope fully anſwers the character of the little horn; ſo that if exquiſite fitneſs of application may aſſure us of the true ſenſe of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the perſon. He is " a little horn:" And the power of the popes was originally very ſmall, and their temporal dominions were little and inconſiderable, in compariſon with others of the ten horns.——" He ſhall " be divers from the firſt:" (ver. 24.) The Greek and Arabic tranſlate it, that (5) he ſhall exceed in wickedneſs all before him; and ſo moſt of the fathers, who made uſe only of the Greek tranſlation, underſtood it; but it rather ſignifies that his kingdom ſhall be of a different nature and conſtitution: And the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, being an eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual, as well as a civil and temporal authority.——" And behold in this horn " were eyes like the eyes of a man:" (ver. 8.) To denote his cunning and foreſight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own intereſts: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almoſt paſſed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker* or *overſeer*, επισκοπος or biſhop in the litteral ſenſe of the word.——" He had a " mouth ſpeaking very great things:" (ver. 8, 20.) And who hath been more noiſy and bluſtering than the pope, eſpecially in former ages, boaſting of his ſupremacy, thundring out his bulls and anathema's, excommunicating princes, and abſolving ſubjects from their allegiance?—" His look was more ſtout than his fellows:" (ver. 20.) And the pope aſſumes a ſuperiority not only over his fellow biſhops but even over crowned heads, and requires his foot to be kiſſed, and greater honors to be paid to him than to kings and emperors themſelves.—" And he " ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High," (ver. 25.) or as (6) Symmachus interprets it, *he ſhall ſpeak great words* as *the moſt High*; ſetting up himſelf above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himſelf

Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 88.

(5) ὃς ὑπεροισει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν. Gr. qui malis omnes prædeceſſores ſuos ſuperabit. Arab.

(6) Sive ut interpretatus eſt Symmachus: *ſermones quaſi Deus loquetur*. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1103. Edit. Benedict.

(7) S. Bar-

himſelf godlike attributes and titles of *holineſs* and *infallibility*, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and open violation of reaſon and ſcripture, inſulting men, and blaſpheming God. In Gratian's Decretals the pope hath the title of *God* given to him.— "And he ſhall wear out the ſaints of the moſt High;" by wars and maſſacres and inquiſitions, perſecuting and deſtroying the faithful ſervants of Jeſus and the true worſhippers of God, who proteſt againſt his innovations, and refuſe to comply with the idolatry practiſed in the church of Rome.——"And he ſhall think to change times and laws;" appointing faſts and feaſts, canonizing ſaints, granting pardons and indulgences for ſins, inſtituting new modes of worſhip, impoſing new articles of faith, injoining new rules of practice, and reverſing at pleaſure the laws both of God and men.—"And they ſhall be given "into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time." "A time," all agree, ſignifies a year; and "a time and times and the "dividing of time," or "half a time," are three years and a half. So long and no longer, as the Romaniſts conceive, the power of Antichriſt will continue; but it is impoſſible for all the things, which are predicted of Antichriſt, to be fulfilled in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time; and neither is Antichriſt or the little horn a ſingle man, but a kingdom. Single men are not the ſubjects of this prophecy, but kingdoms. The "four "kings" (ver. 17.) are not four ſingle kings, but kingdoms; and ſo the "ten horns" or "kings" (ver. 24.) are not ten ſingle kings, but kingdoms; and ſo likewiſe "the little horn" is not a ſingle king, but a kingdom, not a ſingle man, but a ſucceſſion of men, exerciſing ſuch powers, and performing ſuch actions, as are here deſcribed. We muſt therefore compute the time according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language. "A time," then, "and times, and half a time" are three years and a half: and the ancient Jewiſh year conſiſting of twelve months, and each month of thirty days, "a time and times and half "a time," or three years and a half, are reckoned in the Revelation (XI. 2, 3. XII. 6, 14.) as equivalent to "forty and two months," or "a thou-

(7) S. Barnabæ Epiſt. Cap. 15. cum notis Cotelerii. Burnet's Theory, B. 3. ch. 5.

(8) ασφαλεστερον εν και ακινδυνοτερον, το περιμενειν την εκβασιν της προφητειας, η το καταχοχαζισθαι και καταμανθανεσθαι. Certius ergo et ſine periculo eſt, ſuſtinere ad impletionem prophetiæ, quam ſuſpicari et divinare. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 448. Edit. Grabe.

(9) Donec

"a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days:" and a day in the ſtile of the prophets is a year; "I have appointed thee each day for a "year," ſaith God to Ezekiel; (IV. 6.) and it is confeſſed, that "the "ſeventy weeks" in the ninth chapter of Daniel are weeks of years: and conſequently "1260 days" are "1260 years." So long Antichriſt or the little horn will continue: but from what point of time the commencement of theſe 1260 years is to be dated, is not ſo eaſy to determin. It ſhould ſeem that they are to be computed from the full eſtabliſhment of the power of the pope, and no leſs is implied in the expreſſion "given into his hand." Now the power of the pope, as a horn or temporal prince, it hath been ſhown, was eſtabliſhed in the eighth century: and 1260 years from that time will lead us down to about the year of Chriſt 2000, or about the 6000th year of the world: and there is an (7) old tradition both among Jews and Chriſtians, that at the end of ſix thouſand years the Meſſiah ſhall come, and the world ſhall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one ſhall ceaſe, and the reign of the ſaints upon earth ſhall begin. But as (8) Irenæus ſaith in a like caſe, it is ſurer and ſafer to wait for the completion of the prophecy, than to conjecture and to divine above it. When the end ſhall come, then we ſhall know better whence to date the beginning.

V. All theſe kingdoms will be ſucceeded by the kingdom of the Meſſiah. "I beheld," ſaith Daniel, (ver. 9, 10.) "till the thrones "were caſt down," or rather (9) "till the thrones were ſet, and the "ancient of days did ſit, whoſe garment was white as ſnow, and the "hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery "flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery ſtream iſſued and "came forth from before him; thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto "him: and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: the "judgment was ſet," or the judges did ſit, "and the books were "opened." Theſe metaphors and figures are borrowed from the ſolemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the conſiſtory ſat, with his aſſeſſors ſeated on each ſide of him in the form of a ſemicircle, and the people ſtanding

(9) Donec throni poſita ſunt, Vulg. ἕως ὅτε οἱ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν. Sept. Videbam ſubſellia poſita eſſe. Syr. ſedes poſitæ fuerunt. Arab. and the ſame word is uſed in the Chaldee paraphraſe of Jer. I. 15. *they ſhall* ſet *every one his throne.*

(1) See

before him: and from this deſcription again was borrowed the deſcription of the day of judgment in the New Teſtament.

"I beheld then becauſe of the voice of the great words which the "horn ſpake; I beheld, even till the beaſt was ſlain, and his body "deſtroyed, and given to the burning flame." (ver. 11.) The beaſt will be deſtroyed "becauſe of the great words which the horn ſpake," and the deſtruction of the beaſt will alſo be the deſtruction of the horn; and conſequently the horn is a part of the fourth beaſt, or of the Roman empire. "As concerning the reſt of the beaſts, they had their domi-"nion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a ſeaſon and "time." (ver. 12.) When the dominion was taken away from the other beaſts, their bodies were not deſtroyed, they were ſuffered to continue ſtill in being: but when the dominion ſhall be taken away from this beaſt, his body ſhall totally be deſtroyed; becauſe other kingdoms ſucceeded to thoſe, but none other earthly kingdom ſhall ſucceed to this.

"I ſaw in the night-viſions, and behold, one like the ſon of man, "came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, "and they brought him near before him." (ver. 13.) How ſtrange and forced, how abſurd and unworthy of Grotius is it to apply this to the Romans, which hath always been, and can only be properly underſtood of the Meſſiah? From hence "the ſon of man" came to be a (1) known phraſe for the Meſſiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and uſed ſo frequently in the goſpels: and our Saviour intimates himſelf to be this very ſon of man in ſaying (Matth. XXVI. 64, 65.) "Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the ſon of man ſitting on the right hand of "power, and coming in the clouds of heaven;" and thereupon he was charged by the high-prieſt with having "ſpoken blaſphemy."

"And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, "that all people, nations, and languages ſhould ſerve him: his do-"minion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and "his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed." (ver. 14.) All theſe kingdoms ſhall in their turns be deſtroyed, but the kingdom of the

(1) See Jewiſh authors cited even by Grotius and Bp. Chandler in his Defenſe of Chriſtianity, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. p. 108. 3d Edit.

(9) Mede's

the Meſſiah ſhall ſtand for ever: and it was in alluſion to this prophecy, that the angel ſaid of Jeſus before he was conceived in the womb, (Luke I. 33.) "He ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for "ever, and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end."

After what manner theſe great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to ſay, as God hath not been pleaſed to reveal it. We ſee the remains of the ten horns, which aroſe out of the Roman empire. We ſee the little horn ſtill ſubſiſting, though not in full ſtrength and vigor, but as we hope upon the decline, and tending towards a diſſolution. And having ſeen ſo many of theſe particulars accompliſhed, we can have no reaſon to doubt that the reſt alſo will be fulfilled in due ſeaſon, though we cannot frame any conception how Chriſt will be manifeſted in glory, how the little horn with the body of the fourth beaſt will be given to the burning flame, or how the ſaints will take the kingdom, and poſſeſs it for ever and ever. It is the nature of ſuch prophecies not to be perfectly underſtood, till they are fulfilled. The beſt comment upon them will be their completion.

It may yet add ſome farther light to theſe prophecies, if we compare this and the former together; for comparing ſcripture with ſcripture is the beſt way to underſtand both the one and the other. What was repreſented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a "great image," was repreſented again to Daniel by "four great wild beaſts:" and the beaſts degenerate, as the metals in the image grow worſe and worſe, the lower they deſcend.

"This image's head was of fine gold", and "the firſt beaſt was like "a lion with eagle's wings;" and theſe anſwer to each other; and both repreſented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians: but it appeared in ſplendor and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its floriſhing condition; the *plucking* of its *wings*, and its humiliation were ſhown to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

"The breaſt and arms of ſilver", and "the ſecond beaſt like a bear" were deſigned to repreſent the ſecond kingdom, or that of the Medes and Perſians. The *two arms* are ſuppoſed to denote the two people; but ſome farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people riſing up above the other people, and of the conqueſt of three ad-

ditional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called *inferior*, or worſe than the former; and to Daniel it was deſcribed as very cruel, "Ariſe, devour much fleſh."

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was repreſented by "the belly and thighs of braſs," and by "the third beaſt like a leo-"pard with four wings of a fowl." It was ſaid to Nebuchadnezzar, that "it ſhould bear rule over all the earth;" and in Daniel's viſion, "dominion was given to it." The "four heads" ſignify Alexander's four ſucceſſors; but the "two thighs" can only ſignify the two principal of them, the Seleucidæ, and Lagidæ, the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

"The legs of iron," and "the fourth beaſt with great iron teeth," correſpond exactly; and as "iron breaketh in pieces" all other metals, ſo the fourth beaſt "devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the "reſidue with the feet of it;" and they were both therefore equally proper repreſentatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was ſtronger and more powerful than all the former kingdoms. The *ten toes* too and the *ten horns* were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms, which aroſe out of the diviſion of the Roman empire; but all that relates to *the little horn* was revealed only to Daniel, as a perſon more immediately intereſted in the fate of the church.

The "ſtone," that was "cut out of the mountain without hands, "and became" itſelf "a mountain, and filled the whole earth," is explained to be a kingdom, which ſhall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become univerſal and everlaſting. In like manner, "one like the "ſon of man came to the ancient of days," and was advanced to a kingdom, which ſhall prevail likewiſe over all other kingdoms, and become univerſal and everlaſting.

Such concord and agreement is there between theſe prophecies of Daniel, which remarkable as they are in many things, are in nothing more remarkable, than that they comprehend ſo many diſtant events, and extend through ſo many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the conſummation of all things. They are truly, as (9) Mr. Mede called them "*the ſacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy*, a "prophetic chronology of times meaſured by the ſucceſſion of four "principal

(9) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 654.

" principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Iſrael, " until the myſtery of God ſhould be finiſhed." They are as it were the great outlines, the reſt moſtly are filling up the parts: and as theſe will caſt light upon the ſubſequent prophecies, ſo the ſubſequent prophecies will reflect light upon them again.

Daniel was " much troubled, (ver. 28.) and his countenance " changed in him" at the foreſight of the calamities to be brought upon the church by the little horn: " but he kept the matter in his " heart." Much more may good men be grieved at the ſight of theſe calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedneſs in the world: but let them " keep it in their heart," that a time of juſt retribution will certainly come. The proof may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promiſe; (ver. 26, 27.) " The judgment ſhall ſit, and they ſhall take away his dominion, to " conſume and to deſtroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and " dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven " ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High, whoſe " kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominion ſhall ſerve " and obey him."

THE END OF PART I.

DIS-

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the world.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART II.

PROPHECIES

ON THE

TO THE

GREAT and GOOD,

Great in TITLES, but ſuperior in VIRTUES,

The moſt Reverend

THOMAS

LORD ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY,

The moſt Noble

WILLIAM

DUKE of DEVONSHIRE,

The right Reverend

THOMAS

LORD BISHOP of LONDON,

Truſtees for the Lecture founded by the Honorable Mr. BOYLE,

Theſe diſcourſes

are

with all humility

and gratitude

inſcribed.

Sept. 12. 1758.

INTRODUCTION

to the LECTURE founded by the Honorable ROBERT BOYLE, January 5, 1756.

THERE is not a ſtronger or more convincing proof of divine revelation, than the *ſure word of prophecy*. But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as aſſerted, it would really be an inſuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater ſervice could not be done to the cauſe of Chriſtianity, than by an induction of particulars to ſhow, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay that ſeveral prophecies have been fulfilled in theſe later ages, and are fulfilling even at this preſent time: And for the farther proſecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach theſe lectures, by the favor and recommendation of *the great prelate*, who having himſelf written moſt excellently *of the uſe and intent of prophecy*, is alſo willing to reward and encourage any one who beſtows his time and pains upon the ſame ſubject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the (1) other truſtees was an additional honor and favor, and is deſerving of the moſt grateful acknowlegements. Engaging in this ſervice may indeed have retarded the publication of theſe diſcourſes longer than was intended: but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, ſince there have been more frequent occaſions to

(1) The truſtees appointed by Mr. Boyle himſelf were Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at law, Sir Henry Aſhurſt of London, Knt. and Bart. Thomas Teniſon D. D. afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn, Eſq;. Archbiſhop Teniſon, the ſurvivor of theſe, nominated and appointed for truſtees Richard Earl of Burlington; Dr. Edmund Gibſon, then Archdeacon of Surry, afterwards Lord Biſhop of London; Dr. Charles Trimnel, then Biſhop of Norwich, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter; Dr. White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough; and Dr. Samuel Bradford, then Rector of St. Mary Le Bow, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter. The Earl of Burlington, being the only ſurviving truſtee, appointed to ſucceed him in the ſaid truſt, William then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonſhire, Dr. Thomas Sherlock Lord Biſhop of London, Dr. Martin Benſon Lord Biſhop of Gloceſter, Dr. Thomas Secker Lord Biſhop of Oxford, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Honorable Richard Arundell, Eſq; of whom Biſhop Benſon died before, and Mr. Arundell ſince the appointment of the preſent lecturer.

(2) Hieron.

review and reconſider them; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at leaſt affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel: and as ſome time and pains have been employed in explaining ſome parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts; it may be proper, before we proceed, to conſider the principal objections which have been made to the genuinneſs of the book of Daniel. It was before aſſerted, that the firſt who called in queſtion the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies, was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: but he was amply refuted by (2) Jerome, and hath been and will be more amply refuted ſtill in the courſe of theſe diſſertations. A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and in his *Scheme of litteral prophecy* hath heaped together all that he could find or invent againſt the book of Daniel, and hath compriſed the whole in eleven objections, in order to ſhow that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees: but he likewiſe hath been refuted to the ſatisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favor of infidelity, but better were always produced in ſupport of truth. The ſubſtance of his (3) objections and of the anſwers to him may with truth and candor be repreſented in the following manner.

1. It is objected, that the famous Daniel, mentioned by Ezekiel, could not be the author of the book of Daniel; becauſe Ezekiel, who propheſied in the "fifth year of Jehoiakim" king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a perſon in years; whereas the book of Daniel ſpeaks of Daniel at that time as a youth. But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of groſs miſrepreſentation. For Ezekiel did not propheſy "in the fifth year of Jehoiakim," nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all; but he began to propheſy in the "fifth year of "king Jehoiachin's captivity," the ſon and ſucceſſor of Jehoiakim, (Ezek. I. 2.) that is eleven years after. When Daniel was firſt carried into

(2) Hieron. Comment. in Dan. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.
(3) See Collins's Scheme of litteral prophecy, p. 149—157. Biſhop Chandler's Vindication, p. 4—157.

into captivity, he might be a youth (4) about eighteen: but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wiſdom, (Chap. XIV. and XXVIII.) he was between thirty and forty: and ſeveral years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and was advanced (Dan. II. 48.) to be "ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the "governors over the wiſe men of Babylon;" and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His ſecond objection is, that Daniel is repreſented in the book of Daniel as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Perſia; and yet the names of the ſeveral kings of his time are all miſtaken in the book of Daniel. It is alſo more ſuited to a fabulous writer than to a contemporary hiſtorian, to talk of "Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with "the beaſts of the field, and eating graſs like oxen" &c. and then returning again to the government of his kingdom. Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the miſtake of the kings names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belſhazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the firſt and the laſt there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, tho' they are named differently by the Greek hiſtorians, who yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eaſtern monarchs had ſeveral names; and one might be made uſe of by one writer, another by another. It is plainly begging the queſtion, to preſume without farther proof, that Daniel was not the oldeſt of theſe writers, and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the caſe of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative ſtile. It is the interpretation of a dream, and ſtript of its figures the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar ſhould be puniſhed with madneſs, ſhould fancy himſelf a beaſt and live like a beaſt, ſhould be "made to eat graſs as oxen," be obliged to live upon a vegetable diet, but after ſome time ſhould recover his reaſon, and reſume the government. And what is there fabulous or abſurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himſelf. The dream is in a poetic ſtrain, and ſo likewiſe

4—157. Sam. Chandler's Vindication, p. 3—60. (4) Prideaux's Connection. Part 1. B. 1.

(5) Καὶ

likewiſe is the interpretation, the better to ſhow how the one correſponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babyloniſh captivity, becauſe it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity. The aſſertion is falſe that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between ſome few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language: and why muſt they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why ſhould not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in queſtion could be ſhown to be of Greek extraction, yet there was ſome communication between the eaſtern kingdoms and the colonies of the Greeks ſettled in Aſia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and ſo ſome particular terms might paſs from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary the words in queſtion are ſhown to be not of Greek but of eaſtern derivation; and conſequently paſſed from the eaſt to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the eaſt. Moſt of the words are names of muſical inſtruments; and the Greeks (5) acknowlege that they received their muſic from the eaſtern nations, from whence they themſelves originally deſcended.

4. It doth not appear, ſays the objector, that the book of Daniel was tranſlated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Teſtament were, which are attributed to the Seventy; the preſent Greek verſion, inſerted in the Septuagint, being taken from Theodotion's tranſlation of the Old Teſtament made in the ſecond century after Chriſt. But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek verſion of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the verſion of the other books of the Old Teſtament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Juſtin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inſerted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted ſeveral times by Jerome; and he

(5) Και τῳ Διονυσῳ την Ασιαν ὁλην καθιερωσαντες μεχρι της Ινδικης, ἐκειθεν και την πολλην μουσικην μεταφερουσι Et cum Baccho totam Aſiam ad Indiam uſque conſecraverint, magnam quoque muſicæ partem inde transferunt. Strabo, Lib. 10. p. 471. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 722. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Vide etiam Athenæi Lib. 14. p. 625, &c.

(6) Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes

he ſaith (6) expreſly, that the verſion of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion ſubſtituted in the room of it, becauſe it came nearer to the Hebrew verity. This verſion hath alſo been lately publiſhed from an ancient M. S. diſcovered in the Chighian library at Rome.

5. It is objected that divers matters of fact are ſpoken of with the clearneſs of hiſtory, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and ſeeming freſh reſentment for his barbarous uſage of the Jews: And this clearneſs determined Porphyry, and would determin any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus but not farther. But what an argument is this againſt the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophecies: as if an all-knowing God could not foretel things clearly; or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, his commiſſion might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commiſſion. But it hath been ſhown, and will be ſhown, that there are ſeveral prophecies in Daniel relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and theſe prophecies are as clear as thoſe before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus ſo very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he ſpoken of with greater reſentment, than other prophets expreſs towards the kings of Aſſyria and Babylon. All honeſt men, who love liberty and their country, muſt ſpeak with indignation of tyrants and oppreſſors.

6. His ſixth objection is, that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Eccleſiaſticus, where it ſeems proper to have mentioned him as a Jewiſh prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Eccleſiaſticus was publiſhed. It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewiſh canonical writers. But that is not the caſe. He

pretes Domini Salvatoris eccleſiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione:—quod multum a veritate diſcordet, et recto judicio repudiatus ſit. Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Vol. 1. p. 987. Judicio magiſtrorum eccleſiæ editio eorum [LXX] repudiata eſt, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quæ et Hebræo, et cæteris tranſlatoribus congruit, &c. Comment. in Dan. IV. Col. 1088. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Joſephi.

He mentions ſeveral who never pretended to be inſpired writers, and omits others who really were ſo. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel: and who can account for the ſilence of authors in any particular at this diſtance of time? Daniel is propoſed (1 Macc. II. 60.) as a pattern by the father of the Maccabees, and his wiſdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and theſe are ſufficient teſtimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer.

7. It is objected, that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphraſes on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it ſhould ſeem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were. But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphraſes extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make a Targum or Chaldee paraphraſe on Daniel, becauſe half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been loſt, as other ancient Targums have been deſtroyed by the injury of time; and there are good proofs in the Miſna and other writers cited by Biſhop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel. But tho' Jonathan made no Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in deſcribing the ſame events; and conſequently Daniel was in his eſteem a prophet, and at leaſt of equal authority with thoſe before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews ſince Chriſt's time for very obvious reaſons. He was always eſteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewiſh church. Our Saviour calleth him "Daniel the prophet:" and Joſephus (7) ſpeaketh of him as one of the greateſt of the prophets.

8. That part of Daniel, ſays the objector, which is written in Chaldee, is near the ſtile of the old Chaldee paraphraſes; which being compoſed many hundred years after Daniel's time, muſt have a very different ſtile from that uſed in his time, as any one may judge from the nature of language, which is in a conſtant flux, and in every age deviating

(7) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10, et 11.

(8) Ta

viating from what it was in the former: And therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldeſt of thoſe Chaldee paraphraſes. But by the ſame argument Homer cannot be ſo ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, becauſe the Greek language continued much the ſame many hundred years after his time. Nay the ſtile of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphraſes, than Homer doth from the lateſt of the Greek claſſic writers: and when it was ſaid by Prideaux and Kidder, whoſe authority the objector alleges, that the old Chaldee paraphraſes came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not ſaid abſolutely but comparatively, with reſpect to other paraphraſes, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

9. It is objected that the Jews were great compoſers of books under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themſelves honor, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the book of Daniel ſeems compoſed to do honor to the Jews, in the perſon of Daniel, in making a Jew ſuperior to all the wiſe men of Babylon. If there is any force in this objection, it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuin books of the ſame men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no book in Chaldee and Hebrew long before thoſe forgeries. In like manner ſome poems have been aſcribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their compoſing; and therefore the one did not compoſe the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some falſe writings have been attributed to St. Peter and St. Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of thoſe apoſtles. Such arguments ſufficiently expoſe and refute themſelves. One would think the inference ſhould rather lie on the other ſide. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were ſome genuin books of his writing, is a much more probable preſumption than the contrary.

10. The tenth objection is, that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things paſt, after a prophetical manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixing the time when the things were to happen. But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the times

for ſeveral events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the ſojourning of Abraham's ſeed in a ſtrange land; 40 years for the preregrination of the children of Iſrael; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the deſolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection againſt the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more inſtances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was ſo pleaſed, fortel the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themſelves? Joſephus, whom the objector hath quoted upon this occaſion, differs totally from him. He (8) aſcribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like the objector, to the late compoſition of the book. He infers from it that Daniel was one of the greateſt prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Laſtly it is objected, that the book of Daniel ſets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other hiſtorical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical ſtile, with images and ſymbols unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the ſchools of the Greeks. As to Daniel's ſetting forth facts very imperfectly, he is perfect enough for his deſign, which was not to write a hiſtory but prophecies, and hiſtory only ſo far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other hiſtorical relations, it is falſe. For moſt of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen hiſtorians: but if he contradicted them, yet he would deſerve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the ſchools of the Greeks, this is alſo falſe. For the like emblems are often uſed by other prophets, and are agreeable to the ſtile and genius of all the eaſtern writers of his time. They were ſo far from being taken from the ſchools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever uſed by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this laſt objection

(8) Τα γαρ βιβλια, ὁσα δη συγγραψαμενος καταλελοιπεν, ανα-γινωσκεται παρ' ἡμιν ἐτι και νυν· και πεπιστευκαμεν ἐξ αυτων, ὁτι Δανιηλος ὡμιλει τῳ Θεῳ. ὁ γαρ τα μελλοντα μονον προφητευων διετελει, καθαπερ και οἱ αλλοι προφηται, αλλα και καιρον ὡριζεν, εις ὁν ταυτα αποβησεται. Libri enim quotquot a ſe conſcriptos reliquit, leguntur hodieque apud nos: atque

tion conſiſt and agree with the fifth and tenth? There *divers matters of fact were ſpoken of with the clearneſs of hiſtory*, and the author was convicted of forgery by *his uncommon punctuality*. Here *all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other hiſtories*. Such objections contradict and deſtroy one another. Both may be falſe, both cannot be true.

Theſe objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuinneſs and authenticity of the book of Daniel? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or deſired in a caſe of this nature; not only the teſtimony of the whole Jewiſh church and nation, who have conſtantly received this book as canonical; but of Joſephus particularly, who commends him as the greateſt of the prophets; of the Jewiſh Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority; of St. Paul and St. John, who have copied many of his prophecies; of our Saviour himſelf, who citeth his words, and ſtileth him "Daniel the prophet;" of ancient hiſtorians, who relate many of the ſame tranſactions; of the mother of the ſeven ſons and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their ſons; of old Eleazar in Egypt, who praying for the Jews then ſuffering under the perſecution of Ptolemy Philopater, (3 Macc. VI. 6, 7.) mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace; of the Jewiſh high-prieſt, who ſhowed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the great, while he was at Jeruſalem; and ſtill higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *piety* and *wiſdom*. Nor is the internal leſs powerful and convincing than the external evidence; for the language, the ſtile, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters are perfectly agreeable to that age; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accompliſhment of his prophecies, as well thoſe which have already been fulfilled, as thoſe which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuinneſs and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore eſtabliſhed beyond all reaſonable contradiction, we may now proceed

ii nobis fidem faciunt, Danielum cum Deo colloquia habuiſſe. Non enim futura ſolum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere ſolebat, ſed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Lord

ceed in our main deſign : and the viſion of the ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth, and the tranſactions of the kings of the north and the ſouth, will find ſufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the diſperſion of the Jews, together with St. Paul's prophecies of the Man of Sin, and of the apoſtaſy of the latter times. The laſt and moſt difficult taſk of all will be an analyſis or explication of the Apocalyps or Revelation of St. John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where ſo many ſtouter veſſels and abler pilots have been ſhipwracked and loſt : but poſſibly we may be the better able to ſail through it, coming prepared, careened and ſheathed as I may ſay for ſuch a voyage, by the aſſiſtance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St. Paul as our pole-ſtar and compaſs, and begging withall of God's holy Spirit to ſteer and direct our courſe. The concluſion will conſiſt of reflections and inferences from the whole. In this manner, with the divine aſſiſtance, ſhall be employed the three years, which is the period uſually allotted to theſe exerciſes ; and it is hoped that the deſign of the honorable founder will in ſome meaſure be anſwered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble deſign after a life ſpent in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and equally devoted to the ſervice of religion, to benefit poſterity not only by his own uſeful and numerous writings, theological as well as philoſophical, but alſo by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defenſe of natural and revealed religion ; and ſome of the beſt treatiſes on theſe ſubjects in the Engliſh language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his inſtitution. This is continuing to do good even after death ; and what was ſaid of Abel's faith, may alſo be ſaid of his, that " by it he being dead, yet ſpeaketh."

From the inſtance of this excellent perſon, and ſome others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconſiſtent in ſcience and religion, but a great philoſopher may be a good Chriſtian. True philoſophy is indeed the handmaid to true religion : and the knowlege of the works of nature will lead one to the knowlege of the God of nature, " the inviſible things of him being clearly ſeen by the things " which are made ; even his eternal power and godhead." They are only

only minute philoſophers, who are ſceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in ſcience, they are but ſmatterers in religion. Whereas the moſt eminent philoſophers, thoſe who have done honor to the nation, done honor to human nature itſelf, have alſo been believers and defenders of revelation, have ſtudied ſcripture as well as nature, have ſearched after God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on ſeveral parts of holy writ. So juſt and true is the obſervation of the (9) Lord Bacon, one of the illuſtrious perſons here intended; "A little "philoſophy inclineth man's mind to atheiſm, but depth in philo- "ſophy bringeth mens minds about to religion."

(9) Lord Bacon's Eſſays, XVII.

DANIEL'S

XV.

DANIEL's viſion of the RAM and HE-GOAT.

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verſe of the ſecond chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldæans, ſo they were publiſhed in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, becauſe they treat altogether of affairs ſubſequent to the times of the Chaldæans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the ſcriptures were originally written in ſuch a manner as they might be beſt underſtood by the people: and conſequently it is defeating the very end and deſign of writing them, to "take away the key of know-"lege," and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may obſerve too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is generally ſpoken of in the third perſon, but in the latter part he ſpeaketh of himſelf in the firſt perſon, which is ſome kind of proof that this part was written by himſelf if the other was not, but probably this diverſity might ariſe from the different dates, the one being written ſome time after the other.

Daniel's former viſion of the four great beaſts, repreſenting the four great empires of the world, was (VII. 1.) "in the firſt year of Belſhaz-"zar king of Babylon." He had another viſion in the *third* year of the reign of the ſame king Belſhazzar, that is (1) about 553 years before Chriſt. (VIII. 1.) "In the third year of the reign of king "Bel-

(1) See Uſher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(2) Obſervemus etiam aliis apparuiſſe viſiones hujuſmodi, quæ futura portenderent. Ita, Plutarcho teſte in vita Syllæ, *In Campania, circa Tiphaton montem* (qui aliis Tifata) *interdiu viſi ſunt confligere magni hirci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ viri in pugna ſolent.* Spectrum autem, e terra ſenſim elatum, paulo poſt diſſipatum, et ex oculis elapſum, eſt. Nec multo poſt Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano conſule, in eo ipſo loco fuſis, et profligatis, et cæſis hominum ſeptem millibus, conſulem incluſit Capuæ. Et in Accii Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius ſuperbus ſuum hoc ſomnium narrat.

Viſum

" Belſhazzar, a viſion appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after " that which appeared unto me at the firſt." It was exhibited to him (ver. 2.) at the palace in Shuſhan, and by the ſide of the river *Ulai*, or *Eulæus*, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. " And I ſaw in a " viſion, (and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at Shuſhan in the " palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I ſaw in a viſion, and " I was by the river Ulai." So likewiſe the prophet Ezekiel ſaw viſions by the river Chebar; as if the holy Spirit had delighted to manifeſt himſelf in ſuch retired ſcenes: and the gifts and graces of the Spirit are often in ſcripture-language deſcribed by the metaphors of ſprings and ſtreams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refreſhing in hot and dry countries.

Such was the time and place of the viſion. The viſion itſelf was of a ram and he-goat. And we may obſerve with the learned (2) Bochart, that others alſo have had like viſions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were ſeen fighting in Campania, and ſuddenly the viſion vaniſhed: nor long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and ſlain ſeven thouſand men beſieged the conſul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his firſt book of Divination, Tarquinus Superbus relates his dream, " that a ſhepherd drove his flock to him; two rams of the ſame breed were ſelected from thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of them; the other ruſhed upon him with his horns, and caſt him down and wounded him." Theſe rams of the ſame breed ſignified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother; one of whom was ſlain by Tarquin, and the other roſe againſt Tarquin, and deſpoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and hiſtorians bear ſome reſemblance to the realities of holy writ. Or rather, in this inſtance of prophecy, as in the ceremonials of religion and the modes of government, God was pleaſed to condeſcend and conform to the cuſtoms

Viſum eſt in ſomnis paſtorem ad me appellere
Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,
Duos conſanguineos arietes inde eligi,
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me:
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier
In me arietare, eoque me ad caſum dari:
Exin proſtratum terra graviter ſaucium,
Reſupinum, in cœlo contueri maximum, &c.

Hi arietes conſanguinei L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio cæſum ſignificabant; quorum ille, in Tarquinium inſurgens, eum regno ſuo ſpoliavit. Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars Prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Col. 527.

(3) Quam

cuſtoms and manners of the age, to make thereby a ſtronger impreſſion on the minds of the people. Nor is ſuch a condeſcenſion unworthy of the deity, nor unſuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rather an argument of his infinite goodneſs.

In the former viſion there appeared four beaſts, becauſe there four empires were repreſented: but here are only two, becauſe here we have a repreſentation of what was tranſacted chiefly within two empires. The firſt of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was ſufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a concluſion. The ſecond empire in the former viſion, is the firſt in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. "Then I lifted up mine eyes," ſaith Daniel (ver. 3.) "and ſaw, and behold, there ſtood before the river, a ram which had "two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than "the other, and the higher came up laſt." This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Perſians; (ver. 20.) "The ram which thou "ſaweſt having two horns, are the kings" or kingdoms "of Media and "Perſia." The ſource of this figure of *horns* for *kingdoms*, as a (3) learned writer obſerves, muſt be derived from the oriental languages, in which the ſame word ſignifies a *horn*, and a *crown*, and *power*, and *ſplendor*. Whence a *horn* was an enſign of royalty among the Phenicians, and the Hebrew word קרן *keren* or a *horn*, is ſeveral times by the Chaldee paraphraſts render'd מלכותא *malchutha* or a *kingdom*; and *horns* are frequently uſed for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Teſtament. This empire therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Perſians, and is often called the Medo-Perſian, was not unfitly repreſented by a ram "with two horns." Cyrus, the founder of this empire, was (4) ſon of Cambyſes king of Perſia, and by his mother Mandane

(3) Quam melius itaque ex linguis orientis potuiſſet hujus rei fons erui? quibus, ut id eſt jam contritum, eadem voce *cornu*, *corona*, *potentia*, ac *ſplendor* nuncupantur. Unde *cornu*, regium inſigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum קרן ſeu *cornu*, Chaldæis interpretibus aliquoties מלכותא ſeu *regnum* redditur, ut vidit illuſtris Grotius; et *cornua* pro *regno* et *regibus* paſſim in veteri fœdere. Spanheim de Uſu Numiſmatum. Vol. 1. Diſſert. 7. p. 400.

(4) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 1 et 8.

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 130. p. 56. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 730. Edit. Paris 1620. p. 1062. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(6) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 65. p. 188. Edit. Gale.

(7) —quis

Mandane was grandſon of Aſtyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he ſucceeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Perſia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is ſaid that "the two horns were high: but one," it is added, "was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt." The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in hiſtory; Perſia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus: but under Cyrus the Perſians gained and maintained the aſcendent; ſome (5) authors ſay that Cyrus ſubdued the king of the Medes by force of arms; and his ſon (6) Cambyſes upon his death-bed earneſtly exhorted the Perſians not to ſuffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a queſtion ſtill remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, ſhould now be repreſented by a *ram?* Mr. Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plauſible enough, (7) that the Hebrew word for a *ram*, and the Hebrew word for *Perſia*, both ſpringing from the ſame root, and both implying ſomething of ſtrength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it appears farther from hence, as is ſuggeſted likewiſe by another writer in the general preface to Mr. Mede's works, that it was uſual for the king of Perſia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious ſtones, inſtead of a diadem; for ſo (8) Ammianus Marcellinus deſcribes him. Biſhop Chandler and others farther (9) obſerve, that "rams heads with horns, one higher "and the other lower, are ſtill to be ſeen on the pillars at Perſe-"polis."

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verſe. (ver. 4.) "I ſaw the ram puſhing weſtward, and northward, and "ſouthward, ſo that no beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was

(7) —quis ſuſpicari poſſit, etiam *arietis* de rege Perſarum in eadem viſione typum, ad nominis *Elam* (quod alterum duorum eſt quo ea gens appelletur) ſignificatum alludere. איל enim Hebræis (unde nomen איל *aries)* et אלם atque עלם Chaldæis, idem ſignificant, nempe *fortem* ſeu *robuſtum eſſe*. Forte igitur עילם *Elam* iſtis, ut illis איל *arietem* ſonabat, indéque rex *Elam* hoc typo Danieli figuratur. Mede's Works. B. 3. Comment. Apoc. p. 474.

(8) —aureum capitis arietini figmentum interſtinctum lapillis pro diademate geſtans. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. p. 208. Edit. Valeſii. Paris 1681.

(9) Biſhop Chandler's Vindication, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. p. 154. Aries item bicornis inter rudera Perſepoleos. Wetſtein in Rev. XIII. 11.

(1) Herod.

" there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according " to his will, and became great." Under Cyrus himſelf, the Perſians puſhed their conqueſts " weſtward" (1) as far as the Ægean ſea and the bounds of Aſia: " northward" they ſubdued (2) the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: " ſouthward" they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus as (3) Xenophon affirms, yet moſt certainly under (4) Cambyſes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Cyrus. Under Darius they ſubdued (5) India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conqueſts in the " eaſt," becauſe thoſe countries lay very remote from the Jews, and were of little concern or conſequence to them. The ram was ſtrong and powerful, " ſo that no beaſts might " ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his " hand;" that is none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Perſians, but all fell under their dominion. " He " did according to his will, and became great:" and the Perſian empire was increaſed and inlarged to ſuch a degree, that it extended (Eſther I. 1.) " from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and " ſeven and twenty provinces;" ſo that ſeven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty (Dan. VI. 1.) which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

After the ram the he-goat appears next upon the ſcene. " And as " I was conſidering," ſaith Daniel, (ver. 5.) " behold, an he-goat " came from the weſt on the face of the whole earth, and touched not " the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, (ver. 21.) " The rough " goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his " eyes, is the firſt king," or kingdom. A *goat* is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, becauſe the Macedonians at firſt, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ*

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.
(2) Xenoph. ibid. Lib. 3. et 7.
(3) Xenoph. ibid. Lib. 1. et 8.
(4) Herod. Lib. 3.
(5) Herod. Lib. 4. Cap. 44. p. 239. Edit. Gale.
(6) Nec deeſſe videtur hujuſmodi alluſionis exemplum apud Danielem, Cap. 8. ubi Macedones, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc eſt, *Caprini*) dicebantur, typo *caprarum*, rexque hirci figura deſignatur. *Ecce*, inquit, *hircus caprarum* (id eſt, caprarum maritus) *venit ab occidente*, &c. Innuit autem Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones ſunt. Ita enim gens iſta vocabatur quà prima regni ſedes erat, a Carano conditore, ducentis plus minus ante Danielem annis. Occaſionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Juſtinus Lib. 7. cujus verba aſcribere non gravabor. " Caranus, inquit, cum magna mul- " titudine Græcorum, ſedes in Macedonia reſponſo " oraculi

Ægeadæ or *the goat's people*; and upon this occaſion, as heathen authors report. Caranus, their firſt king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to ſeek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards ſeeing a herd of goats flying from a violent ſtorm, he followed them to Edeſſa, and there fixed the ſeat of his empire, made the goats his enſigns or ſtandards, and called the city *Ægeæ* or *the goat's town*, and the people *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people*. This obſervation is likewiſe owing to the moſt excellent (6) Mr. Mede: and to this may be added that the city Ægeæ or Ægæ was the (7) uſual burying-place of the Macedonian kings. It is alſo very remarkable, that Alexander's ſon by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or *the ſon of the goat*; and (8) ſome of Alexander's ſucceſſors are repreſented in their coins with *goat's horns*.

This he-goat "came from the weſt:" and who is ignorant that Europe lieth weſtward of Aſia? He came "on the face of the whole "earth," carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known: "and he touched not the ground," his marches were ſo ſwift, and his conqueſts ſo rapid, that he might be ſaid in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the ſame reaſon the ſame empire in the former viſion was likened to "a leopard," which is a ſwift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickneſs and impetuoſity, to "a leopard with four wings. And the goat had a notable "horn between his eyes;" this horn, ſaith the angel, "is the firſt king," or kingdom of the Greeks in Aſia, which was erected by Alexander the great, and continued for ſome years in his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two young ſons Alexander Ægus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, ſpeaking of the ſwiftneſs of Alexander's marches, hath a (9) paſſage, which is very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. "He flew with victory "ſwifter than others can travel, often with his horſe purſuing his ene-

"oraculi juſſus quærere, cum in Æmathiam veniſſet, "urbem Edeſſam non ſentientibus oppidanis propter "imbrium et nebulæ magnitudinem, gregem capra-"rum imbrem fugientium ſecutus, occupavit: re-"vocatuſque in memoriam oracli, quo juſſus erat "ducibus capris imperium quærere, regni ſedem ſta-"tuit; religioſéque poſtea obſervavit, quocunque "agmen moveret, ante ſigna eaſdem capras habere, "cæptorum duces habiturus quas regni habuerat "authores. Urbem Edeſſam ob memoriam muneris "*Ægeas*, populum *Ægeadas* vocavit." Vide cætera. Mede's Works. B. 3. Comment. Apoc. p. 473, 474.

(7) Plin. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Sect. 17. p. 200. Edit. Harduin. Vide etiam notas Harduini.

(8) Spanheim de Uſu Numiſmatum. Vol. 1. Diſſert. 7. p. 389, et 399.

(9) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Ann. 330. Alexander 2.

(1) Herod.

" mies upon the ſpur whole days and nights, and ſometimes making " long marches for ſeveral days one after the other, as once he did in " purſuit of Darius of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So " that by the ſpeed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they " were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a " poſture to reſiſt him. Which exactly agreeth with the deſcription " given of him in the prophecies of Daniel ſome ages before, he being " in them ſet forth under the ſimilitude of a panther or leopard with " four wings: for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expedi- " tions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies " with that ſpeed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to " this purpoſe he is in another place of thoſe prophecies compared to an " he-goat coming from the weſt with that ſwiftneſs upon the king of " Media and Perſia, that he ſeemed as if his feet did not touch the " ground. And his actions, as well in this compariſon as in the for- " mer, fully verified the prophecy."

In the two next verſes we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Perſian empire. (ver. 6, 7.) " And he came to the ram that " had two horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the river, and ran " unto him in the fury of his power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the " ram, and he was moved with choler againſt him, and ſmote the ram, " and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to ſtand " before him, but he caſt him down to the ground, and ſtamped upon " him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." The ram had before " puſhed weſtward," and the Perſians in the (1) reigns of Darius Hyſtaſpis and Xerxes had poured down with great armies into Greece: but now the Grecians in return carried their arms into Aſia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. " And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had ſeen ſtand- " ing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power." One can hardly read theſe words without having ſome image of Darius's army

(1) Herod, Lib. 6. et 7.

(2) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Cap. 14. &c. Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore ſtantibus ripa, ſuperavit. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 599. Edit. Steph. p. 543. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. Verum enimvero, quum modo milites meos litteris ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia ſolicitet; ad internecionem mihi perſequendus eſt, non ut

army ſtanding and guarding the river (2) Granicus, and of Alexander on the other ſide with his forces plunging in, ſwimming acroſs the ſtream, and ruſhing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagined. It was certainly a ſtrange raſh mad attempt with only about thirty-five thouſand men to attack, at ſuch diſadvantage, an army of more than five times the number: but he was ſucceſsful in it, and this ſucceſs diffuſed a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conqueſt of Aſia. "And I ſaw him come cloſe upon the ram" he had ſeveral cloſe engagements or ſet battles with the king of Perſia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the ſtraits of Iſſus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Aſſyria. "And he was moved with choler againſt "him," for (3) the cruelties which the Perſians had exerciſed toward the Grecians: and for (4) Darius's attempting to corrupt ſometimes his ſoldiers to betray him, and ſometimes his friends to deſtroy him; ſo that he would not liſten to the moſt advantageous offers of peace, but determined to purſue the Perſian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poiſoner and a murderer, to the death that he deſerved. "And he ſmote the ram, and brake his two horns:" he ſubdued Perſia and Media with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Perſian empire; and it is memorable, that in (5) Perſia he barbarouſly ſacked and burned the royal city of Perſepolis, the capital of the empire; and in (6) Media Darius was ſeiſed and made a priſoner by ſome of his own traitorous ſubjects, who not long afterwards baſely murdered him. "And there "was no power in the ram to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down "to the ground, and ſtamped upon him;" he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces, took all the cities and caſtles, and entirely ſubverted and ruined the Perſian empire. "And there was none "that could deliver the ram out of his hand;" not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Perſia, though his forces (7) in the battle of Iſſus amounted to ſix hundred thouſand men, and (8) in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thouſand, whereas the (9) whole number

ut juſtus hoſtis, ſed ut percuſſor veneficus.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. ibid. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6 et 7.

(6) Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 8, &c.

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. p. 73. Edit. Gronov. Plutarch in Alex. p. 67. Edit. Paris 1624.

(8) Plutarch in Alex. p. 682. ibid. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 590. Edit. Steph. p. 530. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. p. 115.

(9) Polyb. Lib. 12. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. p. 122. Edit. Gronov.

(1) Πιρι

number of Alexander's was not more than forty-ſeven thouſand in either engagement. So true is the obſervation of the Pſalmiſt, (XXXIII. 16.) "there is no king ſaved by the multitude of an hoſt:" and eſpecially when God hath decreed the fall of empires, then even the greateſt muſt fall. The fortune of Alexander, of which ſo much hath been ſaid; (1) Plutarch hath written a whole treatiſe about it; the fortune of Alexander, I ſay, was nothing but the providence of God.

When Alexander was at Jeruſalem, theſe prophecies were ſhown to him by the high-prieſt, according to the (2) relation of Joſephus. For while Alexander lay at the ſiege of Tyre, he ſent to Jaddua the high-prieſt at Jeruſalem to demand proviſions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-prieſt refuſed to comply with theſe demands by reaſon of his oath of allegiance to the king of Perſia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himſelf upon the Jews: and as ſoon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched againſt Jeruſalem. The high-prieſt in this imminent danger had recourſe to God by ſacrifices and ſupplications: and as he was directed in a viſion of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the prieſts in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel, to meet the conqueror, and to make their ſubmiſſions to him. As ſoon as the king ſaw the high-prieſt coming to him in this ſolemn proceſſion, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himſelf before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All preſent were aſtoniſhed at this behaviour of the king, ſo contrary to their expectation; and Parmenio in particular demanded the reaſon of it, why he whom all others adored, ſhould pay ſuch adoration to the Jewiſh high-prieſt. Alexander replied, that he payed not this adoration to him, but to that God whoſe prieſt he was: for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition againſt the king of Perſia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over into Aſia, and promiſing him ſucceſs in the conqueſt of it: and now he was aſ-

ſured

(1) Περι της Αλεξανδρυ τυχης.

(2) Joſephi Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 8.

(3) Van Dale Diſſert. ſuper Ariſteam, Cap. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, p. 26, &c. Vol. 2. Collins's Scheme of litteral prophecy, p. 452.

(4) Biſhop Lloyd's Letter to Dr. Sherlock. Prideaux Connect. and anſwers to Mr. Moyle. Biſhop Chandler's Vindication of his Defenſe, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. p. 176, &c. Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, p. 76, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. MACEDO, Not. O.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 507. Edit. Hud.

(6) Joſeph.

ſured that he had ſet out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he payed this adoration in the perſon of his high-prieſt. Hereupon he entered Jeruſalem in peace, and went up and offered ſacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-prieſt produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia ſhould overthrow the Perſian empire, which he interpreted of himſelf. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and aſſurance of ſucceſs.

Some perſons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly (3) Van Dale, Mr. Moyle, and Collins, who ſays that it is "an entire "fiction unſupported, and inconſiſtent with hiſtory and chronology, "and romantic in its circumſtances." But (4) Biſhop Lloyd, Dean Prideaux, Biſhop Chandler and others have ſufficiently vindicated the truth of the ſtory. Even Bayle himſelf, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact: and it muſt be ſaid, though ſome things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander lay ſeven months at the ſiege of Tyre; in that time he might well want proviſions for his army: and it is no wonder that he ſhould ſend for ſome into Judea, when the Tyrians themſelves uſed to be ſupplied from thence. (1 Kings V. 9, 11. Ezek. XXVII. 17. Acts XII. 20.) The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practiſed upon other occaſions; for the ſame reaſon (5) they would not ſubmit to Ptolemy, having taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and (6) committed the moſt important garriſons and places of truſt to their keeping, thinking that he might ſafely rely upon them, who had proved themſelves ſo ſteddy and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly to Darius king of Perſia. That Alexander was in Judea, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian ſays, (7) that he ſubdued all that part of Syria which was called Paleſtine. Pliny affirms, (8) that the

(6) Joſeph. ibid. et. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1365. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 25. p. 101. Edit. Gronov. Και ην αυτω τα μεν αλλα τ.ν Παλαιστινης καλουμενης Συριας προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη. Et cætera quidem Syriæ, quæ Palæſtina vocatur, oppida in ſuam poteſtatem adduxerat.

(8) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 12. Cap. 25. Sect. 54. Edit. Harduin. Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, toto die æſtivo unam concham impleri juſtum erat.

(9) Tunc

the balſam-tree, which grew only in Judea, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in thoſe parts. Juſtin informs us, (9) that he went into Syria, where many princes of the eaſt met him with their mitres; upon which paſſage the note of Iſaac Voſſius is very juſt and pertinent, (1) "I think that Juſtin had reſpect to that memorable hiſtory, which Joſephus relates of Jaddua the high-prieſt of the Jews." If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, tho' they refuſed to ſuccur him at a diſtance, yet to ſubmit to him upon his nearer approach; it was in vain to withſtand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very great by his victories, and eſpecially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jeruſalem, it was natural enough for the high-prieſt to ſhow him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Perſia. Nothing could be deviſed more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favor to the whole nation. And for his ſacrificing in the temple, it is no more than (2) other heathen princes have done, it is no more than he did in other places. He might perhaps conſider God as a local deity, and offer ſacrifices to him at Jeruſalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre, and to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Babylon.

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this ſtory? It is pretended, that it is inconſiſtent with chronology; for Joſephus places this event after the ſieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas (3) all hiſtorians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in ſeven days. But the beſt hiſtorians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a ſort together, and often mention later occurrences firſt, reſerving what they think more important for the laſt place: and ſuch poſſibly might be the intention of Joſephus. Euſebius affirms, that (4) Alexander went after the ſiege of Tyre immediately to Jeruſalem; and he might have good authority for affirming ſo, living as he did in Paleſtine; and with him

(9) Tunc in Syriam proficiſcitur, ubi obvios cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit. Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap. 10. Sect. 6. Edit. Grævii.

(1) Puto reſpicere Juſtinum ad memorabilem illam hiſtoriam, quam Joſephus de Jaddo, ſummo Judæorum ſacerdote, narrat.

(2) Joſeph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudſon. 2 Maccab. XIII. 23.

(3) Diod.

him agree Uſher, Prideaux, and the beſt chronologers. And indeed it is moſt probable, that Alexander's progreſs was from Tyre to Jeruſalem, and from Jeruſalem to Gaza; becauſe his reſentment of the affront that he had received was then freſher in his mind, and Jeruſalem lay not much out of the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he ſhould leave a place of ſuch ſtrength and importance untaken behind him. But if Joſephus was miſtaken about two months in point of time, yet ſuch a miſtake is not ſufficient to ſhake the credit of his whole relation. What hiſtorian is there almoſt who hath not fallen into a miſtake of the like kind? And yet after all Joſephus might not be miſtaken, for Alexander might march againſt Jeruſalem from Gaza, either during the ſiege, or after it. Arrian informs us, (5) that while the ſiege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ſhips were building, Alexander with ſome troops of horſe and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make ſuch an excurſion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was beſieging it? or after he had taken the city, why might he not with part of the army go to Jeruſalem, and leave the other part to reſt themſelves at Gaza? Jeruſalem lay at no very great diſtance from Gaza, and a perſon of Alexander's expedition might go and return within a very few days. The hiſtorians ſay indeed, that he came into Egypt in ſeven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them ſay how long he ſtayed at Gaza, to refreſh his army after the ſiege. We know from (6) Diodorus, that he ſtayed long enough to ſettle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make this viſit to Jeruſalem?

Another objection is taken from the ſilence of authors, who would hardly have paſſed over ſo memorable a tranſaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not ſo much as mentioned by any of the heathen hiſtorians; it is ſupported entirely by the teſtimony of Joſephus.

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. Q. Curtius, Lib. 4. Arrian. Lib. 3. Plutarch in Alex.

(4) Euſebii Chron. Uſher's Annals, p. 214, 215. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 332. Darius 4.

(5) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Gronov.

(6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Joſephus,

But if we reject all relations, which reſt upon the credit of a ſingle hiſtorian, ancient hiſtory will be ſhrunk into a very narrow compaſs. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Ariſtobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been tranſmitted down to us; they have all been ſwallowed up in the gulph between that time and this: and who can be certain that ſome of them did not record this tranſaction? It muſt have been mentioned by ſome ancient hiſtorian; for we ſee that Juſtin in a ſhort abridgment of hiſtory is thought to have alluded to it; and ſome other author might have related it at large in all its circumſtances. The moſt copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch: but the eldeſt of theſe lived ſome centuries after Alexander, ſo that they muſt have tranſcribed from former hiſtorians: and they have tranſcribed variouſly, as ſuited their particular purpoſe; what one hath inſerted, another hath omitted; and not two of them hath related things exactly alike. There are actions and ſayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preſerved by other authors: and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they ſhould omit ſome particulars of ſo remote and ſo diſagreeable a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province are beſt related by the writers of each province. A Jew was moſt likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Joſephus, though he may have been thought credulous in ſome reſpects, yet was never charged with forging of hiſtory. His credit as an hiſtorian, will upon examination be found equal almoſt to the very beſt. Joſeph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature, (7) giveth him the character of a moſt faithful, a moſt diligent, and a moſt learned writer; of whom, ſaith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewiſh, but likewiſe in foreign affairs, we may more ſafely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin hiſtorians together.

There remains then no difficulty that can really ſtick with us, unleſs it be the particular interpoſition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams

(7) Joſephus, fidiſſimus, diligentiſſimus, et eruditiſſimus ſcriptor. Scal. in notis ad Fragmenta Græc. p. 45. De Joſepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non ſolum in rebus Judaicis, ſed etiam in externis tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis et Latinis: in Prolegom. de Emendatione Temporum, p. 17.

(8) Joſeph.

dreams of Alexander and the high-prieſt. Theſe things, it muſt be confeſſed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpoſitions of God in favor of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conqueſt and empire; if we conſider the clear and expreſs prophecies concerning him; theſe things tho' wonderful, may yet eaſily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly conſiſtent with the other diſpenſations of divine providence. Admitting the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think theſe extraordinary circumſtances at all incredible. Theſe extraordinary circumſtances are alleged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm theſe extraordinary circumſtances, this is ſo far from weakening that it ſtrengthens the argument. Indeed without the ſuppoſition of the truth of theſe circumſtances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting ſo many privileges and favors to the Jews. He (8) allowed them the free exerciſe of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every ſeventh, or the ſabbatical year; he ſettled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to thoſe of the Macedonians themſelves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered the governor whom he had ſet over them, he aſſigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the ſame manner as Judea from tribute, as (9) Joſephus hath proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the teſtimony of Hecatæus, a heathen hiſtorian. But what were the merits and ſervices of the Jews, that they ſhould be ſo favored and diſtinguiſhed above other people? There is no way of accounting for it ſo probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and eaſy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digreſſion, if it may be called a digreſſion, to conſider a point of hiſtory, that is ſo nearly related to our ſubject. Nothing is fixed and ſtable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reaſon the ſooner broken into pieces. (ver. 8.) "Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, "and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and for it

 "came

(8) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. p. 504. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Joſeph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1364, 1365. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) See

" came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven." Which the angel thus interprets, (ver. 22.) " Now that being broken, " whereas four ſtood up for it, four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the " nation, but not in his power." The empire of the goat was in its full ſtrength, when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was ſucceeded in the throne by his natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two ſons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the ſpace of (1) about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the firſt *horn* or kingdom was entirely *broken*. The royal family being thus extinct, the (2) governors of provinces, who had uſurped the power, aſſumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipſus, they were reduced (3) to four, Caſſander, Lyſimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and ſettled them into four kingdoms. Theſe four kingdoms are the " four notable horns," which came up in the room of the firſt great horn; and are the ſame as the " four heads of the leopard" in the former viſion. " Four kings ſhall ſtand up out of the nation, " but not in his power;" they were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the ſame empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewiſe to extend " toward " the four winds of heaven:" and in the partition of the empire (4), Caſſander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *weſtern* parts; Lyſimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy poſſeſſed Egypt, and the *ſouthern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria, and the *eaſtern* provinces. Thus were they divided " toward the four " winds of heaven."

As in the former viſion a little horn ſprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, ſo here a little horn is deſcribed as riſing among the

(1) See Uſher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Juſtin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abſtinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis ſui ſupereſſe potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro juſtus hæres fuit.

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 410. Edit. Caſaubon. Plutarch in Demetrio.

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 8. Ann. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. και δη ταυτα ημων συνεβη τω εθνει παθειν υπ' Αντιοχε τε Επιφανες, καθως ειδεν ο Δανιηλος, και πολλοις ετεσιν εμπροσθεν ανεγραψε

the four horns of the Grecian empire. (ver. 9, 10, 11, 12.) " And out of " one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, " toward the ſouth, and toward the eaſt, and toward the pleaſant land. " And it waxed great even to the hoſt of heaven, and it caſt " down ſome of the hoſt and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped " upon them. Yea, he magnified himſelf even to the prince of the " hoſt, and by him the daily ſacrifice was taken away, and the place " of his ſanctuary was caſt down. And an hoſt was given him againſt " the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of tranſgreſſion, and it caſt down the " truth to the ground, and it practiſed, and proſpered." All which is thus explained by the angel: (ver. 23, 24, 25.) " And in the latter time " of their kingdom, when the tranſgreſſors are come to the full, a king " of fierce countenance, and underſtanding dark ſentences, ſhall ſtand " up. And his power ſhall be mighty, but not by his own power: " and he ſhall deſtroy wonderfully, and ſhall proſper, and practiſe, " and ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his " policy alſo he ſhall cauſe craft to proſper in his hand, and he ſhall " magnify himſelf in his heart, and by peace ſhall deſtroy many: he " ſhall alſo ſtand up againſt the prince of princes, but he ſhall be " broken without hand." This " little horn" is by the generality of interpreters, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, ancient and modern, ſuppoſed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel perſecutor of the Jews. So (5) Joſephus underſtands the prophecy, and ſays that ' our nation ſuffered theſe calamities under ' Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel ſaw, and many years before wrote ' what things ſhould come to paſs.' In like manner (6) St. Jerome explains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and ſays ' that he fought againſt ' Ptolemy Philometor and the Egyptians, that is' " againſt the ſouth;" ' and again " againſt the eaſt," and thoſe who attempted a change of ' government in Perſia; and laſtly he fought againſt the Jews, took ' Judea,

γραψε τα γενησομενα. Et ſane factum eſt ut hæc ipſa ſub Antiocho Epiphane gens noſtra pateretur, prout viderat Danielus, et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant ſcriptis mandaverat, p. 466. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Hieron. in Dan. Cap. 8.—contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc eſt, *contra meridiem*, et contra Ægyptios. Rurſumque *ad orientem*, et contra eos qui res novas in Perſide moliebantur: ad extremum contra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingreſſus eſt Jeroſolymam: et in templo Dei ſimulacrum Jovis Olympii ſtatuit. Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Sir

'Judea, entered into Jeruſalem, and in the temple of God ſet up the 'image of Jupiter Olympius.' With St. Jerome agree moſt of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then they all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichriſt. Antiochus Epiphanes at firſt ſight doth indeed in ſome features very much reſemble the "little horn;" but upon a nearer view and examination it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of ſimilitude or correſpondence between them. Sir Iſaac Newton with that ſagacity, which was peculiar to him, and with which he penetrated into ſcripture as well as into nature, (7) perceived plainly that the "little horn" could not be drawn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but muſt be deſigned for ſome other ſubject: and tho' we ſhall not entirely follow his plan, nor build altogether upon his foundation, yet we ſhall be obliged to make uſe of ſeveral of his materials. There are then two ways of expounding this prophecy of the "little horn," either by underſtanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and conſidering Antiochus as a type of Antichriſt; or by leaving him wholly out of the queſtion, and ſeeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progreſs of this diſcourſe.

A "horn" in the ſtile of Daniel doth not ſignify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former viſion the "ten horns" were not ten kings, but ſo many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the "little horn" did not typify a ſingle perſon, but a ſucceſſion of men, claiming ſuch prerogatives, and exerting ſuch powers, as are there ſpecified. In this viſion likewiſe the "two horns" of the ram do not repreſent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Perſian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Perſia: and for this plain reaſon, becauſe the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath ſtill two horns; but the two kingdoms of Media and Perſia had been long united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigure not kings, but kingdoms. The firſt "great horn" doth not deſign Alexander himſelf, but the kingdom of Alex-

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations on Daniel, Chap 9.

(8) See this point proved from heathen authors as well as from ſcripture in the beginning of Mr. Mede's tract intitled *Regnum Romanum eſt regnum quartum Danielis.* Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 711.

(9) Qui quum obſes fuiſſet Romæ, et neſciente ſenatu cepiſſet imperium, &c. Hieron. in Dan. 8. Col.

Alexander, as long as the title continued united in him, and his brother, and two ſons. The "four horns," which aroſe after the firſt was broken, are expreſsly ſaid (ver. 22.) to be "four kingdoms:" and conſequently it ſhould ſeem, that the "little horn" cannot ſignify Antiochus Epiphanes or any ſingle king, but muſt denote ſome kingdom; by "kingdom" meaning, what (8) the ancients meant, any government, ſtate or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or of what form ſoever. Now what kingdom was there, that roſe up during the ſubſiſtence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatneſs and eminence, but the Roman? The firſt "great "horn" was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The "four "horns" were "four kingdoms," not of his family, but only of the nation. "Four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the nation:" and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the "little "horn," ſhould be not of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us conſider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more juſtly aſcribed to Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the Romans. "And out of one of them came forth a "little horn." Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the ſon of Antiochus the great, king of Syria: and he is (9) ſaid to be the "little horn," becauſe he roſe from ſmall beginnings to the kingdom, having been many years an hoſtage at Rome. But then his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms; it cannot poſſibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom ſpringing up among the four; and the little horn is plainly ſome power different and diſtinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who roſe from ſmall beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who firſt ſubdued Macedon and Greece the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence ſpread and inlarged their conqueſts over the reſt? Nor let it ſeem ſtrange, that the Romans who were prefigured by a great *beaſt* in the former viſion, ſhould in this

Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict. Antiochum Epiphanem ſignificat, quia fuit Romæ obſes. Vatablus in locum. Antiochus, qui obſes fuit Romæ, nec a patre deſignatus rex, ſed invaſit regnum, &c. Clarius in locum. Antiochus modicæ primum fortunæ, privatus, et Romæ obſes, ex poſt facto dictus Epiphanes. Grotius in locum. So likewiſe Poole, &c.

(1) For

this be repreſented only by the *horn* of a beaſt; for nothing is more uſual, than to deſcribe the ſame perſon or thing under different images upon different occaſions: and beſides in this viſion the Roman empire is not deſigned at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans firſt got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at firſt a little horn, but in proceſs of time overtopped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and overran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the weſtern empire, are the principal ſubject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are moſt largely and particularly ſpecified, are their great perſecution and oppreſſion of the people of God: which renders it probable, that the appellation of "the little "horn" might be given them for the ſame reaſon, that the great perſecutor and oppreſſor of the ſaints in the weſtern empire is alſo called "the little horn." It is the ſame kind of power, and therefore might be ſignified by the ſame name.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the tranſgreſſors are "come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and underſtanding "dark ſentences, ſhall ſtand up." Antiochus Epiphanes might be ſaid indeed to "ſtand up in the latter time of their kingdom;" becauſe Macedonia, the firſt of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he ſtood up, "the tranſgreſſors" in the Jewiſh nation "were not come to the "full;" for when he began to reign, (1) Onias was high-prieſt of the Jews, and the temporal as well as eccleſiaſtical government was at that time in the hands of the high-prieſt, and this Onias was a moſt worthy good magiſtrate, as well as a moſt venerable pious prieſt. As the author of the ſecond book of Maccabees ſaith, (2 Mac. III. 1.) "the "holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very "well, becauſe of the godlineſs of Onias the high-prieſt, and his ha-"tred of wickedneſs." It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewiſh church and nation; and they were

(1) For theſe and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Joſephus his Antiquities

were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be ſaid to ſtand up " in the latter time of their kingdom," who ſaw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four; who firſt ſubdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lyſimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and laſtly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans ſtood up too, " the tranſgreſſions were come to the full;" for the high-prieſthood was expoſed to ſale; good Onias was ejected for a ſum of money to make room for wicked Jaſon, and Jaſon was again ſupplanted for a greater ſum of money by a worſe man (if poſſible) than himſelf, his brother Menelaus; and the golden veſſels of the temple were ſold to pay for the ſacrilegious purchaſe. At the ſame time the cuſtoms of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exerciſed after the manner of the Greeks; the people apoſtatized from the true religion, and even " the prieſts" (2 Mac. IV. 14.) " had no courage to ſerve any more at the altar, but deſpiſing " the temple, and neglecting the ſacrifices, they haſtened to be partak- " ers of unlawful" diverſions. Nay Jeruſalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thouſand Jews were ſlain, and as many more were ſold into ſlavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-prieſt Menelaus, was defiled with ſwines blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in (2) the ſame year, that Paulus Æmilius the Roman conſul vanquiſhed Perſeus the laſt king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewiſh religion was put down, and the heathen worſhip was ſet up in the cities of Judea, and in Jeruſalem; and the temple itſelf was conſecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed " the tranſgreſ- " ſors were come to the full," and then, as we ſee, the Romans ſtood up, " a king of fierce countenance, and underſtanding dark ſen- " tences."

A *king* in the prophetic ſtile is the ſame as a *kingdom*, and a kingdom, as we before obſerved, is any ſtate or government. " A king

quities of the Jews muſt be conſulted.

(2) See Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 168.

(3) Regnandi

" of fierce countenance, and underſtanding dark ſentences." The latter expreſſion in the (3) Syriac is tranſlated *ſkilful in ruling*, and in the Arabic *ſkilful of diſputations*. We may ſuppoſe the meaning to be, that this ſhould be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not ſo properly the character of Antiochus, as of the Romans. They were repreſented in the former viſion by a " beaſt " dreadful and terrible;" and for the ſame reaſon they are denominated " a king of fierce countenance." He cannot ſo well be ſaid to be " a king of fierce countenance," who was even frightened out of Egypt by a meſſage from the Romans. The (4) ſtory is worthy of memory. Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming maſter of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing leſt he ſhould grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, ſent an embaſſy to him, to require him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, or to declare war againſt him. He was drawing near to beſiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three embaſſadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hoſtage at Rome: and the king at their firſt meeting graciouſly offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendſhip. But Popillius declined the compliment by ſaying, that private friendſhip muſt give place to the public welfare, and he muſt firſt know whether the king was a friend to the Roman ſtate, before he could acknowlege him as a friend to himſelf: and ſo ſaying he preſented to him the tables which contained the decree of the ſenate, and deſired an immediate anſwer. Antiochus opened and peruſed them, and replied that he would conſider the matter with his friends, and return his anſwer very ſpeedily. But Popillius with a wand that he carried in his hand drew a circle in the ſand round the king, and inſiſted upon his anſwer, before he ſtirred out of that circle. The king aſtoniſhed at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after ſome heſitation, ſaid that he would obey the commands of the ſenate: and then at length Popillius reached forth his hand to him as a friend

(3) Regnandi peritus. Syr. Diſputationum peritus. Arab.

(4) Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 916. Edit. Caſaubon. Appian. de Bellis Syriacis, p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Livius, Lib. 45. Cap. 12. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 3. Velleius Paterculus,

a friend and confederate. This incident happened very ſoon after the conqueſt of Macedonia, which as it diſmayed Antiochus, ſo it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner: and this being their firſt memorable action as ſoon as they became a horn or kingdom of the goat, it is very fitly ſaid of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, "a king of "fierce countenance ſhall ſtand up."

The other actions likewiſe of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, tho' little at firſt, yet "waxed exceeding great, "toward the ſouth, and toward the eaſt, and toward the pleaſant land." This horn therefore, as Sir Iſaac Newton (5) juſtly obſerves, was to riſe up in the north-weſt parts of thoſe nations, which compoſed the body of the goat; and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Obſerve the particulars. He "waxed ex-"ceeding great:" and ſo did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not ſo did Antiochus Epiphanes; for he was ſo far from inlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was leſs in his time than under moſt of his predeceſſors, and he (6) left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans.—"Toward the ſouth:" Antiochus indeed did ſeveral times invade Egypt, and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt: but he was never able to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept poſſeſſion of it for ſeveral centuries. His deſigns were fruſtrated, as we have ſeen, by an embaſſy from the Romans; and he went out of Egypt baffled and diſgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army. —"Toward the eaſt:" the Romans did grow very powerful toward the eaſt; they conquered and made a province of Syria, which was the eaſtern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was ſeated in the eaſt himſelf, and did not extend his dominions farther eaſtward. On the contrary the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the eaſt. Antiochus did indeed (7) vanquiſh Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who

Paterculus, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. Juſtin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3.

(5) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 9. p. 119, 120.

(6) 2 Macc. VIII. 10.

(7) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117 et 131. Edit. Steph.

had revolted from him; but this was rather in the north than in the eaſt. He had not the like ſucceſs among the Perſians, who were alſo dilatory in paying their tribute; for (8) having heard much of the riches of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a deſign of ſeiſing the treaſures of the city and temple; but the inhabitants roſe upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, ſo that he was forced to fly with diſappointment and diſgrace out of the country; and ſoon after he ſickened and died.—"And toward the "pleaſant land," that is Judea; for ſo it is called in the Pſalms (CVI. 24.) "the pleaſant land;" and in Jeremiah (III. 19.) "a pleaſant land, "a goodly heritage;" and ſo twice again afterwards in Daniel. (XI. 16, 41.) Antiochus did indeed take Jeruſalem, and miſerably harraſs and oppreſs the Jews, as it has been above related: but the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and eſtabliſhed their religion and government in greater ſplendor and ſecurity than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and ſubdued them, firſt made a province of their country, and then deſtroyed their city and temple, and diſperſed the people, ſo that after ſo fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to riſe again.

Another remarkable property, that eminently diſtinguiſhed the little horn from all others, was that "his power ſhould be mighty, but not by "his own power;" which commentators are much at a loſs to explain. Some ſay, (9) that he ſhould be mighty not ſo much by his own induſtry, as by the gift of God: but ſo are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others ſay, (1) that God ſhould give him this power for the puniſhment of his people; and others again, (2) that he ſhould obtain it by the factions and perfidy and baſeneſs of the Jews, who ſhould betray their country to him: but theſe limit and reſtrain the meaning to a particular ſubject, to his power over the Jews, whereas it is ſaid in the general, that "his power ſhould be mighty, but not by his own power." "His power" in general, not only over this or that particular people, "ſhould be mighty, but not by his own power." The beſt explanation that

Steph. p. 187 et 212. Edit. Tollii. Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1133. Edit. Benedict.

(8) 1 Maccab. VI. 1—4. 2 Maccab. IX. 1, 2. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudſon. Porphyrius apud Hieron. ibid.

(9) Non propria induſtria, ſed Deo dante. Vatablus.

(1) Quia

that they can give of it, who underſtand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that (3) he attained to the crown chiefly by the favor and aſſiſtance of Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, who having at that time ſome jealouſy of the Romans, were deſirous to make the king of Syria their friend: but we do not read that they aſſiſted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom ſtrengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a type of Antichriſt, (4) offer a fairer interpretation, becauſe Antichriſt was to exerciſe an uſurped authority, and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St. John, (Rev. XVII. 13.) were to "give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt." But this part of the prophecy, as well as the reſt, can no where be ſo juſtly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The ſtrength of the other kingdoms conſiſted in themſelves, and had its foundation in ſome part of the goat: but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not ſtrong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nouriſhment and ſtrength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, tho' the branches extended over Greece, Aſia, Syria, and Egypt.

The remainder of the prophecy relates moſtly to the perſecution and oppreſſion of the people of God. "And he waxed great even to the "hoſt of heaven," (or "againſt the hoſt of heaven) and he caſt down "ſome of the hoſt, and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped upon "them," that is, the Jewiſh ſtate in general, "the mighty and the "holy people," (ver. 24.) or the Prieſts and Levites in particular; who are called "ſtars;" as they were eminent for their ſtation and illuſtrious for their knowlege; and "the hoſt of heaven," as they watched and ſerved in the temple, and their ſervice is denominated "a warfare." (Num. VIII. 24, 25.) This paſſage was in ſome meaſure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making uſe of the like expreſſions, (Matt. XXIV. 29.) "the ſtars ſhall fall "from

(1) Quia Deus voluit per ipſum punire populum ſuum. Clarius.

(2) So Poole, Lowth, &c. Non tam ex ipſo cauſa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judæorum. Grotius.

(3) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(4) See Lowth's Comment.

(5) 2 Macc.

" from heaven, and the powers of the heaven ſhall be ſhaken," in ſpeaking of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Romans, this paſſage alſo may more properly be referred to that event.

" Yea he magnified himſelf even to the princes of the hoſt," (or " againſt the prince of the hoſt) and by him the daily ſacrifice was taken " away, and the place of his ſanctuary was caſt down." Antiochus did indeed " take away the daily ſacrifice," but he did not " caſt down the " place of his ſanctuary," he did not deſtroy the temple. He took away the daily ſacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewiſe utterly deſtroyed the temple, which he ſpoiled only and profaned.

" And an hoſt was given him againſt the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of " tranſgreſſion." The word here tranſlated " an hoſt" is rendered in other places, (Job VII. 1.) and in the book of Daniel itſelf, (X. 1.) " an " appointed time: And an appointed time was given him againſt the " daily ſacrifice by reaſon of tranſgreſſion:" Or as we read in the margin, " The hoſt was given over for the tranſgreſſion againſt the daily " ſacrifice, and he caſt down the truth to the ground, and he practiſed, " and proſpered." Or as the ſame thing is expreſſed by the angel: " He " ſhall deſtroy wonderfully, and ſhall proſper, and practiſe, and ſhall " deſtroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy alſo " he ſhall cauſe craft to proſper in his hand, and he ſhall magnify him- " ſelf in his heart, and by peace ſhall deſtroy many." But Antiochus did not ſo mightily deſtroy the Jews, nor proſper in his practices and deſigns againſt them. When he took Jeruſalem, (5) he ſlew forty thouſand, and ſold forty thouſand more: but when the city was beſieged and taken by the Romans, (6) the number of the captives amounted to ninety ſeven thouſand, and of the ſlain to eleven hundred thouſand. The Romans too carried their conqueſt and revenge ſo far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his ſucceſs was not equal: for though his forces were victorious at firſt, yet they were defeated at laſt,

(5) 2 Macc. V. 14.
(6) Joſeph. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, et 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) 1 Macc.

laſt, and his (7) generals, Appollonius, Seron, Nicanor and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides, and even Lyſias himſelf, were all ſhamefully routed one after another: and the news of theſe defeats haſtened his death.

It is farther added, that "he ſhall alſo ſtand up againſt the prince of "princes." If by "the prince of princes" the high-prieſt be meant, it is very true that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-prieſts at pleaſure, but the Romans took away the whole adminiſtration. If by "the prince of princes" be meant, as moſt probably was meant, the Meſſiah, then Antiochus had no ſhare in the completion; it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he ſuffered the puniſhment of the Roman malefactors and ſlaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our moſt ſerious conſideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a ſketch of the fate and ſufferings of the Chriſtian, as well as of the Jewiſh church. Nothing is more uſual with the prophets than to deſcribe the religion and worſhip of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Chriſtians may full as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of "the holy "people," or "people of the holy ones." And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but alſo perſecuted his diſciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Chriſtian religion, they ſoon corrupted it; ſo that it may be queſtioned, whether their favor was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increaſed: and may it not with equal truth and juſtice be ſaid of the latter, as of the former, that they "caſt down the truth to the ground, and prac-"tiſed, and proſpered?" How applicable in this ſenſe is every part of the angel's interpretation! "A king of fierce countenance, and un-"derſtanding dark ſentences ſhall ſtand up. And his power ſhall be "mighty, but not by his own power: and he ſhall deſtroy wonderfully, "and ſhall proſper, and practiſe, and ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the "holy people," (or "the people of the holy ones:) And through his "policy alſo he ſhall cauſe craft to proſper in his hand, and he ſhall "magnify

(7) 1 Macc. III. IV. 2. Macc. VIII. X. XI. Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. p. 537. Edit. Hudſon.
(8) Polyb.

" magnify himſelf in his heart, and by peace ſhall deſtroy many: he " ſhall alſo ſtand up againſt the prince of princes, but he ſhall be broken " without hand." And this farther opens and explains the reaſon of the appellation of " the little horn." The perſecuting power of Rome, whether exerciſed towards the Jews, or towards the Chriſtians, or by the emperors or by the popes, is ſtill " the little horn." The tyranny is the ſame; but as exerted in Greece and the eaſt, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire; as exerted in Italy and the weſt, it is the little horn of the fourth beaſt or the fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end; " he ſhall be broken without hand." As the ſtone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was " cut out of the mountain without " hands," that is not by human, but by ſupernatural means; ſo the little horn " ſhall be broken without hand," not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but periſh by a ſtroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal cataſtrophe of the Romans. " The ſtone," that is the power of Chriſt, (II. 34.) " ſmote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, " and brake them to pieces." Again (VII. 11.) " I beheld then, be- " cauſe of the voice of the great words which the horn ſpake; I beheld " even till the beaſt was ſlain, and his body deſtroyed, and given to " the burning flame." And again (ver. 26.) " the judgment ſhall " ſit, and they ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume, and to deſtroy " it unto the end." All which implies that the dominion of the Romans ſhall finally be deſtroyed with ſome extraordinary manifeſtation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unſucceſsful expedition into Perſia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He ſet forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing nothing but death and deſtruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was ſeiſed with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was ſorely bruiſed, and his inward pains grew more violent, ſo that he was not

(8) Polyb. p. 997. Edit. Caſaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1131 et 1133. Edit. Benedict. 1 Maccab. VI. 1—16

not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to ſtop at a little town upon the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence iſſued worms, and ſuch a ſtench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himſelf. Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind leſs than thoſe of his body. He was vexed even to diſtraction, thought he ſaw dreadful ſpecters and apparitions, and ſuffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conſcience: and in this miſerable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death, and (8) confirmed by Heathen as well as by Jewiſh hiſtorians: but with this difference, that the former aſcribe it to the vengeance of the Gods for the ſacrilege that he deſigned to commit at Elymais; the latter repreſent it as the juſt judgment of heaven for the ſacrilege that he really committed at Jeruſalem, and for the barbarous ſlaughter that he made of ſo many thouſands of the Jews; and they ſay, that he himſelf upon his death-bed confeſſed as much: and which of theſe accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will eaſily determin.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that tho' ſome of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correſpond exactly with the Romans, and with no one elſe; ſo that the application of the character to them muſt be the right application. It is therefore ſurpriſing, that a man of Dr. Hallifax's learning, after ſo many proofs to the contrary, can however opine, that the character "muſt of neceſſity be reſtrained to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to him "only;" and for ſuch reaſons, and for none others than have here been obviated and refuted. The fitneſs and propriety of the application to the Romans will ſtill farther appear by conſidering the time, that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the viſion. "I will "make thee know," ſaith the angel to Daniel, (ver. 19.) "what ſhall "be in the laſt end," or "to the laſt end of the indignation:" that is, as Mr. Lowth paraphraſeth it, "I will explain to thee the whole ſeries "of God's judgments upon his people to the end and concluſion of "them:" but that end and concluſion is not yet come. There are

 intimations

1—16. 2 Maccab. IX. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Eus

intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation againſt his people will be accompliſhed, and the final deſtruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the ſame period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel aſked another angel, (ver. 13.) " How long ſhall be " the viſion concerning the daily ſacrifice, and the tranſgreſſion of de- " ſolation, to give both the ſanctuary and the hoſt to be trodden under " foot?" In the original there is no ſuch word as " concerning;" and Mr. Lowth rightly obſerves, that the words may be rendered more agreeably to the Hebrew thus, " For how long a time ſhall the viſion " laſt, the daily ſacrifice be taken away, and the tranſgreſſion of deſo- " lation continue," &c? After the ſame manner the queſtion is tranſlated by the (9) Seventy, and in the Arabic verſion, and in the Vulgar Latin. The anſwer is (ver. 14.) " Unto two thouſand, and three " hundred days; then ſhall the ſanctuary be cleanſed." In the original it is, " Unto two thouſand and three hundred evenings and mornings," an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in alluſion to this expreſſion it is ſaid afterwards (ver. 26.) " The " viſion of the evening and the morning is true." Now theſe two thouſand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even tho' the days be taken for natural days. Two thouſand and three hundred days are ſix years and ſomewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus laſted but three years complete, according to the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees; (1 Macc. I. 59. compared with IV. 52.) and the deſolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily ſacrifice by Appollonius continued but three years and a half, according (1) to Joſephus. Mr. Mede propoſeth a method to reconcile the difference, and (2) ſaith that the time is " not to be reckoned from the highth of the " calamity, when the *daily ſacrifice ſhould be taken away*, (from thence it " is but three years) but from the beginning of the tranſgreſſion, which " occaſioned this deſolation, and is deſcribed 1 Macc. I. 11, &c." But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the firſt book of the

(9) Ἕως ποῦ ἡ ὁρασις στησεται, ἡ θυσια ἡ αφθεισα, κ τ. λ. Sept. Quouſque viſio hæc continget, et auferetur ſacrificium, &c. Arab. Uſquequo viſio, et juge ſacrificium, &c. Vulg.

(1) Joſephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. p. 956. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Mr. Mede's Apoſtaſy of the latter times. Part 1. Chap. 14. in his Works. B. 3. p. 659.

(3) Hunc

the Maccabees, (I. 10.) " in the 137th year of the kingdom to the " Greeks" or æra of the Seleucidæ; and " in thoſe days" was the beginning of the tranſgreſſion, which is deſcribed 1 Macc. I. 11, &c. that is ten or eleven years before the cleanſing of the ſanctuary, which was performed " in the 148th year" according to the ſame author: (IV. 52.) Or if we compute the time from Antiochus's firſt going up againſt Jeruſalem, and ſpoiling the city and temple, theſe things were done according to the ſame author (I. 20.) " in the 143d year;" ſo that this reckoning would fall ſhort of the time aſſigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impoſſibility rather of making theſe two thouſand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I ſuppoſe, obliged the ancients to conſider Antiochus as a type of Antichriſt: and therefore (3) Jerome ſaith in his comment, that this place moſt Chriſtians refer to Antichriſt, and affirm, that what was tranſacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under Antichriſt. The days without doubt are to be taken, agreeably to the ſtile of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years: and as the queſtion was aſked, not only how long the daily ſacrifice ſhall be taken away and the tranſgreſſion of deſolation continue, but alſo how long the viſion ſhall laſt; ſo the anſwer is to be underſtood, and theſe two thouſand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the viſion to the cleanſing of the ſanctuary. The ſanctuary is not yet cleanſed, and conſequently theſe years are not yet expired. When theſe years ſhall be expired, then their end will clearly ſhow from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the viſion of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the preciſe time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increaſed in this caſe by reaſon of ſome variety in the copies. For the (4) Seventy have " four hundred" in this place; and others, as (5) Jerome informs us, read " two hundred" inſtead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, " Unto " two thouſand and four hundred days" or " years," then perhaps they

(3) Hunc locum plerique noſtrorum ad Antichriſtum referunt: et quod ſub Antiocho in typo factum eſt, ſub illo in veritate dicunt eſſe complendum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedict.

(4) ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι καὶ τριακόσιαι. Sept.

(5) Quidam pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legunt. Hieron. ibid.

(6) See

are to be computed from the viſion of the ram, or the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, "Unto two thouſand and two hundred days or years," then perhaps they are to be computed from the viſion of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire: And it is remarkable, (6) that the Romans firſt paſſed over with an army, and made war upon Philip king of Macedonia, juſt 200 years before Chriſt. But if we ſtill retain the common reading, (which probably is the trueſt and beſt) "Unto two thouſand and three hundred days" or "years," then I conceive they are to be computed from the viſion of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Aſia. Alexander invaded Aſia (7) in the year of the world 3670, and in the year before Chriſt 334. Two thouſand and three hundred years from that time will draw towards the concluſion of the ſixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to (8) an old tradition, which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected; and particularly as (9) Rabbi Abraham Sebah ſaith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be reſtored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the viſion, and of the time allotted for it. (ver. 26.) "The viſion of the evening and the morning, "which was told, is true: wherefore ſhut thou up the viſion, for it "ſhall be for many days." The "ſhutting up of the viſion" implies, that it ſhould not be underſtood of ſome time; and we cannot ſay that it was ſufficiently underſtood, ſo long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The viſion being for "many days," muſt neceſſarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years or three years and a half, or even than the whole time from the firſt beginning of the viſion in Cyrus to the cleanſing of the ſanctuary under Antiochus, which was not (1) above 371 years. Such a viſion could not well be called long to Daniel, who had ſeen ſo much longer before; and eſpecially as the time aſſigned for it is "two thouſand and "three

(6) See Uſher's Annals. A. M. 3804.

(7) See Uſher, Prideaux, &c.

(8) See Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de magno die judicii, et regno Meſſiæ tunc futuro, in Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 535. and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis ſeu Romæ excidio, in Mede's Works, B. 5. p. 902.

(9) R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. 1. ait, currente ſexto annorum mundi millenario Romam evertendam, et Judæos reducendos. Ibid. p. 903.

(1) See

" three hundred days," which ſince they cannot by any account be natural days, muſt needs be prophetic days, or two thouſand and three hundred years. Such a viſion may properly enough be ſaid to be " for " many days."

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions, which were to befall the church and people of God. (ver. 27.) " And I Daniel " fainted and was ſick certain days; afterward I roſe up, and did the " king's buſineſs, and I was aſtoniſhed at the viſion, but none under- " ſtood it." Munſter, and Clarius who generally tranſcribes Munſter, (2) are of opinion that Daniel was viſited by this ſickneſs, leſt he ſhould be lifted up by the ſublimity of the viſions. I preſume they thought his caſe ſomewhat like St. Paul's, (2 Cor. XII. 7.) who had " a thorn in " the fleſh," or a bodily infirmity, " leſt he ſhould be exalted above " meaſure thro' the abundance of the revelations." But it is much more probable, that Daniel's ſickneſs proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former viſion " he was grieved in his " ſpirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance " changed in him," at the ſucceſs of the little horn there deſcribed. And this is another moſt concluſive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not poſſibly be the main end and ultimate ſcope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of ſmall extent and of ſhort duration, in compariſon with what the nation had ſuffered, and was then ſuffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his ſucceſſors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly deſtroyed it. Antiochus made captives forty thouſand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily ſacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar aboliſhed all the temple ſervice for ſeventy years. Why then ſhould Daniel, who had ſeen and felt theſe greater calamities, be ſo much grieved at thoſe leſſer diſaſters of the nation? Preſent and ſenſible

(1) See Uſher, Prideaux, &c. The firſt year of Cyrus was A. M. 3468, before Chriſt 536. The ſanctuary was cleanſed. A M. 3839, before Chriſt 165.

(2) Et quod ſubditur de ægrotatione Danielis, oſtenditur illam prophetæ immiſſam, ne extolleretur ſublimitate viſionum, quas ſolus intelligebat. Munſterus. Et quod de ægrotatione ſua dicit, oſtenditur, illam prophetæ immiſſam, ne extolleretur ſublimitate viſionum, quas ſolus intelligebat. Clarius.

(1) The

ſenſible evils uſually affect us moſt: and therefore that Daniel was ſo much more affected with the future than with the preſent, "was "aſtoniſhed," and "fainted," and "was ſick certain days," can be aſcribed to nothing but to his foreſeeing, that the future diſtreſs and miſery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they ſuſtained at preſent. But the calamities under Antiochus were much leſs, and much ſhorter. Thoſe only which they ſuffered from the Romans, were greater and worſe than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And "the tranſgreſſion of deſolation" hath now continued theſe 1700 years. They expect, and we expect, that at length "the "ſanctuary will be cleanſed," and that in God's determined time his promiſe will be fully accompliſhed; (Amos IX. 11, 12. Acts XV. 16, 17.) "I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of "David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins "thereof, and I will ſet it up; That the reſidue of men might ſeek "after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, "ſaith the Lord, who doeth all theſe things."

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, ſhow him in a very amiable light, and give an additional luſtre and glory to his character. But not only in this inſtance, but in every other, he manifeſts the ſame public ſpirit, and appears no leſs eminently a patriot than a prophet. Tho' he was torn early from his country and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign ſervice, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we ſee him pouring out his ſoul in prayer, and ſupplicating moſt earneſtly and devoutly for the pardon and reſtoration of his captive nation. It is a groſs miſtake therefore to think, that religion will ever extinguiſh or abate our love for our country. The ſcriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit ſeveral illuſtrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this, as well as all other moral and ſocial virtues; and eſpecially when the intereſts of true religion and of our country are ſo blended and interwoven, that they cannot well be ſeparated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and with the ſame zeal that every pious Jew might ſay formerly, every honeſt Briton may ſay now, with the good Pſalmiſt,

(Pſal.

(Pſal. CXXII. 6, &c.) " O pray for the peace of Jeruſalem; they ſhall " proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteouſ- " neſs within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions ſake I will " wiſh thee proſperity: Yea becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God " I will ſeek to do thee good."

XVI.

DANIEL'S *Prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth.*

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is the uſual method of the holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is (Prov. IV. 18.) " as the ſhining light that ſhineth more and more unto the perfect " day." The four great empires of the world, which were ſhown to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly repreſented to Daniel in the ſhape of four great wild beaſts. In like manner, the memorable events, which were revealed to Daniel in the viſion of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his laſt viſion by an angel; ſo that this latter prophecy may not improperly be ſaid to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made (X. 1.) " in the third year of " Cyrus king of Perſia," when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the ſeventy third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot be ſuppoſed now to have been leſs than ninety: and not long after this, it is reaſonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he " ſet his heart to un-

" derſtand"

"derſtand" the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the viſion of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the ſequel: and for this purpoſe he prayed, and faſted three weeks. His faſting and prayers had the deſired effect; for an angel was ſent, and ſaid unto him, (ver. 12.) "Fear not Daniel; for "from the firſt day that thou didſt ſet thine heart to underſtand, and "to chaſten thyſelf before thy God, thy words are heard, and I am "come for thy words." And whoever would attain the ſame ends, and excel in divine knowlege, muſt purſue the ſame means, and habituate himſelf to ſtudy, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the deſign of his coming, (ver. 14.) "Now I am come to make thee "underſtand what ſhall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet "the viſion is for many days." This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As it was ſaid before, (ver. 1.) "the thing was true, but the time appointed was "long:" and conſequently this prophecy muſt extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not (1) above 370 years. In reality it comprehends many ſignal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in moſt of the other viſions, and then expounded by the angel; but the angel relates the whole, and not by way of viſion, but only by narration, informs Daniel of "that which is noted in the ſcripture of truth." (ver. 21.) "I will "ſhow thee that which is noted in the ſcripture of truth," as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy, being taken from "the ſcripture of truth," is therefore deſerving of our ſtricteſt attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly underſtand and expound them.

The angel firſt propheſies of the Perſian empire, which was then ſubſiſting. "Behold, there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings in Perſia; and "the

(1) The third year of Cyrus was A. M. 3470, before Chriſt 534. Antiochus Epiphanes died A. M. 3840, before Chriſt 164. See Uſher, Prideaux, &c.

(2) Si regem ſpectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine conſumerentur, opes tamen regiæ ſupereſſent. Juſtin. Lib 2. Cap. 10.

(3) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 27, &c. p. 395. Edit. Gale.

(4) Bernard de ponderibus et menſuris antiquis. p. 171. Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 2. Anno 538. Darius the Mede 1.

(5) Καὶ

" the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all; and by his ſtrength " through his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of Grecia." (XI. 2.) " There ſhall ſtand up yet," that is after Cyrus, the founder of the empire, who was then reigning. " Three kings in Perſia;" theſe were Cambyſes, the ſon of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another ſon of Cyrus, but was really an impoſtor; and Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. " And the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all." The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Darius; of whom Juſtin (2) truly remarks, ' If you conſider this king, you may praiſe his ' riches, not the general; of which there was ſo great abundance in ' his kingdom, that when rivers were dried up by his army, yet his ' wealth remained unexhauſted.' Pythius the Lydian (3) was at that time the richeſt ſubject in the world. He generouſly entertained Xerxes and all his army, and proffered him two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thouſand pieces of gold with the ſtamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges of the war. But Xerxes was ſo far from wanting any ſupplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and preſented him with ſeven thouſand Darics, to make up his number a complete round ſum of four millions. Each of theſe Darics (4) was worth better than a guinea of our money. " And " by his ſtrength through his riches he ſhall ſtir up all," both ſubjects and allies, " againſt the realm of Grecia." Xerxes's expedition into Greece is one of the moſt memorable adventures in ancient hiſtory. Herodotus affirms, that (5) Xerxes in raiſing his army ſearched every place of the continent, and it was the greateſt army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, ſays he, that Xerxes led not out of Aſia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age; and he (6) recounts with great exactneſs the various nations of which Xerxes's army was compoſed, and computes that the whole number of horſe and foot, by land and ſea, out of Aſia and out of Europe, ſoldiers and

(5) Και Ξερξης τω ςραλω ὡτω επαγερσιν ποιεῖται, χωρον παιλα ιρευνων της ηπειρυ. Xerxes autem ita copias ſuas contraxit, ut omnem continentis locum ſcrutaretur.—ςολων γαρ των ἡμεις ιδμεν πολλῳ δη μεγιςος ὑτος. εγενετο. nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic multo maximus extitit.—τι γαρ μι ηγαγε εκ της Ασιης εθνος επι την Ἑλλαδα Ξερξης; quam enim ex Aſia gentem in Græciam non adduxit Xerxes? Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 20, 21. p. 393. Edit. Gale.

(6) Herod. ibid. Sect. 60, &c. 184, &c.

(7) Diod.

followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with ſtirring up the eaſt, but was for ſtirring up (7) the weſt likewiſe, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelmed Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy: and the Carthaginians for this purpoſe not only raiſed all the forces they could in Africa, but alſo hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, and Gaul, and Italy; ſo that their army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and their fleet of two hundred ſhips. Thus did Xerxes "ſtir up all againſt the realm of "Grecia;" and after him no mention is made of any other king of Perſia. 'It is to be noted, (8) ſaith Jerome, that the prophet having 'enumerated four kings of the Perſians after Cyrus, ſlippeth over nine, 'and paſſeth to Alexander; for the prophetic ſpirit did not care to 'follow the order of hiſtory, but only to touch upon the moſt famous 'events.' Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Perſians; and as he was the laſt king of Perſia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned laſt. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Aſia: and Xerxes's expedition being the moſt memorable on one ſide, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of theſe two are not improperly connected together.

Alexander is thus characterized, (ver. 3.) "And a mighty king ſhall "ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion, and do according to "his will." That Alexander was "a mighty king" and conqueror; that he "ruled with great dominion," not only over Greece and the whole Perſian empire, but likewiſe added India to his conqueſts; and that he "did according to his will," none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppoſe him, or if they did, like Clitus and Calliſthenes, paying for it with their lives; are facts too well known to require any particular proof or illuſtration.

But

(7) Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. in initio.

(8) Notandum quod quattuor poſt Cyrum regibus Perſarum enumeratis, novem præterierit, et tranſierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit ſpiritui prophetali hiſtoriæ ordinem ſequi; ſed præclara quæque perſtringere. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1121. Edit. Benedict.

(9) ἐβιω δε δυο και τριακοντα ἐτη, και τυ τριτυ μηνας επελαβεν οκτω, ὡς λεγει Αριστοβυλος. ἐβασιλευσε δε δωδεκα ετη, και τυς οκτω μηνας τυτυς. Vixit annos XXXII, menſes VIII, ut autor eſt Ariſtobulus. Regnavit annos XII, menſes VIII. Arrian. Lib. 7. Cap. 28. p. 309. Edit. Gronov.

(1) Plutarch.

But his kingdom was ſoon to be broken and divided; (ver. 4.) "And "when he ſhall ſtand up, his kingdom ſhall be broken, and ſhall be "divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his poſterity, "nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom ſhall "be pluckt up even for others beſides thoſe." Theſe particulars were in good meaſure ſuggeſted before, (VIII. 8, 22.) "He waxed very "great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and for "it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. Now "that being broken, whereas four ſtood up for it, four kingdoms ſhall "ſtand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Alexander died in Babylon, (9) having lived only thirty-two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In ſo ſhort a time did this ſon of glory riſe and ſet: and in the ſpace of about fifteen years afterwards his family and poſterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Caſſander. It was ſoon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, (1) was murdered out of jealouſy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth caſt upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who ſucceeded him in the throne by the name of Philip, (2) was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king ſix years and ſome months: and not long after (3) Olympias herſelf was ſlain in revenge by the ſoldiers of Caſſander. Alexander Ægus, the ſon of Alexander by Roxana, as ſoon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, (4) he and his mother were privately murdered in the caſtle of Amphipolis by order of Caſſander. In the ſecond year after this, (5) Hercules, the other ſon of Alexander by Barſine the widow of Memnon, was alſo with his mother privately murdered by Polyſperchon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Caſſander. Such was the miſerable

(1) Plutarch in fine Vit. Alex. p. 707. Edit. Paris 1624.

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 676. Edit. Steph. p. 660. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Juſtin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

(3) Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 698, 699. Edit. Steph. p. 694. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Juſtin. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. Pauſanias Bæot. ſive Lib. 9. p. 725. Edit. Kuhnii.

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 728. Edit. Steph. p. 739. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Juſtin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Pauſanias, ibid.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. p. 746. Edit. Steph. p. 767. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Juſtin. ibid. Pauſanias, ibid.

(6) —quoad

end of Alexander's family: and then the governors made themſelves kings each in his province, from which title they had abſtained, (6) as long as any juſt heir of Alexander was ſurviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom "broken and divided not to his poſterity," but "was pluckt "up even for others beſide thoſe:" and it was "divided towards the "four winds of heaven;" for four of his captains, as it hath been ſhown in former diſſertations, prevailed over the reſt, and Caſſander reigned in Greece and the *weſt*, Lyſimachus in Thrace and the *north*, Ptolemy in Egypt and the *ſouth*, and Seleucus in Syria and the *eaſt*.

But tho' the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria. Theſe two were by far the greateſt and moſt conſiderable: and theſe two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four; the (7) kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lyſimachus and annexed to Thrace; and (8) Lyſimachus again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. Theſe two likewiſe continued diſtinct kingdoms, after the others were ſwallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reaſon for inlarging upon theſe two particularly; (9) becauſe Judea lying between them was ſometimes in the poſſeſſion of the kings of Egypt, and ſometimes of the kings of Syria; and it is the purpoſe of holy ſcripture, to interweave only ſo much of foreign affairs, as hath ſome relation to the Jews: and it is in reſpect of their ſituation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the kings of the "ſouth" and the "north." "And the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtrong," (ver. 5.) "and one of his "princes," that is of Alexander's princes, "and he ſhall be ſtrong "above

(6) —quoad Alexandro juſtus heres fuit. Juſtin. ibid.

(7) Juſtin. Lib. 16. Cap. 3. Plutarch. in Pyrrho. p. 390. Edit. Paris. 1624. Pauſanias in Attic. ſive Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 24. Edit. Kuhnii.

(8) Juſtin. Lib. 17. Cap. 1 et 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 128. Edit. Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tollii. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium. Cap. 9. p. 714. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(9) Idcirco autem cætera regna dimittens, Macedoniæ videlicet et Aſiæ, tantum de Ægypti et Syriæ narrat regibus: quia in medio Judæa poſita, nunc ab illis, nunc ab iſtis regibus tenebatur. Et ſcripturæ ſanctæ propoſitum eſt, non externam abſque Judæis hiſtoriam texere; ſed eam quæ Iſraeli populo copulata eſt. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1122. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Either the ו in ויתוק is redundant, or the words הצפון מלך are wanting.

(2) Και εις των αρχοντων αυτε ενισχυσει επ' αυτον, Sept.

(3) —ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprum, Phœnicen, Cariam, aliaſque inſulas et regiones, ut hic ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus. Grot. The words

" above him." There is manifeſtly either ſome redundance, or ſome defect (1) in the Hebrew copy; which ſhould be rendered as it is (2) by the Seventy, " And the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtrong, and one " of his princes ſhall be ſtrong above him:" or perhaps may better be rendered thus, " And the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtrong, and one of " his princes; and the king of the north ſhall be ſtrong above him, " and have dominion; his dominion ſhall be a great dominion." The " king of the ſouth" was indeed very " ſtrong;" for (3) Ptolemy had annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many ilands, and cities, and regions to Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewiſe inlarged the bounds of his empire, as (4) Juſtin teſtifies, by the acquiſition of Cyrene, and was now become ſo great, that he was in a condition not ſo much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But ſtill the king of the north, or Seleucus Nicator, was " ſtrong above " him;" for having annexed, as we have ſeen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become maſter of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All hiſtorians agree in repreſenting him not only as the longeſt liver of Alexander's ſucceſſors, but likewiſe as (5) the conqueror of the conquerors. Appian in particular (6) enumerates the nations which he ſubdued, and the cities which he built, and affirms that after Alexander he poſſeſſed the largeſt part of Aſia; for all was ſubject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it: and (7) afterwards he denominates him expreſly, 'the greateſt king after Alexander.'

Seleucus Nicator, (8) having reigned ſeven months after the death of Lyſimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was baſely murdered; and to him ſucceeded in the throne of Syria his ſon Antiochus

words in Jerome are, *et multas inſulas urbeſque et regiones.*

(4) —terminos quoque imperii acquiſita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat, factuſque jam tantus erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipſe hoſtibus eſſet. Juſtin. Lib. 13. Cap. 6.

(5) —victoremque victorum extitiſſe——Juſtin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2.

(6) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 123. Edit. Stéph. p. 197. Edit. Tollii. ὡς ὡριται τωδε μαλιστα μεγα Αλεξανδρον της Ασιας το πλεον. απο γαρ Φρυγιας επι ποταμον Ινδον ανω, παντα Σελευκῳ κατηκεε· και τον Ινδον περασας, κ. τ. λ. quo excepto [Alexandro] nemo unquam plures terras in Aſia tenuit: nam a Phrygiæ terminis Indum uſque mediterranea Seleuco parebant omnia: et hoc quoque trajecto, &c. Vide etiam p. 201. Edit. Tollii.

(7) —βασιλεα των επι Αλεξανδρῳ μεγιστον—regem poſt Alexandrum maximum. p. 128. Edit. Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tollii.

(8) Quippe poſt menſes admodum ſeptem, &c. Juſtin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 351. Edit. Grævii. Appian. de Bell. Syr.

(9) Iſte

Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter ſucceeded his ſon Antiochus Theus. At the ſame time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the firſt Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria. There were ſo particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the ſecond king of Egypt, and Antiochus Theus the third king of Syria. "And in the end of years "they ſhall join themſelves together; for the king's daughter of the "ſouth ſhall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: "but ſhe ſhall not retain the power of the arm, neither ſhall he ſtand, "nor his arm; but ſhe ſhall be given up, and they that brought her, "and he that begat her, and he that ſtrengthened her in theſe times." (ver. 6.) "And in the end of years," that is after ſeveral years; for theſe wars laſted long, as (9) Jerome reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought againſt Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the eaſt. "They ſhall join themſelves together," or "ſhall aſſociate themſelves:" At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that (1) Antiochus Theus ſhould put away his former wife Laodice and her two ſons, and ſhould marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. "For the king's daughter of the ſouth "ſhall come to the king of the north to make rights" or "an agree-"ment:" and accordingly (2) Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immenſe treaſure, ſo that he received the appellation of *the dowry-giver*. But ſhe ſhall "not retain the power of the arm," that is her intereſt and power with Antiochus; for (3) after ſome time, in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. "Neither "ſhall he ſtand, nor his arm," or "his ſeed;" for (4) Laodice fearing the

(9) Iſte adverſus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui ſecundus imperabat Ægyptiis, geſſit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Col. 1123. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus poſt multos annos moleſtum finire certamen, filiam ſuam nomine Berenicen, Antiocho uxorem dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Laodice, habebat duos filios, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(2) Deduxitque eam uſque Peluſium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: Unde φερνοφορος, id eſt *dotalis* appellatus eſt. Hieron. ibid.

(3) —poſt multum temporis amore ſuperatus, Laodicen cum liberis ſuis reduxit in regiam. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum ne Berenicen reduceret, virum per miniſtros veneno interfecit, &c. Hieron. ibid. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii. Valer. Maximus, Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Plin. Lib. 7. Sect. 10. Edit. Harduini.

(5) Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50.

(6) Hieron.

the fickle temper of her huſband, leſt he ſhould recall Berenice, cauſed him to be poiſoned; and neither did his ſeed by Berenice ſucceed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters ſo, as to fix her elder ſon Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his anceſtors. "But ſhe ſhall be given up;" for Laodice not content with poiſoning her huſband, (5) cauſed alſo Berenice to be murdered. "And they "that brought her;" for her (6) Egyptian women and attendents, endevoring to defend her, were many of them ſlain with her. "And "he that begat her," or rather as it is in the margin, "he whom ſhe "brought forth;" for (7) the ſon was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. "And he that ſtrengthened her in theſe times;" her huſband Antiochus, as (8) Jerome conceives; or thoſe who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was ſo very fond of her, (9) that he took care continually to ſend her freſh ſupplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

But ſuch wickedneſs ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed and unrevenged. "But out of a branch of her root ſhall one ſtand up in his eſtate," or rather as it is tranſlated (1) in the Vulgar Latin, "out of a branch of "her root ſhall ſtand up a plant; and he ſhall come with an army, "and ſhall enter into the fortreſs" or the fenced cities "of the king of "the north, and ſhall deal," ſhall act "againſt them, and ſhall prevail: "And ſhall alſo carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their "princes," or rather (2) "their gods with their molten images, and "with their precious veſſels of ſilver and of gold, and he ſhall con-"tinue more years than the king of the north," or more litterally "he ſhall continue ſome years after the king of the north. So the king "of the ſouth ſhall come into his kingdom, and ſhall return into his own

(6) Hieron. ibid. αἱ δε αμφ' αὐτην γυναικες ὑπιρασπιζεσαι προσαπεθανεν αἱ πλειονες. Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defenſionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt. Polyænus ibid. p. 801. Edit. Maaſvicii.

(7) Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæn. ibid. Juſtin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(8) Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc eſt, per quem poterat prævalere, veneno uxoris occiſus eſt. Hieron. ibid.

(9) Και ὁ της Αιγυπȣ δε βασιλευς δευτερος, ὁ φιλαδελφος επικλην, εκδȣς την αυτȣ θυγατερα Βερενικην Αντιοχῳ τῳ Συριας βασιλει, εν επιμελειᾳ ειχε πεμπειν αυτῃ το απο τȣ Νειλȣ ὑδωρ, ἱνα μονȣ τȣτȣ τȣ ποταμȣ ἡ παις πινῃ, ὡς ἱστορει Πολυβιος. Ptolemæus ſecundus Ægypti rex, cognomine Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriæ nuptum dediſſet, mittendam ad ipſam Nili aquam ſedulo curavit, ut eam ſolam gnata biberet, quod Polybius ſcripſit. Athenæus Lib. 2. p. 45. Edit. Caſaubon.

(1) Et ſtabit de germine radicum ejus plantatio. Vulg.

(2) Deos eorum et ſculptilia. Vulg. τȣς θεȣς αυτων μετα των χωνευτων αυτων. Sept. deos eorum cum fuſilibus eorum. Arab.

" own land," (ver. 7, 8, 9.) This " branch," which ſprung " out of " the ſame root" with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no ſooner ſucceeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom, than (3) " he came with a great army, and entered into the " provinces of the king of the north," that is of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria: and he " acted againſt " them," and " prevailed" ſo far, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond Euphrates, and almoſt all Aſia. And when he had heard that a ſedition was raiſed in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and took forty thouſand talents of *ſilver*, and *precious veſſels*, and *images of the gods*, two thouſand and five hundred: among which were alſo thoſe, which Cambyſes, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Perſia. And for thus reſtoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians, who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient hiſtorians: but there are authors ſtill extant, who confirm ſeveral of the ſame particulars. Appian informs us, that (4) Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the ſon of Philadelphus to revenge theſe murders invaded Syria, ſlew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that (5) Ptolemy ſirnamed Euergetes, being greatly incenſed at the cruel treatment of his ſiſter Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for ſome years afterwards by the garriſons of the kings of Egypt. Thus did he " enter into the fortreſs " of the king of the north." Polyænus affirms, that (6) Ptolemy made himſelf maſter of all the country from mount Taurus as far as to India

(3) —de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, eo quod eſſet germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingreſſus eſt provinciam regis aquilonis, id eſt Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abuſus eſt eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, ſuperioreſque partes trans Euphraten, et propemodum univerſam Aſiam. Quumque audiſſet in Ægypto ſeditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vaſa pretioſa ſimulacraque deorum, duo millia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyſes capta Ægypto, in Perſas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorum idololatriæ dedita, quia poſt multos annos deos eorum retulerat, *Euergeten* eum appellavit. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Και αυτον εκλεινε Λαοδικη, και επ' εκεινον Βερενικην τε και το Βερενικης βρεφος. και Πτολεμαιος ὁ τε Φιλαδελφε ταυτα τινυμενος, Λαοδικην τε εκτεινε, και ες Συριαν ενεβαλε, και ες Βαβυλωνα ελασε. Laodice ipſum interfecit, et mox Berenicem cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphi filius, ut ulciſceretur, de Laodice ſumpſit ſupplicium, et ingreſſus Syriam, Babylonem uſque pervenit. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(5) Συνεβαινε

India without war or battle: but he aſcribes it by miſtake to the father inſtead of the ſon. Juſtin aſſerts, that (7) if Ptolemy had not been recalled by a domeſtic ſedition into Egypt, he would have poſſeſſed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. "So the king of the ſouth came into the "kingdom of the north, and then returned into his own land." He likewiſe "continued more years than the king of the north;" for Seleucus Callinicus (8) died in exile of a fall from his horſe, and Ptolemy Euergetes (9) ſurvived him about four or five years.

But his ſons, that is the ſons of the king of the north, ſhould endevor to vindicate and avenge the cauſe of their father and their country. "But his ſons ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of "great forces; and one ſhall certainly come, and overflow, and paſs "through; then ſhall he return, and be ſtirred up even to his fortreſs." (ver. 10.) The "ſons" of Seleucus Callinicus were (1) Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, ſucceeded him in the throne, and to diſtinguiſh him from others of the ſame name, was denominated *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*. Where by the way one cannot help obſerving the ridiculous vanity of princes in aſſuming or receiving ſuch pompous appellations without deſerving them. Seleucus the father was ſirnamed *Callinicus* or *the famous conqueror*, though he was ſo far from gaining any conſiderable victory, that he was ſhamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the weſt, and was made a priſoner by the Parthians in the eaſt. In like manner Seleucus the ſon was called *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*, though he was ſo far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all reſpects in mind and body and eſtate. Great and ſplendid titles, when impro-

(5) Συνεβαινε γαρ Σελευκειαν ετι τοτε κατεχεσθαι φρουραις υπο των εξ Αιγυπτου βασιλεων, εκ των κατα τον Ευεργετην επικληθεντα Πτολεμαιον καιρων, εν οις εκεινος δια τα Βερενικης συμπτωματα, και την υπερ εκεινης οργην, στρατευσας εις τας κατα Συριαν τοπους, εγκρατης εγενετο ταυτης της πολεως. Adhuc illa tempeſtate regum Ægypti præſidiis tenebatur Seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergeta, propter caſum Berenicæ Seleuco regi iratus bello Syriæ illato, ea urbe eſt potitus. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 402, 403. Edit. Caſaubon.

(6) απο του Ταυρου μεχρι της Ινδικης χωρις πολεμου και μαχης εκρατησε. a Tauro uſque ad Indiam abſque bello ac pugna ſuperavit. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50. p. 802. Edit. Maaſvicii.

(7) Qui niſi in Ægyptum domeſtica ſeditione revocatus eſſet, totum regnum Seleuci occupaſſet. Juſtin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(8) Juſtin. Lib. 27. Cap. 3.

(9) See Uſher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

(1) Poſt fugam et mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus eſt Magnus, &c. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Polyb. Lib. 4. p. 315. Edit. Caſaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(2) Σελευκω

perly applied, are rather a ſatir and inſult upon the perſons, than any honor or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed " ſtirred up, " and aſſembled a multitude of great forces," in order to recover his father's dominions: but (2) being deſtitute of money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poiſoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his deceaſe his brother Antiochus Magnus was proclaimed king, who was more deſerving of the title of *great*, than Seleucus was of that of *the thunderer*. The prophet's expreſſion is very (3) remarkable, that " his ſons " ſhould be ſtirred up, and aſſemble a multitude of great forces;" but then the number is changed, and only " one ſhould certainly come, " and overflow, and paſs through." Accordingly (4) Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making himſelf maſter of ſome places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then (5) after a truce, wherein both ſides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus *returned*, and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itſelf.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was (6) advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus ſucceeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was (7) a moſt luxurious and vicious prince, but was rouſed at length by the near approach of danger. " And the king of " the ſouth ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth " and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he " ſhall ſet forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into " his

(2) Σελευκῳ μεν δη, ασθενει τε οντι και πενομενῳ, και δυσπειθη τον στρατον εχοντι, επεβουλευσαν οι φιλοι δια φαρμακων, και ες ετη δυο μονα εβασιλευσεν. Seleucus nec valetudine firmus nec opibus, exercitum in officio continere non potuit, veneno ſublatus purpuratorum perfidia, poſt exactum regni annum alterum. Appian. ibid. Quumque Seleucus major frater, tertio anno imperii eſſet occiſus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c. Hieron. ibid. Polyb. ibid.

(3) Et propterea nunc infert, quod duo quidem filii provocati ſunt, et congregaverunt multitudinem exercituum plurimorum: ſed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 403, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(5) Polyb. ibid. p. 411, &c. Quumque pugnaſſet adverſum duces ejus, imò proditione Theodoti obtinuiſſet Syriam, quæ per ſucceſſionem jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contemta luxuria Philopatoris—ut ultrò Ægyptiis bellum conaretur inferre. Hieron. ibid. Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter ſe regnorum odio ſtimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus [Ptolemæi] oppreſſit, ipſamque Ægyptum aggreditur. Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(6) Ptolemæus in Can. Euſebius in Chron. Uſher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, &c. Edit. Caſaubon. Strabo.

" his hand." (ver. 11.) Ptolemy Philopator was, no doubt, " moved " with choler" for the loſſes which he had ſuſtained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he " came forth ;" he (8) marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppoſe the enemy, and incamped not far from Raphia, which is the neareſt town to Egypt from Rhonocorura. And there he " fought with him, even with the king of the north ;" for thither likewiſe (9) came Antiochus with his army, and a memorable battle was fought by the two kings. " And he," the king of the north, " ſet forth a great multitude ;" Polybius hath (1) recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was compoſed, and all together it amounted to ſixty-two thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and 102 elephants. But yet " the multitude was given into his hand," that is into the hand of the king of the ſouth ; for (2) Ptolemy obtained a complete victory: and of Antiochus's army there were ſlain not much fewer than ten thouſand foot, more than three hundred horſe, and above four thouſand men were taken priſoners ; whereas of Ptolemy's there were killed only fifteen hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe. Upon this defeat (3) Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who ſhould be moſt forward to ſubmit to the conqueror ; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his ſhattered army to Antioch, and from thence ſent embaſſadors to ſollicit a peace.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory, than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. " And " when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up, " and he ſhall caſt down many ten thouſands ; but he ſhall not be " ſtrengthened by it." (ver. 12.) If Ptolemy had purſued the blow that

Strabo, Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1146. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Plutarch in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(8) Polyb. ibid. p. 421, 422. Hieron. ibid.

(9) Polyb. ibid. p. 423, &c. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 759. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1102. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Hieron. ibid.

(1) Polyb. ibid. 421, 422. Και της μεν Αντιοχου δυναμεως το πληθος ην, πεζοι μεν εξακισμυριοι και δισχιλιοι, συν δε τετοις ιππεις εξακισχιλιοι, θηρια δε δυσι πλειω των εκατον. Summa totius exercitus Antiochi ; peditum duo et ſeptuaginta [ſexaginta] millia ; equitum ſex ; elephanti duo ſupra centum.

(2) ησαν δε οι τελειτηκοτες των παρ' Αντιοχου, πεζοι μεν ου πολυ λειποντες μυριων, ιππεις δε πλειους τριακοσιων· ζωγρια δε εαλωσαν υπερ τους τετρακισχιλιους.—των δε παρα Πτολεμαιου, πεζοι μεν εις χιλιους και πεντακοσιους ετελευτησαν, ιππεις δε εις επτακοσιους. Deſideravit autem e ſuis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus peditum : equites trecentos et eo plures : capti ſunt vivi ſupra quatuor millia.—E Ptolemaicis occiſi ſunt pedites mille et quingenti : equites ſeptingenti. Polyb. ibid. p. 427. Inito ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphiæ, quod in foribus Ægypti eſt, omnem Antiochus amiſit exercitum ; &c. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Polyb. ibid. p. 427, 428. Quumque ceſſiſſet Syria, ad extremum fœdere, et quibuſdam conditionibus pugna finita eſt. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Juſtin.

he had given, it is (4) reaſonably preſumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom: but "his heart was lifted up" by his ſucceſs; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his luſts; and after a few menaces and complaints he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and paſſions. He had before (5) murdered his father, andhis mother, and his brother; and now (6) he killed his wife, who was alſo his ſiſter; and (7) gave himſelf up entirely to the management of Agathoclea his harlot, and her brother Agathocles who was his catamite, and their mother Oenanthe who was his bawd. And (8) ſo forgetful of all the greatneſs of his name and majeſty, he conſumed his days in feaſting, and his nights in lewdneſs; and became not only the ſpectator, but the maſter and leader of all wickedneſs. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices? he was ſo far from being "ſtrengthened" by it, that even (9) his own ſubjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and more inglorious life, rebelled againſt him. But the prophet in this paſſage alluded more particularly to the caſe of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy (1) viſited the cities of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, which had ſubmitted to him; and among others in his progreſs he came to Jeruſalem. He there offered ſacrifices, and was deſirous of entring into the holy of holies, contrary to the cuſtom and religion of the place, being (as the (2) writer of the third book of Maccabees ſays) greatly lifted up by pride and confidence. His curioſity was reſtrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy diſpleaſure againſt the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel perſecution upon the Jewiſh inhabitants of that city, who had reſided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges

(4) Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.——ſpoliaſſetque regno Antiochum, ſi fortunam virtute juviſſet. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 428. Edit. Caſaubon.

(5) Juſtin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, 382.

(6) Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719.

(7) Plutarch in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Polyb. Lib. 15. paſſim. Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1 et 2.

(8) Atque ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majeſtatis oblitus, noctes in ſtupris, dies in conviviis conſumit—nec jam ſpectator rex, ſed magiſter nequitiæ. Juſtin. ibid. Cap. 1.

(9) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 444.

(1) For theſe particulars the 3d book of Maccabees muſt be conſulted.

(2) ὑβρει και θρασει μεγαλως επηρμενον. 3 Macc. II. 21.

(3) Ιουδαιοι ληφθεντες, τεσσαρακοντα χιλιαδας ὁπλιτων αποβαλομενοι. Euſebii Chron. p. 185. Victi Judæi: et

LX

privileges of the moſt favored citizens. " And he caſt down many " ten thouſands;" for it appears from (3) Euſebius, that about this time forty thouſand Jews were ſlain, or ſixty thouſand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be " ſtrengthened" by the loſs of ſuch a number of uſeful ſubjects. The loſs of ſo many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the male-adminiſtration of the ſtate, muſt certainly very much weaken, and almoſt totally ruin the kingdom.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for ſome years, and then the king of the north ſhould attempt another invaſion. " For the king of the north ſhall return, and ſhall ſet up a " multitude greater than the former, and ſhall certainly come, after " certain years," (at the end of times, that is years) " with a great " army, and with much riches." (ver. 13.) The following events, you ſee, were not to take place till " after certain years;" and the peace continued between the two crowns (4) about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator (5) died of intemperance and debauchery, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too, (6) having taken and ſlain the rebel Achæus, and having (7) alſo reduced and ſettled the eaſtern parts in their obedience, was at leiſure to proſecute any enterpriſe, and could not let ſlip ſo favorable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in his eaſtern expedition; ſo that he was enabled to " ſet forth a greater multitude than the " former," and he doubted not to have an eaſy victory over an infant king. Polybius expreſly informs us, that (8) from the king of Bactria and from the king of India he received ſo many elephants as made up his number 150, beſides proviſions and riches. Jerome out of ancient authors affirms, that (9) he gathered together an incredible army out of

LX millia armatorum ex numero eorum cæſa. Interprete Hieron. p. 143.

(4) See Uſher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(5) Ptolem. in Canone, Euſebius, Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2. Hieron, &c.

(6) Polyb. Lib. 8. p. 522, &c. Edit. Caſaubon.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 10 et 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(8) Και λαβων ελεφαντας, ὡστε γενεσθαι τας ἀπαντας εις ἑκατον και τριακοντα. κ. τ λ. ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta beſtias haberet, &c. Polyb. Lib. 11. p. 652.

(9) —incredibilem de ſuperioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemæo Philopatore mortuo adverſum filium ejus, qui tunc quatuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemæus Επιφανης, rupto fœdere movit exercitum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124.

(1) Mortuo

of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league he marched with this army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, againſt his ſon, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illuſtrious. Juſtin alſo ſays, that (1) Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his ſon, who being left heir to the kingdom was a prey even to his domeſtics, Antiochus king of Syria reſolved to take poſſeſſion of Egypt; as if the thing were as eaſily executed, as reſolved.

But Antiochus was not the only one who roſe up againſt young Ptolemy. Others alſo confederated with him. "And in thoſe times "there ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the ſouth: alſo the "robbers of thy people ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion, "but they ſhall fall." (ver. 14.) Agathocles (2) was in poſſeſſion of the young king's perſon; and he was ſo diſſolute and proud in the exerciſe of his power, that the provinces which before were ſubject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt itſelf was diſturbed by ſeditions; and the people of Alexandria roſe up in a body againſt Agathocles, and cauſed him, and his ſiſter, and mother, and their aſſociates, to be put to death. Philip too (3) the king of Macedon enter'd into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each to take the parts which lay neareſt and moſt convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as (4) Jerome concludes, of the prophet's ſaying, that many ſhall riſe up together againſt the king of the ſouth. "Alſo the robbers "of thy people." It is litterally (5) "the ſons of the breakers," the ſons of the revolters, the factious and refractory ones, "of thy people;" for the Jews were at that time *broken* into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria; but the majority were for *breaking away* from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the Vulgate it

(1) Mortuo Ptolemæo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptâque parvuli filii ejus ætate, qui in ſpem regni relictus prædæ etiam domeſticis erat, Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum ſtatuit. Juſtin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 712, &c. Edit. Caſaubon. Tantæ enim diſſolutionis et ſuperbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut ſubditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent; ipſaque Ægyptus ſeditionibus vexaretur. Hieron. ibid. Juſtin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2.

(3) Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adverſum Agathoclen et Ptolemæum Epiphanem dimicarent, ſub hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno ſuo ſinguli de regno Ptolemæi jungerent. Hieron. ibid. Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Lib. 15. p. 707. Juſtin. ibid.

(4) Et hoc eſt quod nunc dicit multos conſurgere adverſus regem Auſtri, Ptolemæum ſcilicet Epiphanem, qui erat ætate puerili. Hieron. ibid.

(5) ובני פריצי עמך. Vide 1 Sam. XXV. 10.

(6) Filii quoque prævaricatorum populi tui. Vulg. οἱ υἱοι των λοιμων τȣ λαȣ σȣ. Sept.

(7) —ut

it is (6) tranſlated, " the ſons alſo of the prevaricators of thy people;" in the Septuagint, " the ſons of the peſtilent ones of thy people." What ſhall they do? " ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion;" ſhall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby ſhall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accompliſhment of this prophecy concerning the calamities, which ſhould be brought upon the Jewiſh nation by the ſucceeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms, that (7) the provinces which before were ſubject to Egypt rebelled: and (8) heathen authors intimate, that Antiochus took poſſeſſion of the cities of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine without any oppoſition, at leaſt they do not mention any. " But they ſhall fall;" for (9) Scopas came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and Antiochus being engaged in other parts, ſoon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine to their former obedience. He ſubdued the Jews in the winter ſeaſon, placed a garriſon in the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and returned with great ſpoils to Alexandria; for he was (1) noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expreſſion of Joſephus is remarkable, that (2) the Jews ſubmitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they ſubmitted willingly.

It was in the abſence of Antiochus, that theſe advantages were obtained by the arms of Egypt, but his preſence ſoon turned the ſcale, and changed the whole face of affairs. " So the king of the north ſhall " come, and caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities," or " the city of munitions, and the arms of the ſouth ſhall not withſtand, " neither his choſen people, neither ſhall there be any ſtrength to with- " ſtand. But he that cometh againſt him, ſhall do according to his " own will, and none ſhall ſtand before him: and he ſhall ſtand in the " glorious land, which by his hand ſhall be conſumed." (ver. 15 and 16.) Antiochus (3) being willing to recover Judea, and the cities of Cœle-

(7) —ut ſubditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(9) Hieron. Col. 1125. Polyb. apud Joſeph. et Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 520, 521. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) Polyb. 17. p. 773.

(2) πολεμουμενον γαρ αυτῳ προσεθηκο, oppugnata enim, in ejus partes conceſſit. ἑκουσιως αυτῳ προσεθηκο Ιουδαιοι. Judæi ultro deditionem fecerunt. Joſeph. ibid.

(3) Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syriæ urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita eſt, inito certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obſedit clauſum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum

Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, which Scopas had taken, came again into thoſe parts. Scopas was ſent again to oppoſe him, and Antiochus fought with him near the ſources of the river Jordan, deſtroyed a great part of his army, and purſued him to Sidon, where he ſhut him up with ten thouſand men, and cloſely beſieged him. Three famous generals were ſent from Egypt to raiſe the ſiege; but they could not ſucceed, and at length Scopas was forced by famin to ſurrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were ſent away ſtript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his "caſting up a mount, and taking the city of munitions;" for Sidon was an exceeding ſtrong city in its ſituation and fortifications. But if we take the phraſe more generally, as our tranſlators underſtand it, Antiochus, after the ſucceſs of this battle and of this ſiege, reduced other countries and took other "fenced cities," which are mentioned by (4) Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians. "The arms of the ſouth" could "not withſtand" him, "neither his choſen people," neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choiceſt troops who were ſent againſt him: but he "did according to his own will, and none" was able "to ſtand before "him;" for he ſoon (5) rendered himſelf maſter of all Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine. Among others (6) the Jews alſo readily ſubmitted to him, went forth in ſolemn proceſſion to meet him, received him ſplendidly into their city, ſupplied him with plenty of proviſions for all his army and elephants, and aſſiſted him in beſieging the garriſon, which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he "ſtood in the glorious land," and his power was eſtabliſhed in Judea. "Which by his hand ſhall be con-"ſumed:" So this paſſage is generally underſtood and tranſlated, and commentators hereupon obſerve that (7) Joſephus relates, that, 'Antiochus

dum miſit Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum, et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obſidionem ſolvere non potuit: donec fame ſuperatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum ſociis dimiſſus eſt. Hieron. ibid. Joſeph. ibid. Valeſii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 77, &c.

(4) Polyb. apud Joſeph. ibid. Hieron. ibid.

(5) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19. Juſtin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893.

(6) Joſephus. ibid.

(7) Τες γαρ Ιεδαιες, επ' Αντιοχε τε Μεγαλε βασιλευοντος της Ασιας, ειχεν αυτες τε πολλα ταλαιπωρησαι της γης αυτων κακωσεως, και τες την Κοιλην Συριαν νεμομενες. πολεμεντος γαρ αυτε προς τον Ευπατορα Πτολεμαιον, και προς τον υιον αυτε Πτολεμαιον, τον κληθεντα Επιφανη, κακοπαθειν συνεβαινεν αυτοις και νικωντος, και παιοντος ταυτα πασχειν. ως δε απελειπον χειμαζομενης νεως, και πονεμενης εκαθεροθεν υπο τε κλυδωνος, μικρε της ευπραγιας της Αντιοχε, και της επι θατερον αυτε τροπης των πραγματων κειμενοι. Regnante in Aſia Antiocho Magno, accidit

'tiochus the great reigning in Aſia, the Jews, their country being 'waſted, ſuffered many things, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-'Syria. For Antiochus warring againſt Ptolemy Philopator, and 'againſt his ſon Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was their fate to ſuffer, whe-'ther he was conqueror, or was beaten, ſo that they were like a ſhip 'toſt in a tempeſt, and lying between both were ſure to ſuffer, which 'ever ſide prevailed.' But then they could not be ſaid to be "con-"ſumed by the hand of Antiochus" particularly; they were conſumed as much or more by Scopas: and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of hiſtory. It may be tranſlated, "Which ſhall "be perfected," or proſper, or floriſh, "in his hand." The original will well admit of this ſenſe, and the event confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him, (8) gave order that their city ſhould be repaired, and the diſperſed Jews ſhould return and inhabit it; that they ſhould be ſupplied with cattle and other proviſions for ſacrifices; that they ſhould be furniſhed with timber and other materials for finiſhing and adorning the temple; that they ſhould live all according to the laws of their country; that the prieſts and elders, the ſcribes and levites ſhould be exempted from the capitation and other taxes; that thoſe who then inhabited the city, or ſhould return to it within a limited time, ſhould be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute ſhould be remitted to them for ever after; and alſo that as many as had been taken and forced into ſervitude, ſhould be releaſed, and their ſubſtance and goods be reſtored to them. Where Grotius remarks, (9) that what is ſaid about "finiſhing" and "completing" the temple, anſwers exactly to the word "perfected" or "conſummated" in the Hebrew. Thus alſo (1) the Seventy tranſlate it, and thus (2) Theodoret explains it; "And

cidit ut tum Judæi terra eorum vaſtata, tum qui Cœlen-Syriam incolebant, multa adverſa paterentur. Eo enim belligerante adverſus Ptolemæum Eupatorem [Alibi conſtanter *Philopatorem* eum vocat] et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit illis, ut ſi is ſuperior fuerit, affligerentur, ſi inferior, plane eadem paterentur: adeo ut haud diſſimiles eſſent navi in tempeſtate, fluctibus utrinque vexatæ, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res proſpere cederent et in contrarias partes mutarentur. Joſeph. ibid.

(8) Vide Epiſt. Antiochi apud Joſeph. ibid.

(9) Ubi απαρτισθηναι eſt quod hic כלה quod alibi per συντελειν (conſummare) alibi per τελειων (finire) aut πληρων (implere) vertunt LXX. Grot. in locum:

(1) Και τελεσθησεται εν τη χειρι αυτου. Sept.

(2) Και συντελεσθησεται εν τη χειρι αυτου.] Τουτεστιν ευοδωθησεται· ἑτω γαρ ἡμας και ὁ Ιωσηππος δια της ιστοριας εδιδαξεν ὁτι αυτομαλοι τον Αντιοχον οι Ιουδαιοι δεξαμενοι σφοδρα ὑπ' αυτου τιμηθησαν. Hoc eſt, proſpere ei ſuccedet. Sic enim nos item Joſephus docuit in hiſtoria. Judæos Antiocho ultro

" it ſhall be perfected by his hand," ' that is it ſhall proſper; for ſo ' likewiſe Joſephus hath taught us in his hiſtory, that the Jews of ' their own accord having received Antiochus, were greatly honored ' by him.'

Antiochus the great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aſpired the more to conqueſt and dominion. " He ſhall alſo ſet " his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom, and up- " right ones with him: thus ſhall he do, and he ſhall give him the " daughter of women corrupting her," or " to corrupt her: but ſhe " ſhall not ſtand on his ſide, neither be for him." (ver. 17.) " He ſhall " alſo ſet his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom," or rather " He ſhall alſo ſet his face to enter by force the whole king- " dom:" and Antiochus not contented with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming ſchemes (3) to ſeiſe upon the whole kingdom. " And upright ones with him; thus ſhall he do:" If this tranſlation be right, " the upright ones" here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are ſo denominated to diſtinguiſh them from the other idolatrous ſoldiers. But the (4) Seventy and the Vulgar Latin exhibit a much more probable tranſlation, that " he ſhall ſet things right," or " make agreement with him," as the phraſe is uſed before. (ver. 6.) Antiochus would have ſeiſed upon the kingdom of Egypt by force: but as he was (5) meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by ſtratagem, and to carry on his deſigns by treaty rather than by arms. For this purpoſe " he " ſhall give him the daughter of women," his daughter ſo called as being one of the moſt eminent and beautiful of women: and accordingly (6) Antiochus propoſed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy in the ſeventh year of his reign,

ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuiſſe. Theod. in locum. Vol. 2. p. 681. Edit. Sirmondi.

(3) Καὶα σπευδην ὁ Ανλιοχος απηει, ὡς Αιγυπλον ερημον αρχοντος αρπασομενος. properavit in Ægyptum, ut occuparet orbatam principe. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 88. Edit. Steph. p. 144. Edit. Tollii. Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum ſtatuit. Juſtin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(4) Και ευθεια παντα μετ' αυτυ ποιησει. Sept. Et recta faciet cum eo. Vulg.

(5) Appian. ibid. p. 145.

(6) ——filiam ſuam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, ſeptimo anno regni adoleſcentis, deſpondit Ptolemæo, et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cœle-Syria et Judæa. Hieron. in locum Col. 1126. Appian. ibid. Liv. Lib. 35. C. p. 13. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 523. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Ptolemæus

reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himſelf to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he tranſacted with a fraudulent intention, "to corrupt her," and induce her to betray her huſband's intereſts to her father. But his deſigns did not take effect; "ſhe ſhall not ſtand on his part, neither be for him." Ptolemy and his generals (7) were aware of his artifices, and therefore ſtood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herſelf affected more the cauſe of her huſband than of her father; inſomuch that (8) ſhe joined with her huſband in an embaſſy to the Romans to congratulate them upon the victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to proſecute the war in Aſia, aſſuring them at the ſame time that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the ſenate.

Antiochus having, as he thought, ſecured all things behind him, engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans. "After this ſhall he turn "his face unto the iles, and ſhall take many: but a prince for his own "behalf ſhall cauſe the reproach offered by him, to ceaſe; without "his own reproach he ſhall cauſe it to turn upon him." (ver. 18.) Antiochus (9) fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ſhips of war, and two hundred other leſſer veſſels. With this fleet "he turned his "face unto the iles" of the Mediterranean; ſubdued moſt of the maritim places on the coaſts of Aſia, Thrace, and Greece; and "took" Samos, Eubœa, and "many" other ilands. This was a great indignity and "re-"proach offered" to the Romans, (1) when their confederates were thus oppreſſed, and the cities, which they had lately reſtored to liberty, were inſlaved. "But a prince," or rather "a leader, a general," meaning the Roman generals, repelled the injury, and "cauſed his reproach to

(7) Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus ſentientes dolum, cautius ſe egerunt, et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentis fovit. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius conſul Antiochum regem Græcia expuliſſet, venerunt: adhortanteſque ut in Aſiam exercitum traduceret—— reges Ægypti ad ea, quæ cenſuiſſet ſenatus, paratos fore. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 3.

(9) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19, 20, 38, &c. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 86, 89, 93, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 142, 145, 151, &c. Edit. Tollii. Hieron. ibid. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illuſt. Cap. 54. ſtatimque Græciam inſulaſque ejus occupavit.

(1) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 87. Edit. Steph. p. 143. Edit. Tollii. Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 39. Lib. 34. Cap. 58. Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 769. Edit. Caſaubon.

(2) Liv.

" ceaſe." Acilius the conſul (2) fought with Antiochus at the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and expelled him out of Greece: Livius and Æmilius beat his fleets at ſea: and Scipio finally obtained a deciſive victory over him in Aſia near the city Magneſia at the foot of mount Sipylus. Antiochus loſt fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe in that day's engagement; fourteen hundred were taken priſoners, and he himſelf eſcaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he (3) was neceſſitated to ſue for peace, and was obliged to ſubmit to very diſhonorable conditions, not to ſet foot in Europe, and to quit all Aſia on this ſide of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c. and to give twenty hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles, one of whom was his younger ſon Antiochus, afterwards called Epiphanes. By theſe means (4) he and his ſucceſſors became tributary to the Romans: ſo truly and effectually did they not only " cauſe the reproach offered by " him to ceaſe," but greatly to their honor " cauſed it to turn upon " him."

Antiochus did not long ſurvive this diſgrace; and the latter end of his life and reign was as mean, as the former part had been glorious. " Then ſhall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he " ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not be found." (ver. 19.) Antiochus after the battle (5) fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apaméa, and the next day he came into Syria, to Antioch " the fort of his own " land." It was from thence that he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; and (6) within a few days after peace was granted, he ſent part of the money demanded, and the hoſtages to the Roman conſul at Epheſus. He is (7) reported indeed to have borne his loſſes with great equanimity and temper, and ſaid that he was much obliged to the Romans for eaſing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pre-

tend,

(2) Liv. Lib. 36 et 37. Appian. de Bell. Syr. Florus Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Juſtin. Lib. 31. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

(3) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 816, 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 111, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 178, &c. Edit. Tollii. Juſtin. ibid.

(4) 1 Macc. VIII. 7.

(5) Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 44. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 110. Edit. Steph. p. 177. Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45.

(7) Cicero pro Deiotaro. Cap. 13. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(8) Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſii. p. 292 et 298. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 744. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1080. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus eſſet, ſeu inopia pecuniæ compulſus, ſeu avaritia ſollicitatus, qua ſperabat

ſe,

tend, he lived in diſtreſs and poverty for a great king, being under the greateſt difficulties how to raiſe the money which he had ſtipulated to pay to the Romans: and his neceſſity or his avarice prompted him at laſt to commit ſacrilege. He (8) marched into the eaſtern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute, and amaſs what treaſure he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymaïs, he was aſſaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himſelf and all his attendents were ſlain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Juſtin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumſtances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwiſe, and affirms (9) that he was ſlain by ſome of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet: but his account deſerves not ſo much credit as the concurrent teſtimony of earlier hiſtorians. However it was, his death was inglorious, he "ſtumbled and fell, and was no more found."

His ſucceſſor was far from retrieving the ſplendor and glory of the nation. "Then ſhall ſtand up in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes in the "glory of the kingdom;" or rather according to the original, and as we read in the margin, "one that cauſeth an exactor to paſs over the "glory of the kingdom: but within few days he ſhall be deſtroyed, "neither in anger, nor in battle." (ver. 20.) Seleucus Philopator ſucceeded his father Antiochus the great in the throne of Syria: but as (1) Jerome affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and periſhed inglorioufly without fighting any battles. As Appian alſo teſtifies, he reigned (2) both idly and weakly, by reaſon of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and ſhake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He (3) raiſed an army with intent to march over mount Taurus to the aſſiſtance

ſe, ſub ſpecie tributariæ neceſſitatis, excuſatius ſacrilegia commiſſurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymæi Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concurſu inſularium, cum omni militia interficitur. Juſtin. Lib. 32. Cap. 2. Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare juſſus eſt; et inde fugit ad Apamiam, ac Suſam, et ultimas regni ſui penetravit urbes. Quumque adverſum Elymæos pugnaret, cum omni eſt deletus exercitu. Hieron. ibid.

(6) A ſodalibus, quos temulentus in convivio pulſaverat, occiſus eſt. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illuſtr. Cap. 54.

(1) Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ, et patris geſſit imperio; et abſque ullis prælliis inglorius periit. Hieron. ibid.

(2) —απραγτως αμα και ασθενως, δια την τυ πατρος συμφοραν otioſus nec admodum potens, propter cladem quam pater acceperat. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii.

(3) Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſii. p. 302. Uſher's Annals. A. M. 3823. A. C. 181. p. 403.

(4) 2 Macc.

ance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds preſcribed to him; and almoſt as ſoon as he had raiſed, he diſbanded his army. The tribute of a thouſand talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and he was little more than "a raiſer of taxes" all his days. He was tempted even to commit ſacrilege; for (4) being informed of the money that was depoſited in the temple of Jeruſalem, he ſent his treaſurer Heliodorus to ſeiſe it. This was litterally "cauſing an exactor to paſs over the "glory of the kingdom," when he ſent his treaſurer to plunder that temple, which (5) "even kings did honor, and magnify with their "beſt gifts," and where Seleucus himſelf, "of his own revenues, bare "all the coſts belonging to the ſervice of the ſacrifices. But within "few days," or rather "years" according to the prophetic ſtile, he was to "be deſtroyed;" and his reign was of ſhort duration in compariſon of his father's; for he (6) reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty ſeven. Or perhaps the paſſage may be better expounded thus, that "within few days" or "years," after his attempting to plunder the temple of Jeruſalem, he ſhould "be deſtroyed:" and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was "deſtroyed, neither in anger, nor "in battle," neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but (7) by the treachery of his own treaſurer Heliodorus. The ſame wicked hand, that was the inſtrument of his ſacrilege, was alſo the inſtrument of his death. Seleucus having (8) ſent his only ſon Demetrius to be an hoſtage at Rome inſtead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to diſpatch his maſter, and in the abſence of the next heirs to the crown, to uſurp it to himſelf. But he was diſappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's uſurped greatneſs, inſtead of his own.

Few

(4) 2 Macc. III. 7. Joſephus de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395. Edit. Hudſon.
(5) 2 Macc. III. 2, 3.
(6) Vide Appian. ibid.
(7) ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινος των περι αυτον αποθνησκει. inſidiis Heliodori cujuſdam purpurati oppreſſus eſt. App. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.
(8) Vide Appian. ibid.
(9) Appian. ibid.
(1) Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127.
(2) Appian. ibid.
(3) Simulatione

Few circumſtances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and ſucceſſor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary perſon, and likewiſe a greater enemy and oppreſſor of the Jews. "And in his "eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the "honor of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain "the kingdom by flatteries." (ver. 21.) Antiochus returning from Rome, (9) was at Athens in his way to Syria, when his brother Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and "the honor of the kingdom was "not given to him;" for Heliodorus attempted to get poſſeſſion of it himſelf; another (1) party declared in favor of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whoſe mother Cleopatra was the daughter of Antiochus the great, and ſiſter of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antiochus Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius the ſon of Seleucus, who was then an hoſtage at Rome. However he "obtained the kingdom by flatteries." He flattered (2) Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, and by fair promiſes engaged their aſſiſtance, and they the more readily aſſiſted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to ſecure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too (3) the Syrians, and with great ſhow of clemency obtained their concurrence. He flattered alſo (4) the Romans, and ſent embaſſadors to court their favor, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to preſent them beſides with golden veſſels of five hundred pound weight, and to deſire that the friendſhip and alliance, which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus he "came in peaceably;" and as he flattered the Syrians, the Syrians flattered him again, (5) and beſtowed upon him the title of *Epiphanes* or *the illuſtrious*: but the epithet of *vile* or rather *deſpicable*, given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For,

(3) Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ. Hieron. ibid.

(4) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 6. Petere regem, ut quæ cum patre ſuo ſocietas atque amicitia fuiſſet, ea ſecum renovaretur: imperaretque ſibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique ſocio regi eſſent imperanda; ſe nullo uſquam ceſſaturum officio.

(5) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb.

For, as (6) Polybius and other heathen hiſtorians deſcribe him, he would ſteal out of the palace, and ramble about the ſtreets in diſguiſe; would mix with the loweſt company, and drink and revel with them to the greateſt exceſs; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvaſſing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would ſometimes ſcatter money in the ſtreets among his followers, and ſometimes pelt them with ſtones; would waſh in the public baths, and expoſe himſelf by all manner of ridiculous and indecent geſtures; with a thouſand ſuch freaks and extravagances, as induced (7) Polybius who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, inſtead of *Epiphanes* or *the illuſtrious*, more rightly to call him *Epimanes* or *the madman*.

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however ſucceſsful and victorious. "And with the arms of a flood ſhall they be overflown "from before him;" or rather more agreeably to the (8) original, "And the arms of the overflower ſhall be overflown from before him, "and ſhall be broken; yea, alſo the prince of the covenant: And after "the league made with him he ſhall work deceitfully." (ver. 22, 23.) The "arms" which were "overflown from before him," were thoſe of his competitors for the crown. Heliodorus (9) the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as thoſe of the king of Egypt, who had formed ſome deſigns upon Syria, were vanquiſhed by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were diſſipated by the arrival of Antiochus, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their meaſures. "The prince alſo of "the covenant" was "broken," that is the high prieſt of the Jews; and ſo (1) Theodoret underſtands, and explains it. "The prince of the "covenant:" 'He ſpeaketh of the pious high prieſt, the brother of 'Jaſon, and foretelleth, that even he ſhould be turned out of his office.' As ſoon as Antiochus was ſeated in the throne, (2) he removed Onias from the high prieſthood, and preferred Jaſon the brother of Onias to that dignity, not for any crime committed againſt him by the former, but

(6) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 193. Lib. 10. p. 438. Edit. Caſaubon, Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valeſii. p. 305, 306. Liv. Lib. 41. Cap. 24, 25.

(7) Πολυβιος δ' εν τη εκτη και εικοστη των ιστοριων καλει αυτον Επιμανη και ου Επιφανη, δια τας πραξεις. Polybius libro vigeſimo ſexto hiſtoriarum eum vocat επιμανη, non επιφανη, ob ea quæ ab illo geſta ſunt. Athenæus Lib. 10. p. 439. Vide etiam Lib. 2. p. 45. Lib. 5. p. 193.

(8) Και βραχιονες τε καταικλυζοντος καταικλυσθησονται απο προσωπε αυτε. Sept.

Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conſpectu ejus. Arab. Et brachia pugnantis expugnabuntur a facie ejus. Vulg.

(9) Heliodore

but for the great ſums of money which were offered to him by the latter. For Jaſon offered to give him no leſs than three hundred and ſixty talents of ſilver for the high prieſthood, beſides eighty more upon another account: and good Onias was not only diſplaced to make way for a wicked uſurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king's deputy. But though Antiochus had "made a league" with Jaſon the new high prieſt, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted "deceitfully." For Menelaus the brother of Jaſon (3) being ſent to the Syrian court, with a commiſſion from his brother, to pay the tribute, and to tranſact ſome buſineſs with the king; he by his addreſs and flattery ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the royal favor, that he attempted to ſupplant his elder brother Jaſon, as Jaſon had ſupplanted his elder brother Onias; and proffered to give three hundred talents more for the high prieſthood than Jaſon had given for it. The king readily accepted the propoſal, and iſſued his mandate for the depoſing of Jaſon, and advancing of Menelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Menelaus in poſſeſſion of the place, and compelled Jaſon to fly, and take ſhelter in the land of the Ammonites.

What follows is not aſſigning a reaſon for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been tranſlated "For he ſhall come "up," but "And he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a "ſmall people. He ſhall enter peaceably even upon the fatteſt places "of the province," or as it is in the margin, "He ſhall enter into the "peaceable and fat places of the province, and he ſhall do that which "his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers, he ſhall ſcatter "among them the prey, and ſpoil, and riches: yea, and he ſhall "forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds, even for a time." (ver. 23, 24.) Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hoſtage at

(9) Heliodore meurtrier de Seleucus, et ſes partiſens, auſſi bien que ceux du roi d'Egypte, qui avoient quelques deſſeins ſur la Syrie, furent vaincus par les forces d'Attalus, et d'Eumenes; et diſſipez par l'arivee d'Antiochus, dont la préſence deconcerta tous leurs deſſeins. Calmet. Vide, ſi placet, Appian. Syriac. p. 116, 117. Grot. hic.

(1) Και γε ηγεμενος διαθηκης. λεγει γαρ τον αρχιερεα τον ευσεβη, τον τυ Ιασωνος αδελφον, και προδιδασκει, ὁτι κακεινον τυ αρχιερατευειν παυσει. *Et dux fœderis.* Principem ſacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jaſonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam abdicet pontificatu maximo. Theod. in locum. p. 683. Tom. 2. Edit. Sirmondi.

(2) 2 Macc. IV. Joſephus de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) 2 Macc. ibid. Sulpicii Severi Sacr. Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 85. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(4) Appian.

Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendents, he appeared in Syria little at firſt, but ſoon received a great increaſe, "and "became ſtrong with a ſmall people." By the (4) friendſhip of Eumenes and Attalus he "entered peaceably" upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treaſurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewiſe "entered peaceably" upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine. And wherever he came, he outdid "his fathers, and his fathers fathers" in liberality and profuſion. He "ſcattered among them the prey, and ſpoil, and riches." The (5) "prey" of his enemies, the "ſpoil" of temples, and the "riches" of his friends as well as his own revenues, were expended in public ſhows, and beſtowed in largeſſes among the people. The writer of the firſt book of Maccabees affirms, that (6) in the liberal giving of gifts "he abounded above the kings that were before him." Joſephus teſtifies, that (7) he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius recounts (8) various inſtances of his extravagance, and relates particularly, that (9) ſometimes meeting accidentally with people whom he had never ſeen before, he would enrich them with unexpected preſents; and (1) ſometimes ſtanding in the public ſtreets, he would throw about his money, and cry aloud Let him take it to whom fortune ſhall give it. His generoſity was the more requiſite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine in his intereſt, becauſe they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too; (2) and Eulæus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were adminiſtrators of the kingdom for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the reſtitution of theſe provinces, alleging with very good reaſon, that they were aſſigned to the firſt Ptolemy in the laſt partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that

(4) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(5) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Caſaubon.

(6) 1 Macc. III. 30.

(7) Joſeph. Antiqu. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 537. Edit. Hudſon. μεγαλοψυχος και φιλοδωρος. vir magni animi, et largitor.

(8) Polyb. ibid. p. 194, &c. Lib. 10. p. 438, &c.

(9) εξ απαλησιως δι τισι τυγχανων ὡς μη ἑωρακει πωλε εδιδε δωρεας απροσδοκητους. aliquando fortè obvios, quos nunquam viderat, inſperatis muneribus afficeret. p. 194.

(1) αλλοτε δε εν ταις δημοσιαις ὁδοις ἱσταμενος λεγειν, τινι η τυχη διδωσι λαβειν, και ῥιψας το αργυριον ωχετο. nonnunquam publica via ſtantem cum proclamaſſet, Sumat cui fortuna

that they had remained ever ſince in the poſſeſſion of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the great took them away unjuſtly in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the preſent king's father; and after he had taken them away, he agreed to ſurrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied theſe pleas and pretences with the direct contrary aſſertions; and foreſeeing, as well he might foreſee, that theſe demands would prove the ground and occaſion of a new war between the two crowns, (3) he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them into a proper poſture of defenſe. In his progreſs he came to Jeruſalem, where he was honorably received by Jaſon the high-prieſt, and by all the people; and as it was evening, he was uſhered into the city with torch-light and with great rejoicings: and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own "ſtrong holds," and to "forecaſt" his "devices" againſt thoſe of the enemy. The (4) Seventy and the Arabic tranſlator with a little variation in the reading render it, to "forecaſt his devices againſt Egypt." Thus he did "even for a time", and employed ſome years in his hoſtile preparations.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, (5) deſpiſing the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertneſs of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, reſolved to carry hoſtilities into the enemy's country inſtead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army againſt Egypt. "And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his "courage againſt the king of the ſouth with a great army, and the "king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and "mighty army; but he ſhall not ſtand: for they ſhall forecaſt devices "againſt him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, ſhall "deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow," or (6) rather "ſhall be

"overflown:

tuna dederit, jactis ſparſiſque aureis nummis diſceſſiſſe. p. 438.

(2) Et quum poſt mortem Cleopatræ Eulaius eunuchus nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum eſt inter avunculum et puerum Ptolemæum prælium. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 892. Legat. 82. p. 908. Edit. Caſaubon.

(3) 2 Macc. IV. 21, 22.

(4) Και επ' Αιγυπτον λογιειται λογισμους. Sept. Et cogitabit adverſus Ægyptum cogitationes. Arab. Inſtead of מבצרים they read מצרים.

(5) Liv. Lib. 42, Cap. 29.

(6) Exercitus ejus inundabitur. Pagn. Exercituſque ejus opprimetur. Vulg. Exercitus ejus diſſipabitur. Syr.

(7) Hæc

" overflown: and many ſhall fall down ſlain." (ver. 25, 26.) Theſe things (7) Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched againſt Ptolemy his ſiſter's ſon with a great army. The king of the ſouth too, that is the generals of Ptolemy were ſtirred up to war with very many and exceeding ſtrong forces; and yet could not reſiſt the fraudulent counſels of Antiochus. The two armies engaged (8) between Peluſium and mount Caſius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The (9) next campaign he had greater ſucceſs, routed the Egyptians, took Peluſium, aſcended as far as Memphis, and made himſelf maſter of all Egypt except Alexandria. Theſe tranſactions are thus related by the (1) writer of the firſt book of Maccabees: " Now when " the kingdom was eſtabliſhed before Antiochus, he thought to reign " over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Where- " fore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, " and elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy; And made war " againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, " and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the " ſtrong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the ſpoils thereof." " He ſhall ſtir up his power againſt the king of the ſouth with a great " army," ſays the prophet; " he entered into Egypt with a great mul- " titude," ſays the hiſtorian. " The king of the ſouth ſhall not " ſtand," ſays the prophet; " Ptolemy was afraid and fled," ſays the hiſtorian. " Many ſhall fall down ſlain," ſays the prophet; " and " many were wounded to death," ſays the hiſtorian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy Philometor are by the prophet aſcribed principally to the treachery and baſeneſs of his own miniſters and ſubjects: " for they " ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him; yea, they that feed of the portion " of his meat ſhall deſtroy him." And it is certain that Eulæus (2) was a very wicked miniſter, and bred up the young king in luxury and effeminacy contrary to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron too, (3) who

(7) Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adverſus Ptolemæum ſororis ſuæ filium profectus eſt cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex auſtri, id eſt, duces Ptolemæi provocati ſunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt reſiſtere Antiochi conſiliis fraudulentis. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1128.

(8) Quumque inter Peluſium et montem Caſium prælium commiſiſſent, victi ſunt duces Ptolemæi. Hieron. Col. 1127, 1128.

(9) 2 Macc. V. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 532. Edit. Hudſon. Valeſii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311.

(1) 1 Macc. I. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(2) Valeſii

(3) who was governor of Cyprus, revolted from him, and delivered up that important iland to Antiochus; and for the reward of his treaſon was admitted into the number of the king's principal friends, and was made governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine. Nay even (4) the Alexandrians, ſeeing the diſtreſs of Philometor, renounced their allegiance; and taking his younger brother Euergetes or Phyſcon, proclaimed him king inſtead of the elder brother.

Hiſtory hath not informed us, by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken priſoner, or ſurrendered himſelf of his own accord; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, it is evident beyond all contradiction. "And both "theſe kings hearts ſhall be to do miſchief, and they ſhall ſpeak lies "at one table; but it ſhall not proſper: for yet the end ſhall be at "the time appointed." (ver. 27.) After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had ſubmitted to him, (5) he and Philometor did frequently eat and converſe together "at one table:" but notwithſtanding this appearance of peace and friendſhip, "their "hearts" were really bent "to do miſchief," and they "ſpoke lies" the one to the other. For (6) Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's intereſt, and promiſed to reſtore him to the crown, at the ſame time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war againſt each other, that the conqueror wearied and exhauſted might fall an eaſier prey to him. On the other ſide (7) Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, profeſſed great obligations to his uncle, and ſeemed to hold the crown by his favor, at the ſame time that he was reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother: and accordingly, as ſoon as ever Antiochus was withdrawn, he made propoſals of accommodation, and by the mediation of their ſiſter Cleopatra a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But ſtill this artifice

(2) Valeſii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311, 313.

(3) Valeſii Excerpta ex Polybio. p. 126. 2 Macc. X. 13. 1 Macc. III. 38. 2 Macc. VIII. 8.

(4) Porphyr. apud Euſebii Chron. Græc. p. 60 et 68.

(5) Nulli dubium eſt quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemæo fecerit, et inierit cum eo convivium, et dolos machinatus ſit, &c. Hieron. ibid. Col. 1128.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 84. p. 909, Edit. Caſaubon. Liv. Lib. 44. Cap. 19. Lib. 45. Cap. 11.

(7) Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 82. p. 908. Porphyr. apud Euſebium ibid.

(8) —et

artifice and diſſimulation did " not proſper" on either ſide. For (8) neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the meaſures which he had taken: for theſe wars were not to have an " end" till " the time appointed," which was not yet come.

Antiochus hoping to become abſolute maſter of Egypt, more eaſily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. " Then ſhall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart " ſhall be againſt the holy covenant; and he ſhall do exploits, and re- " turn to his own land." (ver. 28.) He did indeed " return with great " riches;" for the ſpoils which he took in Egypt were of immenſe value. The (9) writer of the firſt book of Maccabees ſays, " Thus they " got the ſtrong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the ſpoils " thereof. And after that Antiochus had ſmitten Egypt, he returned." Polybius (1) deſcribing his opulence and the great ſhow that he made of gold, ſilver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too from Egypt, he ſet " his heart againſt the holy cove- " nant." For it happened while he was in Egypt, that (2) a falſe report was ſpread of his death. Jaſon thinking this a favorable opportunity for him to recover the high prieſthood, marched to Jeruſalem with a thouſand men, aſſaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the caſtle, and exerciſed great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicings at the report of his death, he determined to take a ſevere revenge, and went up with

(8) —et nihil profecerit: quia regnum ejus non potuerit obtinere; &c. Hieron. ibid.

(9) 1 Mac. I. 19, 20.

(1) ταυτα δε παντα συντελεσθη, εξ ων τα μεν εκ της Αιγυπτου ενοσφισατο παρασπονδησας τον Φιλομητορα βασιλεα παιδισκον οντα, Omnia porro hæc ſic abſoluta et exculta ſunt partim iis quibus in Ægypto, perfide violato fœderis pacto, regem Ptolemæum Philometora adhuc puerulum defraudaverat. Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Caſaubon.

(2) 2 Macc. V. 5—23. 1 Macc. I. 20—28. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Lib. 13. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 582. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. De Maccab. Sect. 4. p. 1396. Polybius Megalopolitanus, Strabo Cappadox, Nicolaus Damaſcenus, Timagenes, Caſtor et Apollodorus apud Joſeph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. p. 1369. Edit. Hudſon. Diodorus Siculus. Ex Lib. 34. Ecloga prima. p. 901. Edit. Rhod. et apud Photii Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 1149. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(3) 1 Macc.

with a great army as well as with great indignation againſt Jeruſalem. He beſieged and took the city by force of arms, ſlew forty thouſand of the inhabitants, and ſold as many more for ſlaves, polluted the temple and altar with ſwine's fleſh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden veſſels and other ſacred treaſures to the value of eighteen hundred talents, reſtored Menelaus to his office and authority, and conſtituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he had "done" theſe "exploits," he "returned to his own land." So ſays (3) the writer of the firſt book of Maccabees, "When he had taken all away, he went into "his own land, having made a great maſſacre, and ſpoken very "proudly:" So likewiſe (4) the author of the ſecond book of Maccabees, "When Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thouſand "and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haſte unto Antiochia." Joſephus too (5) to the ſame purpoſe, 'When he had gotten poſſeſſion 'of Jeruſalem, he ſlew many of the adverſe party; and having taken 'great ſpoils, he returned to Antioch.' Theſe things are not only recorded by Jews; for as (6) Jerome obſerves, 'both the Greek and 'Roman hiſtory relates, that after Antiochus returned from Egypt, he 'came into Judea, that is,' "againſt the holy covenant," 'and ſpoiled 'the temple, and took away a great quantity of gold; and having 'placed a garriſon of Macedonians in the citadel, he returned into his 'own land.'

After (7) two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. "At the "time appointed" (and hinted at before, ver. 27.) "he ſhall return, "and come toward the ſouth, but it ſhall not be as the former, or as "the latter;" or as it is tranſlated in (8) the vulgar Latin, "the latter "'ſhall not be like the former. For the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come "againſt

(3) 1 Macc. I. 24.

(4) 2 Macc. V. 21.

(5) εγκρατης δ' ετος των Ιεροσολυμων γενομενος, πολλους απεκτεινεν των εναντια φρονουντων· και χρηματα πολλα συλησας υπεστρεψεν εις Αντιοχειαν. Ubi autem is in ſua poteſtate habuit Hieroſolyma, multos diverſarum partium interfecit; magnaque pecuniæ vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Et Græca et Romana narrat hiſtoria: poſtquam reverſus eſt Antiochus expulſus ab Ægyptiis, veniſſe eum in Judæam, hoc eſt adverſus Teſtamentum ſanctum, et ſpoliaſſe templum, et auri tuliſſe quam plurimum: poſitoque in arce præſidio Macedonum, reverſum in terram ſuam. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(7) Et poſt biennium rurſum contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregaſſe, et veniſſe ad auſtrum. Hieron. ibid.

(8) Non erit priori ſimile noviſſimum. Vulg.

(9) —adeo

" againſt him: therefore he ſhall be grieved, and return, and have in-
" dignation againſt the holy covenant: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall even re-
" turn, and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy cove-
" nant." (ver. 29, 30.) Antiochus perceiving, that his fine-woven policy was all unraveled, and that the two brothers, inſtead of waſting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual ſafety and intereſt by making peace, (9) was ſo offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciouſly againſt both, than he had before againſt one of them. Early therefore in the ſpring he ſet forwards with his army, and paſſing through Cœle-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, ſubmitting to him, he came by eaſy marches down to Alexandria. "But this" expedition was "not as" ſucceſsful as his "former" ones; the reaſon of which is aſſigned in the next words, " the ſhips of Chittim " coming againſt him." In the fifth diſſertation it was proved, that " the coaſt of Chittim" and " the land of Chittim" is a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean. " The ſhips of Chittim" therefore are the ſhips which brought the Roman embaſſadors, who came from Italy, touched at Greece, and arrived in Egypt, being ſent by the ſenate, at the ſupplication of the Ptolemies, to command a peace between the contending kings. The ſtory was related out of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians in the laſt diſſertation: it is needleſs therefore to repeat it here: it will be ſufficient to add what (1) St. Jerome ſays upon the occaſion. ' When the two ' brothers Ptolemies, the ſons of Cleopatra, were beſieged by their uncle ' in Alexandria, the Roman embaſſadors came: one of whom Marcus ' Popillius Lenas, when he had found him ſtanding on the ſhore, and had ' delivered to him the decree of the ſenate, by which he was commanded ' to depart from the friends of the Roman people, and to be con-
' tent

(9) —adeo eſt offenſus, ut multo acrius infeſtiuſque adverſus duos, quam ante adverſus unum, pararet bellum:—ipſe primo vere cum exercitu Ægyptum petens, in Cœlen-Syriam proceſſit.—[receptus ab iis qui] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam modicis itineribus deſcendit. Liv. Lib. 45. Cap. 11, 12.

(1) Quumque duo fratres Ptolemæi Cleopatræ filii, quorum avunculus erat, obſiderentur Alexandriæ, legatos veniſſe Romanos: quorum unus Marcus Popilius Lenas, quum eum ſtantem inveniſſet in littore, et ſenatus conſultum dediſſet, quo jubebatur ab amicis populi Romani recedere, et ſuo imperio eſſe contentus; et ille ad amicorum reſponſionem conſilium diſtuliſſet; orbem dicitur feciſſe in arenis baculo quem tenebat in manu, et circumſcripſiſſe regem atque dixiſſe; Senatus et populus Romanus præcipiunt, ut in iſto

'tent with his own empire; and he would have deferred the matter 'to conſult with his friends; Popillius is ſaid to have made a circle in 'the ſand with the ſtick that he held in his hand, and to have circum-'ſcribed the king, and to have ſaid, The ſenate and people of Rome 'order, that in that place you anſwer what is your intention. With 'theſe words being frighted he ſaid, If this pleaſes the ſenate and 'people of Rome, we muſt depart; and ſo preſently drew off his 'army.' The reaſon of the Romans acting in this imperious manner, and of Antiochus ſo readily obeying, was, as (2) Polybius ſuggeſts, the total conqueſt that Paulus Æmilius, the Roman conſul, had juſt made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be ſo humbled, and ſo diſappointed of his expected prey. "Therefore he grieved, and returned." He led back his forces, into Syria, as (3) Polybius ſays, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the preſent. "And had "indignation againſt the holy covenant:" for (4) he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thouſand men, who coming to Jeruſalem ſlew great multitudes, plundered the city, ſet fire to it in ſeveral places, and pulled down the houſes and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a ſtrong fortreſs, which might command the temple; and iſſuing from thence, they fell on thoſe who came to worſhip, and ſhed innocent blood on every ſide of the ſanctuary, and defiled it: ſo that the temple was deſerted, and the whole ſervice omitted; the city was forſaken of its natives, and became an habitation of ſtrangers. "So he did," and after his "return" to Antioch (5) he publiſhed a decree, which obliged all perſons upon pain of death to conform to the religion of the Greeks: and ſo the Jewiſh law was abrogated, the Heathen worſhip was ſet up in its ſtead, and the temple

iſto loco reſpondeas, quid conſilii geras. Quibus dictis ille perterritus ait; Si hoc placet ſenatui et populo Romano, recedendum eſt, atque ita ſtatim movit exercitum. Hieron. ibid.

(2) Μη γαρ γινομενω τουτω και πιστευθεντος, ουκ αν μοι δοκει, πιθαρχησαι τοις επιτατ[illegible]ομενοις Αντιοχον. Nam hoc niſi acciditſſet, neque de ea re conſtitiſſet, nunquam, opinor, eſſet adductus Antiochus, ut imperata faceret. Polyb. [illegible]gat. 92. p. 917. Edit. Caſaubon.

(3) Ουτος μεν απηγετο τας δυναμεις εις την Αγριαν [Συριαν ut putat Uſſerius] βαρυνομενος και στενων· εικων δε τοις καιροις καλα το παρον. Antiochus copias Agriam [Syriam] ſuas, gravate ille quidem ac gemens, ſed tamen abduxit, in preſentia tempori cedendum ratus. Polyb. ibid. p. 916.

(4) 1 Macc. I. 29—40. 2 Macc. V. 24, 25, 26.

(5) 1 Macc. I. 41—64. 2 Macc. VI. 1—9.

(6) 1 Macc.

itſelf was conſecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the tranſacting and ordering of theſe matters he "had intelligence with them that forſook the "holy covenant," Menelaus and the other apoſtate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief inſtigators againſt their religion and their country. For (6) as the writer of the firſt book of Maccabees ſays, "In thoſe "days went there out of Iſrael wicked men, who perſuaded many, "ſaying, Let us go, and make a covenant with the Heathen, that are "round about us: Then certain of the people were ſo forward herein, "that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the "ordinances of the Heathen: And they made themſelves uncircum-"ciſed, and forſook the holy covenant, and joined themſelves to the "Heathen, and were ſold to do miſchief." Joſephus as plainly (7) aſcribes the diſtreſs of his country to the factions among his countrymen, and to thoſe perſons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and beſought him that under their conduct he would invade Judea.

It may be proper to ſtop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumſtantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not ſo complete and regular a ſeries of their kings, there is not ſo conciſe and comprehenſive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of thoſe times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any hiſtory. No one hiſtorian hath related ſo many circumſtances, and in ſuch exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: ſo that it was neceſſary to have recourſe to ſeveral authors, Greek and Roman, Jewiſh and Chriſtian; and to collect here ſomething from one, and to collect there ſomething from another, for the better explaining and illuſtrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made uſe of the ſame authors for different purpoſes, and enjoyed the advantages of having thoſe hiſtories entire, which have ſince either in whole or in part been deſtroyed. For (8) they had not only Polybius, Diodorus,

(6) 1 Macc. I. 11, 13, 15.

(7) Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958, Edit. Hudſon. οἱ δὲ καλαφυγονλες προς Αντιοχον ἱκετευσαν, αυτοις ἡγεμοσι χρωμενον, εις την Ιυδαιαν εμβαλειν. illi vero ad Antiochum ſe receperunt, eique ſupplicarunt ut ipſis ducibus in Judæam irrumperet.

(8) Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum hiſtoria neceſſaria eſt; Suctorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Poſidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento

Diodorus, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Juſtin, ſome parts of whoſe works are now remaining; but they had likewiſe Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Poſidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, hiſtorians who wrote of thoſe times, and whoſe works have ſince entirely periſhed. If theſe authors were ſtill extant, and thoſe who are extant were ſtill complete, the great exactneſs of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactneſs was ſo convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he rather labor'd to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was ſo very exact, that it could not poſſibly have been written before, but muſt have been written in, or ſoon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have aſſerted the ſame thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs, which can be had in caſes of this nature, as it hath been ſhown in a former diſſertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally ſo beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the ſequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general reſurrection. No one could thus declare "the times and the "ſeaſons" (Acts I. 7.) but he who "hath them in his power."

cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius eſſe ſe ſecutum dicit: Joſephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Joſephus, præcipueque noſtri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Juſtini, qui omnem extremæ viſionis narrant hiſtoriam. Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Col. 1074. Edit. Benedict. *Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Poſidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii.* Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis eſt *Suctorius*, et ante *Callinicus* diſtinguitur quaſi a Sutorio ſit diverſus. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

(1) Cætera

XVII.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and completion of the prophecy is ſufficiently clear and evident; there is more obſcurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be conſidered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they purſue ſo many different paths, that it is not always eaſy to know whom it is beſt and ſafeſt to follow. Some, (1) as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was litterally accompliſhed in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others (2) as Jerome and moſt of the Chriſtian fathers, conſider Antiochus as a type of Antichriſt; as in the ſeventy-ſecond pſalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Chriſt, and many things are ſaid of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some again underſtand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apoſtaſy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invaſion and tyranny of the Romans, the ſubſequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would chooſe to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in ſome inſtances perhaps differ from all.

The

(1) Cætera quæ ſequuntur uſque ad finem voluminis, ille [Porphyrius] interpretatur ſuper perſona Antiochi qui cognominatus eſt Epiphanes, &c. Hieron. Col. 1127.

(2) Noſtri autem hæc omnia de Antichriſto prophetari arbitrantur—Quumque multa quæ poſtea lecturi et expoſituri ſumus, ſuper Antiochi perſona non conveniant, typum eum volunt Antichriſti habere—juxta illud quod de Domino Salvatore in ſeptuageſimo primo [ſecundo apud Hebr. et Sept.] pſalmo dicitur, qui prænotatur Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Volunt autem eos ſignificari qui ab Antiocho miſſi ſunt poſt biennium quam templum expoliaverat, ut tributa exigerent a Judæis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jeruſalem, Jovis Olympii ſimulacrum, et Antiochi ſtatuas ponerent; quas nunc *abomi-*

nationem

The prophet proceeds thus, (ver. 31.) "And arms ſhall ſtand on his "part, and they ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength," (the temple ſo called by reaſon of its fortifications) "and ſhall take away the daily "ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination that maketh deſolate." Porphyry and his adherents (3) would have thoſe to be ſignified, who were ſent by Antiochus two years after he had ſpoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worſhip of God, and place in the temple of Jeruſalem the image of Jupiter Olympius, and the ſtatues of Antiochus, which were here called "the "abomination of deſolation." And it is very true, (4) as the writer of the firſt book of Maccabees ſaith, that Apollonius and others commiſſioned by Antiochus did "pollute the ſanctuary, and forbid "burnt-offerings, and ſacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and "ſet up the abomination of deſolation upon the altar, and builded "idol-altars throughout the cities of Juda on every ſide." Joſephus likewiſe (5) affirms, that Antiochus forbad the Jews to offer the daily ſacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law: He compelled them alſo to leave off the ſervice of their God, and to worſhip thoſe whom he eſteemed Gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to ſacrifice ſwine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty, or rather impoſſibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his ſucceſſors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Chriſtians of his time (6) contend, that all theſe things were a type of Antichriſt, who is about to ſit in the temple of God, and to make himſelf as God: but the fathers had very confuſed and imperfect notions of Antichriſt, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly conſidered,

nationem deſolationis vocat. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(4) 1 Maccab. I. 45, 46, 54.

(5) Και γαρ τας καθημερινας θυσιας, ας προσεφερον τω Θεω κατα τον νομον εκωλυσεν αυτους προσφερειν. Nam et ſacrificia quotidiana, quæ offerre ſolebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit. αναγκα ε δ αυτους αφεμενες της περι τον αυτων Θεον θρησκειας, τους υπ' αυτω νομιζομενους σεβεσθαι· οικοδομησαντας δε κατ' εκασην πολιν και κωμην τεμενη αυτων και βωμους καθιδρυσαντας, θυειν επ' αυτοις συς καθ' ἡμεραν. Coegit etiam eos, Dei ipſorum cultu omiſſo, eos colere quos ipſe Deos exiſtimaret; et cum fana ipſorum oppidatim vicatimque extruxiſſent et aras collocaſſent, quotidie ibi immolare ſues. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Quæ univerſa in typo Antichriſti, noſtri præceſſiſſe contendunt; qui ſeſſurus eſt in templo Dei, et ſe facturus ut Deum. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Sir

conſidered, no interpretation of this paſſage appears ſo rational and convincing, as that propoſed by Sir (7) Iſaac Newton. " In the ſame " year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of " Egypt, and ſet up the worſhip of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans " conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of " the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; " and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beaſt. " This is thus expreſſed by Daniel." *And after him arms*, " that is " the Romans," *ſhall ſtand up*. " As ממלך ſignifies" (8) *after the king*, " Dan. XI. 8; ſo ממנו may ſignify" *after him*. " *Arms* " are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power " of a kingdom; and they ſtand up when they conquer and grow " powerful. Hitherto Daniel deſcribed the actions of the kings of the " *north* and *ſouth*; but upon the conqueſt of Macedon by the " Romans, he left off deſcribing the actions of the Greeks, and be- " gan to deſcribe thoſe of the Romans in Greece. They conquered " Macedon, Illyricum and Epirus, in the year of Nabonaſſar 580; " 35 years after, by the laſt will and teſtament of Attalus the laſt " king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and floriſhing kingdom, " that is, all Aſia weſtward of mount Taurus; 69 years after they " conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province, and " 34 years after they did the like to Egypt. By all theſe ſteps the " Roman arms ſtood up over the Greeks: and after 95y ears more, " by making war upon the Jews," *they polluted the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and took away the daily ſacrifice, and then placed the abomination of deſolation*. " For this abomination was placed after " the days of Chriſt, Mat. XXIV. 15. In the 16th year of the " emperor

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations on Daniel, Chap. 12. p. 188, &c. See alſo Chap. 9. p. 125, &c.

(8) So מן־העת ההיא Nehem. XIII. 21. is *after that time* or *from that time forth*. So likewiſe in this very chap. ver 23. מן־התחברות אליו is tranſlated *after the league made with him*. See the particle מן in Noldius and Taylor's Concordance.

(9) Judæi autem hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichriſto, ſed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus ſupra dictum eſt, *Et venient trieres*, ſive Itali atque Romani, *et humiliabitur*. Poſt multa, inquit, tempora de ipſis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venere auxilio, et Antiocho comminati ſunt, conſurget rex Veſpaſianus, ſurgent brachia ejus et ſemina, Titus filius cum exercitu; et polluent ſanctuarium, auferentque juge ſacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ ſolitudini. Hieron. ibid.

(1) Mede's Works, B. 4. Epiſt. 41. p. 797. See too B. 3. p. 667, 672. Lucius Florus, Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Cedente Hannibale, præmium victoriæ Africa fuit, et ſecutus Africam terrarum orbis. Poſt Charthaginem vinci neminem puduit; ſecutæ ſunt ſtatim Africam gentes, Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteráque omnia, quodam quaſi æſtu et torrente fortunæ; ſed

" emperor Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by build-
" ing a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the temple of God in
" Jeruſalem had ſtood. Thereupon the Jews under the conduct of
" Barchochab roſe up in arms againſt the Romans, and in the war had
" fifty cities demoliſhed, nine hundred and eighty five of their beſt
" towns deſtroyed, and five hundred and eighty thouſand men ſlain
" by the ſword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were baniſhed
" Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained
" deſolate of its old inhabitants." In ſupport of this interpretation it may be farther added, that the Jews themſelves, as (9) Jerome informs us, ' underſtood this paſſage neither of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of ' Antichriſt, but of the Romans, of whom it was ſaid above that' " the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come, and he ſhall be grieved." ' After ' ſome time, ſays the prophet, out of the Romans themſelves, who came ' to aſſiſt Ptolemy, and menaced Antiochus, there ſhall ariſe the em-' peror Veſpaſian, there ſhall ariſe his arms and ſeed, his ſon Titus ' with an army; and they ſhall pollute the ſanctuary, and take away ' the daily ſacrifice, and deliver the temple to eternal deſolation.' Mr. Mede too (1) aſſigns the ſame reaſon for the prophet's paſſing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. " We muſt know, ſays he, " that after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes the third kingdom " comes no more in the holy reckoning, none of the Greek kings " after him being at all propheſied of; yea Daniel himſelf calling " the time of Antiochus his reign *the latter end of the Greek* " *kingdom*. (VIII. 23.) The reaſon of this is, becauſe during the " reign of Antiochus, Macedonia (whence that kingdom ſprung) with " all the reſt of Greece, came under the Roman obedience. From " thence

ſed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. Hannibal being worſted, Africa became the reward of the victory, and after Africa the whole world alſo. None thought it a ſhame to be overcome, after Carthage was. Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other nations, as if carried with a certain current and torrent of fortune, did ſoon follow Africa: but the firſt who followed were the Macedonians, a people that ſometime affected the empire of the world. In Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1. Cap. 6. is an annotation out of one Æmilius Sura in theſe words; Aſſyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti ſunt, deinde Medi, poſtea Perſæ, deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus, Philippo et Antiocho, quia Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo poſt Carthaginem ſubactam, devictis, ſumma imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. The Aſſyrians had the ſovereign dominion the firſt of all nations, then the Medes and Perſians; after them the Macedonians; afterwards thoſe two kings, Philip and Antiochus, being overcome, and that a little after that Carthage was ſubdued, the imperial power came to the Romans.

(2) Sunt

" thence therefore the holy Ghoſt begins the riſe of the fourth kingdom, " yea the Roman hiſtorians themſelves mark out that time for the riſe " of their empire." And for this purpoſe he alleges two quotations from Lucius Florus and Velleius Paterculus. Our Saviour himſelf making uſe of this ſame phraſe " the abomination of deſolation" in his prediction of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, may convince us that this part of the prophecy refers to that event.

What follows can be but in part applied to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. " And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall " he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God, " ſhall be ſtrong, and do exploits. And they that underſtand among " the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by the ſword, " and by flame, by captivity, and by ſpoil many days." (ver. 32, 33.) If it may be ſaid of Antiochus, that he " corrupted" many " by flat- " teries," by rewards and promiſes, to forſake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; " but the people who knew " their God," the Maccabees and their aſſociates, " were ſtrong, and " did exploits:" Yet it cannot ſo properly be ſaid of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did " inſtruct many," and make many proſelytes to their religion; neither did the perſecution, which Antiochus raiſed againſt the Jews, continue " many days," or years according to the prophetic ſtile, for it laſted only a few years. All theſe things are much more truly applicable to the Chriſtian Jews: for now the daily ſacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to deſolation, and the Chriſtian church had ſucceeded in the place of the Jewiſh, the new covenant in the room of the old. " And ſuch as do " wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall he corrupt by flatteries;" " He," that is the power before deſcribed, who " took away the daily ſacrifice, " and placed the abomination of deſolation:" nor is ſuch a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew language. There are ſome, ſaith an (2) old ' commentator, who think that the prophet here had reſpect ' to the Chriſtians, whom the wicked idolaters endevored from the be- ' ginning

(2) Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aſpicere ad Chriſtianos, quos impii idolatræ conati fuerunt ab initio naſcentis eccleſiæ ſeducere blanditiis. Potiſſimè autem ſæviit tyrannorum perſecutio in apoſtolos et ſanctos doctores. Clarius in locum.

(3) Plinii Epiſt. Lib. 10. Epiſt. 97.

(4) Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam ſignificari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin; qui adverſùm duces

'ginning of the riſing church to ſeduce by flatteries: but the perſecu-
'tion of tyrants raged chiefly againſt the apoſtles and holy teachers.'
The Roman magiſtrates and officers, it is very well known, made uſe of the moſt alluring promiſes, as well as of the moſt terrible threatnings, to prevail upon the primitive Chriſtians to renounce their religion, and offer incenſe to the ſtatues of the emperors and images of the gods. Many were induced to comply with the temptation, and apoſtatized from the faith, as we learn particularly from the famous (3) epiſtle of Pliny to Trajan: but the true Chriſtians, "the people who knew "their God were ſtrong," remained firm to their religion, and gave the moſt illuſtrious proofs of the moſt heroic patience and fortitude. It may too with the ſtricteſt truth and propriety be ſaid of the primitive Chriſtians, that being diſperſed every where, and preaching the goſpel in all the parts of the Roman empire, they "inſtructed many," and gained a great number of proſelytes to their religion: "yet they fell "by the ſword, and by flame, by captivity, and by ſpoil many "days;" for they were expoſed to the malice and fury of ten general perſecutions, and ſuffered all manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures with little intermiſſion for the ſpace of three hundred years.

After theſe violent perſecutions the church obtained ſome reſt and relaxation. "Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhall be holpen with a "little help; but many ſhall cleave to them with flatteries. And ſome "of them of underſtanding ſhall fall, to try them, and to purge, and "to make them white, even to the time of the end; becauſe it is yet "for a time appointed." (ver. 34, 35.) Here Porphyry hath many followers, beſides Grotius; and he (4) ſuppoſeth that by "the little "help" was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled againſt the generals of Antiochus, and endevored to preſerve the worſhip of the true God. It is called "a little help," ſaith he, becauſe Mattathias was ſlain in battle; and afterwards his ſon Judas, who was called Maccabeus, fell in fight; and his other brethren were deceived by the fraud of their adverſaries. But this is not an exact or juſt repreſentation of the

duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei ſervare conatus eſt. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occiſus eſt in prælio Mattathias; et poſtea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Maccabæus, pugnans cecidit; et cæteri fratres ejus adverſariorum fraude decepti ſunt. Hieron. Col. 1130.

(5) For

caſe. Mattathias (5) was not ſlain in battle, but died of old age. His ſon Judas Maccabæus ſeveral times vanquiſhed the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleanſed the ſanctuary, reſtored the public worſhip of God, and not only ſurvived Antiochus ſome years, but alſo received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his ſon. His brother Jonathan was made high-prieſt, and his brother Simon ſovran prince of the Jews; and both theſe dignities, the high-prieſthood and the ſovranty, deſcended to Simon's ſon, and continued united in the family for ſeveral generations. That therefore could not be deemed "a little help," which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and eſtabliſhed the Jewiſh religion and government upon a firmer baſis than before; ſo far were they from falling again into a ſtate of perſecution, as the next verſe intimates that they ſhould. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was miſtaken in the ſenſe of this paſſage. The Jewiſh doctors ſeem to have come nearer the mark: for ſome of them, as Jerome (6) affirms, underſtood theſe things of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promiſed to ſacrifice in their temple. But the moſt natural way of interpretation is to follow the courſe and ſeries of events. The church had now labored under long and ſevere perſecutions from the civil power. They "had fallen by the ſword, and by flame, by captivity, and by ſpoil many days." The tenth and laſt general perſecution was begun (7) by Diocletian: it raged, tho' not at all times equally, ten years; and was ſuppreſſed entirely by Conſtantine, the firſt Roman emperor, as it is univerſally known, who made open profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and then the church was no longer perſecuted, but was protected and favored by the civil power. But ſtill this is called only "a little help;" becauſe though it added much to the temporal proſperity, yet it contributed little to the ſpiritual graces and virtues of

(5) For theſe particulars the two books of Maccabees, Joſephus, Uſher, Prideaux, &c. muſt be conſulted.

(6) Hebræorum quidam hæc de Severo et Antonino principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum dilexerunt. Alii vero de Juliano imperatore:—Judæos amare ſe ſimulans, etin templo eorum immolaturum ſe eſſe promittens. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Euſebii Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 2 et 15, &c. Lactant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 12 et 48. Sic ab everſa eccleſia uſque ad reſtitutam fuerunt anni decem, &c.

(8) ——ειρωνειαν τ' αλεκλον των την εκκλησιαν υποδυομενων, και το χριστιανων επιπλαστως σχηματιζομενων ονομα.—et fraudulentam ſimulationem eorum qui callide in eccleſiam irrepebant, et Chriſtianorum nomen falsò ac ſpecie tenus

of Chriſtians. It inlarged their revenues, and increaſed their indowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrin, and relaxing the diſciplin of the church. It was attended with this peculiar diſadvantage, that "many clave to them with flatteries." Many became Chriſtians for the ſake of the loaves and the fiſhes, and pretended to be of the religion, only becauſe it was the religion of the emperor. Euſebius, who was a contemporary writer, (8) reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the diſſimulation and hypocriſy of men fraudulently entring into the church, and borrowing the name of Chriſtians without the reality. Julian himſelf, as a (9) heathen hiſtorian relates, that he might allure the Chriſtians to favor him, publicly profeſſed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the moſt ſolemn offices of religion. He did more; his diſſimulation carried him ſo far as to (1) become an eccleſiaſtic in lower orders, or a *reader* in the church. Moreover, this is alſo called "a little help," becauſe the temporal peace and proſperity of the church laſted but a little while. The ſpirit of perſecution preſently revived; and no ſooner were the Chriſtians delivered from the fury of their heathen adverſaries, than they began to quarrel among themſelves, and to perſecute one another. The (2) Conſubſtantialiſts, even in the time of Conſtantine, led the way by excommunicating and baniſhing the Arians. The latter, under the favor of Conſtantius and Valens more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former. Such more or leſs hath been the fate and condition of the church ever ſince: and generally ſpeaking, "thoſe of underſtanding have fallen" a ſacrifice to others, ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt men to ſome of the worſt and moſt ignorant. At leaſt, if the perſecuted have not been always in the right, yet the perſecutors have been always in the wrong. Theſe

tenus præferebant. Euſeb. de vita Conſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 54.

(9) Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad ſui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Chriſtiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occultè deſciverat—Et—progreſſus in eorum eccleſiam, ſollemniter numine orato diſceſſit. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 21. Cap. 2. p. 266. Edit. Valeſii. Paris. 1681.

(1) Theodoret Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.—— και τω των αναγνωστων ηξιωθη χορω, και τας ιερας βιβλους εν τοις εκκλησιαστικοις ζυλλογοις υπανεγικωσκε τω λαω. in lectorum numerum adſcriptus eſt, et ſacros libros in eccleſiaſticis conventibus populo recitavit.

(2) See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 3. p. 104, 105.

(3) Ab

calamities were to befall the Chriſtians, " to try them, and to purge, " and to make them white," not only at that time, but " even to the " time of the end, becauſe it is yet for a time appointed :" And we ſee even at this day, not to allege other inſtances, how the poor proteſtants are perſecuted, plundered and murdered, in the ſouthern parts of France.

The principal ſource of theſe perſecutions is traced out in the following verſes. " And the king" (who ſhall cauſe theſe perſecutions) " ſhall do according to his will, and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify " himſelf above every god, and ſhall ſpeak marvelous things againſt " the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſh- " ed ; for that that is determined, ſhall be done." (ver. 36.) From this place, as (3) Jerome aſſerts, the Jews as well as the Chriſtians of his time underſtood all to be ſpoken of Antichriſt. But Porphyry and others who follow him, ſuppoſe it to be ſpoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he ſhould be exalted againſt the worſhip of God, and grow to that highth of pride, that he ſhould command his ſtatue to be placed in the temple at Jeruſalem. But if it might be ſaid of Antiochus, that he " ſpoke marvelous things againſt the God of Iſrael ;" yet it could not be ſo well affirmed of him, that he " magnified and exalted himſelf " above every god ;" when (4) in his public ſacrifices and worſhip of the gods he was more ſumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him ; and when in his ſolemn ſhows and proceſſions were carried the images of all who among men were called or reputed gods, or dæmons, and even heroes ; as Athenæus reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very ſuperſtitious, though ſometimes his extravagances and neceſſities might induce him to commit ſacrilege. It is a ſtrong argument in favor of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian intepretation, that St. Paul appears to have underſtood this paſſage much in the ſame manner, becauſe he applies the ſame expreſſions (2 Theſſ. II. 3, 4.) to " the man " of ſin, the ſon of perdition, who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf " above

(3) Ab hoc loco Judæi dici de Antichriſto putant —Quod quidem et nos de Antichriſto intelligimus. Porphyrius autem et cæteri qui ſequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur, quod erectus ſit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam ſuperbiam venerit, ut in templo Jeroſolymis ſimulacrum ſuum poni juſſerit. Hieron. Col. 1131.

(4) εν δε ταις πρ⊖ τας πολεις θυσιαις, και ταις πρ⊖ τυς θευς τιμαις, πασας υπερεβαλλε τυς βεβασιλευκοτας, omnes quotquot regnarunt, ſacrorum magnificentia, quæ illius

" above all that is called god, or that is worſhipped; ſo that he as God " ſitteth in the temple of God, ſhowing himſelf that he is God." The thred of the prophecy will alſo conduct us to the ſame concluſion. For the prophet was ſpeaking of the perſecutions, which ſhould be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become chriſtian: and now he proceeds to deſcribe the principal author of theſe perſecutions. *A king* or *kingdom*, as we have ſhown before, and it appears in ſeveral inſtances, ſignifies any government, ſtate or potentate: and the meaning of this verſe we conceive to be, that after the empire was become chriſtian, there ſhould ſpring up in the church an antichriſtian power, that ſhould act in the moſt abſolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itſelf above all laws divine and human, diſpenſe with the moſt ſolemn and ſacred obligations, and in many reſpects injoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who ſummoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almoſt as they pleaſed. After the diviſion of the empire, this power ſtill increaſed, and was exerted principally by the Greek emperors in the eaſt, and by the biſhops of Rome in the weſt; as we ſhall ſee in the ſeveral particulars hereafter ſpecified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and " proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed; for that " that is determined, ſhall be done." This muſt denote ſome particular period; or otherwiſe it is no more than ſaying, that God's indignation ſhall not be accompliſhed till it be accompliſhed. This is the ſame as what before was called (VIII. 19.) " the laſt end of the indignation," and (IX. 27.) " the conſummation:" and it meaneth the laſt end and conſummation of God's indignation againſt his people the Jews. This ſeemeth to be expreſſed plainer in the following chapter, (ver. 7.) " And " when he ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy " people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed." So long this antichriſtian power ſhould continue. We ſee it ſtill ſubſiſting in the church of Rome: and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewiſh doctors, that the deſtruction of Rome and the reſtoration of the Jews

illius ſumptu in claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque ac veneratione deorum exuperaſſe. πασῶν γαρ των παρ' ανθρωποις λεγομενων η νομιζομενων θεων η δαιμονων, προσετι δε ηρωων, εἰδωλα ἀηγεῖο. omnium enim quotquot apud homines vel creduntur vel dicuntur eſſe dii, aut dæmones, atque adeo heroum ſimulacra geſtabantur. Polyb. apud Athen. Lib. 5. p. 194, 195. Edit. Caſaubon.

(5) Cum

Jews ſhould fall out about the ſame period. It is a ſaying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi in his comment upon Obadiah, (5) when Rome ſhall be laid waſte, there ſhall be redemption for Iſrael. The curious reader may ſee more authorities cited by Mr. Mede in a ſmall Latin tractate upon this ſubject.

In this prophecy the antichriſtian power is deſcribed as exerted principally in the eaſtern empire, it was before deſcribed as exerted in the weſtern empire, under the figure "of the little horn" of the fourth beaſt. "Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of "women, nor regard any God; for he ſhall magnify himſelf above all." (ver. 37.) That he ſhould "not regard the God of his fathers," could not be truly affirmed of Antiochus, (6) who compelled all, and eſpecially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worſhip to the religion of the Greeks: and what were the idols that he ſet up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympius in the temple of Jeruſalem, and Jupiter Xenius, or the defender of ſtrangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? This therefore, as Jerome rightly obſerves, agrees better with Antichriſt than with Antiochus. "By not regarding the God of "his fathers," Mr. Mede (7) underſtands the Roman ſtate's caſhiering and caſting off the pagan deities and heathen gods which were worſhipped in their empire. But the converſion of the Roman ſtate was hinted before, (ver. 34.) and other events have been pointed out ſince; ſo that it would be breaking in upon the ſeries and order of the prophecy, to reſume that ſubject again. The character too here given, doth not ſeem in any part of it, to be deſigned by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honor, but to the reproach of the power here deſcribed, that he ſhould forſake the religion of his anceſtors, and in a manner ſet up

(5) Cum devaſtabitur Roma, erit Iſraeli redemptio. See Mede's Works. B. 5. Cap. 7. Placita doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis ſeu Romæ excidio. p. 902.

(6) 1 Macc. I. 41—64. 2 Macc. VI. 1, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudſon. Hoc magis Antichriſto quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum idolorum Græciæ habuiſſe cultum, et Judæos atque Samaritas ad venerationem ſuorum deorum compuliſſe. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 668.

(8) —luxurioſiſſimus fuiſſe dicitur, et in tantum dedecus per ſtupra et corruptelas veniſſe regiæ dignitatis; ut mimis quoque et ſcortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem ſuam populo præſente compleret. Hieron. ibid. Vide etiam Theodoret. in locum. p. 689. 2 Macc. IV. 30.

(9) de Antichriſto facilior interpretatio eſt; quod ideo ſimulet caſtitatem, ut plurimos decipiat. Hieron. ibid.

(1) Et erit in concupiſcentiis fœminarum. Vulg.

(2) Apud Hebræos ל negativam ſequens negat, et valet *nec*, ut ſenſus ſit, *neque deſiderium mulierum*, id eſt, neque fœminas, quanquam amabiles, curabit quicquam,

up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praiſe him for renouncing the idolatry of his heathen fathers, but to blame him for apoſtatizing in ſome meaſure from the religion of his chriſtian fathers; as he did actually both in the Greek and Latin church, by worſhipping *Mahuzzim* inſtead of the true God bleſſed for ever. Another property of the power here deſcribed is, that he ſhould "not regard the deſire "of women:" And neither could this with any truth be declared of Antiochus, who beſides having a wife, (8) was lewd and vicious to ſuch a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would proſtitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his luſts publicly in the preſence of the people. He had a favorite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochis. To her he aſſigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarſus and Mallus for her maintenance; and the inhabitants, rather than they would ſubmit to ſuch an indignity, rebelled againſt him. As Jerome ſays, (9) the interpretation is eaſier of Antichriſt, that he ſhould therefore counterfeit chaſtity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed (1) *And he ſhall regard the deſire of women:* but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to moſt other verſions; unleſs with Grotius we underſtand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and ſignifying *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus, (2) that he ſhould not ſpare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair conſtruction admit of this interpretation. The word in the original for *women* (3) ſignifieth properly *wives*, as *deſire* doth *conjugal affection*. The meaning therefore of "not regarding the "deſire of women" is neglecting and diſcouraging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human ſociety, and to the great diſcredit of the chriſtian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the moſt floriſhing times of the Romans for

quicquam, nulla ſexus illius tangetur miſericordia. Grot. in locum.

(3) See Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 668. And it might have been tranſlated in this place *deſire of wives*, as well as *deſire of women*; for there is no other word uſed in the original for *wives* above once or twice in the whole ſcripture, but this נשים which is here turned *women*. With the like uſe of the word *deſire*, the ſpouſe in the Canticles VII. 10. expreſſeth her well beloved to be her huſband; *I am my beloved's and his deſire is towards me*; that is, he is my huſband; for ſo twice before ſhe expreſſed herſelf, II. 16. *My beloved is mine, and I am his*; and VI. 3. *I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine.* So Ezek. XXIV. 16. the Lord threatning to take away Ezekiel's wife, ſaith, *Behold, I take away from thee the deſire of thine eyes* מחמד עיניך, and afterwards ver. 18. it followeth, *And at even my wife died.* Yea, the Roman language itſelf is not unacquainted with this ſpeech. Cicero ad uxorem, *En mea lux, meum deſiderium*

(4) Euſeb.

for the favor and encouragement of thoſe who were married, and had children, (4) Conſtantine himſelf repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to thoſe who were unmarried and had no children. Nay he (5) held in the higheſt veneration thoſe men, who had devoted themſelves to the divine philoſophy, that is to a monaſtic life; and almoſt adored the moſt holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that the God, to whom they had conſecrated themſelves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors: and the married clergy were diſcountenanced and depreſſed; the monks were honored and advanced; and in the fourth century like a torrent overran the eaſtern church, and ſoon after the weſtern too. This was "evidently not regarding the deſire of wives," or conjugal affection. At firſt only ſecond marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were abſolutely reſtrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here deſcribed "magnify himſelf above all," even God himſelf, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature; and making that diſhonorable, which the ſcripture (Heb. XIII. 4.) hath pronounced "honorable in all."

More proofs are alleged in the next verſe, of his apoſtatizing from the true religion of his anceſtors. "But in his eſtate ſhall he honor the "God of forces," or Mahuzzim; "and a God whom his fathers knew "not, ſhall he honor with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, "and pleaſant things." (ver. 38.) How can this with any propriety, or with any degree of ſenſe, be applied to Antiochus? The God Mahuzzim, as (6) Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculouſly interpreted the God of Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his ſons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to ſacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin. "The God whom his fathers "knew

(4) Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtantini Lib. 4. Cap. 26. Sozomen, Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. 3. p. 231.

(5) διαφερονλως δ' τξιυθο τιμης πλειονΦ, τες τον ζΦων βιον τη καλα Θεον αναθενλας φιλοσοφιαν τον εν παναγιον των αιει παρθενων τε Θεε χορον μονονεχι και ζεβων δειελει, ταις των τοιωνδε ψυχαις ενοικον αυτον ὑπαρχειν ᾠ καθιερωσαν ἑαυτας Θεον πειθομενΦ. Præ cæteris vero eos maxime honorabat, qui ſe totos divinæ philoſophiæ addixiſſent. Ipſum quidem ſanctiſſimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tantum non venerabatur, cum ipſum cui ſe conſacraverant Deum, in earum mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet. Euſeb. ibid. Cap. 28.

(6) Deum *Maozim* ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus eſt, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis poſuiſſe ſtatuam, et compuliſſe Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id eſt, Deo Modin. Hieron. ibid.

(7) Is Deus eſt ſummus Phœnicum Deus *Baal Semen*, quem Græci appellant *Jovem Olympium*, quaſi tranſlato

" knew not," Grotius alſo (7) ſays, was Baal Semen, who was the ſame as Jupiter Olympius: but if ſo, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is neceſſary therefore to conclude with Jerome that (8) this likewiſe agrees better with Antichriſt than with Antiochus. The word *Mahuzzim* is taken perſonally, and is retained (9) in ſeveral tranſlations. It is derived from (1) a radical verb ſignifying *he was ſtrong*; and the proper meaning of it is *munitions*, *bulwarks*, *fortreſſes*: but the Hebrews often uſing abſtracts for concretes, it ſignifies equally *protectors*, *defenders*, and *guardians*, as Mr. Mede (2) hath ſhown in ſeveral inſtances. This being the derivation and ſignification of the word, the verſe may litterally be tranſlated thus, " And the god Mahuzzim in his " eſtate ſhall he honor; even a god whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he " honor with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and deſirable " things." There are examples of the ſame conſtruction in other parts of ſcripture, as particularly in Pſal. LXXXVI. 9. " they ſhall glorify " thy name;" where (3) in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the ſame as in this paſſage. But if it be thought requiſite to ſeparate *God* and *Mahuzzim*, and to expreſs the force of the particle ל, then the verſe may be tranſlated thus, " And with God," or " inſtead of God, Mahuzzim in his eſtate ſhall he honor; even with " God," or " inſtead of God, (4) thoſe whom his fathers knew not ſhall " he honor with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and deſireable " things." However it be tranſlated, the meaning evidently is, that he ſhould eſtabliſh the worſhip of *Mahuzzim*, of *protectors*, *defenders*, and *guardians*. He ſhould worſhip them as God, or with God: and who is there ſo little acquainted with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, as not to know that the worſhip of *ſaints* and *angels* was eſtabliſhed both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invocated and adored as

tranſlato nomine. Grot. in locum.

(8) Hoc magis Antichriſto quam Antiocho convenit. Hieron. ibid.

(9) Και θεον Μαωζειμ επι τοπω αυτε δοξασει. Sept. Deum autem Maozim in loco ſuo venerabitur. Vulg. Lat.

(1) מעוז Robur, Item, Arx, Munitio, a עזז Roboravit, Roberavit ſe, Roboratus fuit. Búxtorf.

(2) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 669, 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Pſalms render the word מעוז *Mahoz* υπερασπιστης, and the Vulgar Latin as often *protector*. The places are theſe; Pſal. XXVII. 1. XXVIII. 8. XXXI. 3. 5. XXXVII. 39.

(3) יכבדו לשמך glorificabunt nomen tuum.

(4) אשר often ſignifies *ille qui*, *illi qui*, as in Numb. XXII. 6. Ruth. II. 2. Gen. VII. 23. Joſh. XVII. 16. 1 Sam. XXX. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. The accuſative caſe is placed before the verb, as מעזים is in the former period; and otherwiſe there is no accuſative caſe governed by the verb יכבד.

(5) Mede's

patrons, interceſſors, and guardians of mankind; but feſtival days were inſtituted to them; miracles were aſcribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worſhipped; and their ſhrines and images were adorned with the moſt coſtly offerings, and "honored "with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones and deſireable things." And what renders the completion of the prophecy ſtill more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mahuzzim*, of *bulwarks* and *fortreſſes*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of mankind. Mr. Mede and Sir Iſaac Newton (5) have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite ſome of the principal. Baſil a monk, who was made biſhop of Cæſarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, 'that (6) 'God would preſerve the church of Cæſarea unſhaken, *being guarded* '*with the great towers of the martyrs.*' In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whoſe relics were diſperſed in all places thereabouts; 'Theſe 'are they, (7) ſaith he, who having taken poſſeſſion of our country, '*as certain conjoined towers*, ſecure it from the incurſions of our 'enemies:' and he farther invocates them, '*O ye common keepers of* '*mankind, good companions of our cares, coadjutors of our prayers,* '*moſt powerful embaſſadors to God*, &c.' Chryſoſtome in his thirty-ſecond homily upon the Epiſtle to the Romans, ſpeaking of the relics of Peter and Paul, 'This corps, (8) ſaith he, meaning of Paul, fortifies 'that city of Rome *more ſtrongly than any tower, or than ten thou-* '*ſand rampires*, as alſo doth the corps of Peter.' Are not theſe ſtrong *Mahuzzim?* In his homily likewiſe upon the Egyptian martyrs he ſpeaketh (9) after this manner, 'The bodies of theſe ſaints fortify our 'city

(5) Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 673, 674. Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſervations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

(6) ασειστον την εκκλησιαν ταυτην, φρυγμενην τοις μεγαλοις πυργοις των μαρτυρων διατηρησειε. eccleſiam hanc quæ magnis martyrum turribus munitur, cuſtodiat inconcuſſam. Baſil. Op. Vol. 2. p. 189. Edit. Benedict.

(7) ουτοι εισιν οι την καθ' ημας χωραν διαλαβοντες, οιονει πυργοι τινες συνεχεις, ασφαλειαν εκ της των εναντιων καταδρομης παρεχομενοι. Hi ſunt qui regionem noſtram obtinentes, veluti denſæ quædam turres ipſam adverſus hoſtium incurſum tuto communiunt. ibid. p. 155. ω κοινοι φυλακες τε γενες των ανθρωπων, αγαθοι κοινωνοι φροντιδων, δεησεως συνεργοι, πρεσβευται δυνατωτατοι, κ. τ. λ. O communes generis humani cuſtodes, boni curarum ſocii, precum fautores, legati potentiſſimi, &c. p. 156.

(8) τουτο το σωμα τειχιζει την πολιν εκεινην, ὁ παυλος πυργω και μυριων εξι περιβολων ασφαλεστερον· και μειζα τειχη το Πετρου. Hoc corpus urbem illam quaſi mæniis cingit, quod omni turre et vallis innumeris tutius eſt: et cum hoc etiam Petri corpus. Chryſoſt. Op. Vol. 9. p. 759. Edit. Benedict.

(9) τα γαρ των αγιων σωματα τειχων παντος αδαμαντος και

'city *more ſtrongly than any impregnable wall of adamant*; and *as* 'certain *high rocks* prominent on every ſide, not only repel the aſſaults 'of theſe enemies who fall under the ſenſes and are ſeen by the eyes, 'but alſo ſubvert and diſſipate the ſnares of inviſible demons, and 'all the ſtratagems of the devil.' Hilary alſo will tell us, that neither the *guards* of ſaints, nor [angelorum munitiones] the *bulwarks* of angels are wanting to thoſe who are willing to ſtand. Here *angels* are *Mahuzzim*, as *ſaints* were before. The Greeks at this day, in their Preces Horariæ, thus invocate the bleſſed virgin, 'O thou virgin mother 'of God, thou impregnable *wall*, thou *fortreſs* of ſalvation [מעון ישועות 'Pſal. 28.] we call upon thee, that thou wouldſt fruſtrate the purpoſes 'of our enemies, and be a *fence* to this city:' thus they go on, calling her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Chriſtians.* Gregory Nyſſen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs calleth them [δορυφοροι και υπερασπιζαι] *guarders and protectors:* Eucherius his St. Gervaſe *the perpetual* [propugnator] *protector of the faithful.* Theodoret (1) calleth the holy martyrs *Guardians of cities, Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions and Guardians, by whom diſaſters are turned from us, and thoſe which come from devils debarred and driven away.* By theſe and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mahuzzim* were worſhipped, but that they were worſhipped likewiſe as *Mahuzzim*. This ſuperſtition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year 787, the worſhip of images and the like was fully eſtabliſhed by the ſeventh general council, and the ſecond which was held at Nice: ſuch different fortune attended that city, that there the firſt general council eſtabliſhed orthodoxy, and there alſo the ſeventh eſtabliſhed idolatry by law.

και αρραγες ασφαλεστερον ημιν τειχιζει την πολιν· και καθαπερ σκοπελοι τινες υψηλοι προβεβλημενοι πανταχοθεν, ουχι τας των αισθητων τυπων, και ορωμενων εχθρων προσβολας αποκρουσαι μονον, αλλα και τας των αοραλων δαιμονων επιβυλας, και πασαν τε διαβολε μεθοδειαν αναιρεπουσι τε, και διαλυουσιν. Sanctorum enim horum corpora quovis adamantino et inexpugnabili muro tutius nobis urbem muniunt; et tamquam excelſi quidam ſcopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui ſub ſenſus cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hoſtium impetus porpulſant tantum, ſed etiam inviſibilium dæmonum inſidias omneſque diaboli fraudes ſubvertunt, ac diſſipant. Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 699.

(1) και ως πολιουχες τιμωσι και φυλακας, veneranturque tanquam urbium præſides atque cuſtodes. ετοι γε εισιν ατεχνως προμοι ανθρωπων, και προμαχοι, και επικουροι, και των κακων απολροπαιοι, τας υπο των δαιμονων επιφερομενας αποδιοπομπουμενοι βλαβας. Hi ſunt vere hominum duces, et propugnatores, et auxiliatores, malorumque depulſores, damna, quæ a dæmonibus infliguntur, procul arcentes. Theod. Op. Vol. 4. de Græcarum affectionum Curatione. Serm. 8. p. 593, 594, 600. Edit. Paris. 1642.

(2) Quod

Other inſtances of his regard to *Mahuzzim* are produced in the next verſe. " Thus ſhall he do in the moſt ſtrong holds with a ſtrange " god, whom he ſhall acknowlege, and increaſe with glory: and he ſhall " cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain." (ver. 39.) Porphyry (2) explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jeruſalem, and placing garriſons in the other cities, and perſuading the people to worſhip Jupiter; and then giving much honor and glory to thoſe whom he had ſo perſuaded, and cauſing them to rule over the other Jews, and dividing poſſeſſions and diſtributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the reſt could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter whom he had always worſhipped, be called " a ſtrange god whom he ſhould acknowlege?" The worſhip of *Mahuzzim* was indeed the worſhip of a ſtrange god both to thoſe who impoſed it, and to thoſe who received it in the Chriſtian church. But for the better underſtanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propoſe a more litteral tranſlation of it. " Thus ſhall he do; " to the defenders of Mahuzzim together with the ſtrange god whom he " ſhall acknowlege, he ſhall multiply honor; and he ſhall cauſe them " to rule over many, and the earth he ſhall divide for a reward." Mr. Mede's (3) tranſlation is ſomewhat different: but I conceive it is neither ſo litteral, nor ſo juſt to the original. " And he ſhall make the holds " of the Mahuzzim withall (or jointly) to the foreign god, whom " acknowleging he ſhall increaſe with honor; and ſhall cauſe them to " rule over many, and ſhall diſtribute the earth for a reward." Let us examin and compare the tranſlations together. In our bible-tranſlation it is, " Thus ſhall he do in the moſt ſtrong holds," or as we read in the margin, " in the fortreſſes of munitions, with a ſtrange god:" but here *Mahuzzim* is not taken perſonally, as it was in the foregoing verſe. Mr. Mede tranſlates it thus, " And he ſhall make the holds of the Ma- " huzzim withall (or jointly) to the foreign god:" but then he doth not

(2) Quod Porphyrius ita ediſſerit: faciet hæc omnia, ut muniat arcem Jeruſalem, et in cæteris urbibus ponat præſidia, et Judæos doceat adorare Deum alienum: haud dubium quin Jovem ſignificet. Quem quum illis oſtenderit, et adorandum eſſe perſuaſerit: tunc dabit deceptis honorem, et gloriam plurimam: et faciet cæteris qui in Judæa fuerint dominari, et pro prævaricatione poſſeſſiones dividet, et dona diſtribuet. Hieron. Col. 1132.

(3) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 667.

(4) ועשה Sic faciet.

(5) למבצרי מעזים propugnatoribus Mahuzzimorum.

(6) למבצרי מעזית *cuſtodibus Maozim ex* בצר, ſignificatu

not expreſs the force of the particle prefixed to *holds* in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. " Whom he ſhall acknowlege and " increaſe with glory," ſays our bible-tranſlation: but there is no conjunction like *and* before *increaſe*, and no prepoſition like *with* before *glory* in the original. Mr. Mede hath avoided the former objection by changing the verb into a participle, *Whom acknowleging he ſhall increaſe with honor*; but the latter objection remains ſtill in its full ſtrength. The latter part is much the ſame in all tranſlations: but in our bible-tranſlation there is nothing to which *them* can be referred, " And he ſhall cauſe *them* to rule over many;" for it cannot well be ſaid, that *he ſhall cauſe* the ſtrong holds *to rule over many*. Let us now conſider, how theſe inconveniences may be wholly avoided by a new tranſlation. " Thus (4) ſhall he do;" So the ſame words are tranſlated ver. 30; but then here a ſtop is to be made. " To (5) the defenders of " Mahuzzim," or " to the prieſts of Mahuzzim:" Here the force of the particle is expreſſed; here again the abſtract is uſed for the concrete as in the foregoing verſe, *holds* or *fortreſſes* for *defenders* and *ſupporters*, or *prieſts* as it may be tranſlated; and this notion of the word I find (6) approved and confirmed by Father Houbigant. It is manifeſt, that perſons muſt be meant, becauſe they are ſaid afterwards to " rule over " many. Together (7) with the ſtrange god whom he ſhall acknow- " lege:" This is the moſt uſual ſignification of the prepoſition; and if *Mahuzzim* be not conſidered as *the ſtrange god*, it is difficult to ſay who *the ſtrange god is*. " He (8) ſhall multiply honor:" Here is no conjunction, nor prepoſition inſerted without authority from the original. " He " ſhall multiply honor:" the noun is the ſame as the verb in the verſe preceding, " he ſhall honor. He ſhall multiply honor" to the defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themſelves. Deifying Mahuzzim, he ſhall alſo glorify their prieſts and miniſters: (9) " and he ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and the earth he ſhall " divide

ſignificatu Arabico, *videre*, *eſſe intelligentem*, ut ſignificentur ſacerdotes, qui dei iſtius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum inſtituebant. Liquet ex verbo המשילם *dominos faciet eos*, notari in vocabulo מבצרי perſonas, non munitiones. Houbigant in locum.

(7) עם אלוה נכר אשר הכיד una cum deo alieno quem agnoſcet.

(8) ירבה כבד multiplicabit honorem. Ver. 38. יכבד honorabit.

(9) והמשילם ברבים et dominari faciet eos in multos: ואדמה יחלק במחיר terramque partietur in mercedem.

(1) Mede's

" divide for a reward." The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meaneſt capacity. The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and prieſts, and biſhops: and of them it may moſt truly and properly be ſaid, that they were " increaſed with honor," that they " ruled over many, and divided the " land for gain." Mr. Mede (1) applies the latter part to the Mahuzzim themſelves: and he paraphraſes it after this manner; " Yea he " ſhall diſtribute the earth among his Mahuzzim; ſo that beſides ſeveral " patrimonies which in every country he ſhall allot them, he ſhall " ſhare whole kingdoms and provinces among them: Saint George " ſhall have England, Saint Andrew Scotland, Saint Denis France, " Saint James Spain, Saint Mark Venice; &c. and bear rule as pre- " ſidents and patrons of their ſeveral countries." But it appears more natural and eaſy to underſtand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worſhip of Mahuzzim, the biſhops, and prieſts, and monks, and religious orders: and that they have been honored, and reverenced, and almoſt adored in former ages; that their authority and juriſdiction have extended over the purſes and conſciences of men; that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large indowments, and have had the choiceſt of the lands appropriated for church-lands; are points of ſuch public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

Such was the degeneracy of the chriſtian church, and now we ſhall ſee its puniſhment, eſpecially in the eaſtern part of it. " And at the " time of the end ſhall the king of the ſouth puſh at him, and the king " of the north ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind with chariots, " and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the " countries, and ſhall overflow, and paſs over." (ver. 40.) Theſe things alſo (2) Porphyry refers to Antiochus: that in the eleventh year of his reign he warred again againſt his ſiſter's ſon Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing

(1) Mede's Works, p. 672.

(2) Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni ſui rurſus contra ſororis filium Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congregavit multa populorum millia. Sed Antiochus quaſi tempeſtas valida in curribus, et in equitibus, et in claſſe magna ingreſſus ſit terras plurimas, et tranſeundo univerſa vaſtaverit; veneritque ad terram inclytam, id eſt, Judæam,—et arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis, et ſic perrexerit in Ægyptum. Hieron. ibid.

(3) Obiit cum regnaſſet annos ſolidos undecim. Petavii Rat. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. So likewiſe

hearing of his coming gathered together many thouſands of the people; but Antiochus like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horſemen, and with a great fleet entered into many countries, and in paſſing over laid all waſte; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and ſo marched forwards into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falſifying hiſtory; for after Antiochus was diſmiſſed out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The (3) eleventh was the laſt year of his reign: and all (4) hiſtorians agree, that the latter part of his reign was employed in his eaſtern expedition, in reducing Artaxias king of Armenia to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Perſians; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore (5) have ſaid, that the prophet here reſumes his former ſubject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the concluſion of thoſe wars by the interpoſition of the Romans, that he ſhould return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular ſeries, it is more probable that he ſhould continue that ſeries, and proceed to other ſubſequent events, than that of a ſudden he ſhould ſtop ſhort, and revert to Antiochus, after the intermixture of ſo many other affairs. But the queſtion is not ſo much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done: and we ſhall find, that the remaining parts of the prophecy are more applicable to other ſubſequent events than to the tranſactions of Antiochus. The kings of the "ſouth" and the "north" are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is ſpeaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were ſubſiſting, ſo long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the ſouth and the north: but when theſe kingdoms were ſwallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers became the kings of the ſouth and the north. "And at the time of the end," that is, (as Mr. Mede

likewiſe Euſebius, Jerome, and Sulpitius Severus. Uſher's Annals. A. M. 3840. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164.

(4) 1 Macc. III. 31, &c. VI. 1, &c. 2 Macc. IX. 1, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudſon. Valeſii Excerpta ex Polybio p. 145. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus Siculus apud Hieron. Col. 1131.

(5) Menochius, Sanctius, Maldonatus, &c. apud Poli Synopſ. Calmet, Houbigant, &c. in locum.

(6) Mede's

Mede (6) rightly expounds it) in the latter days of the Roman empire; "ſhall the king of the ſouth puſh at him:" that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the ſouth; and under the conduct of their falſe prophet Mohammed and his ſucceſſors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his fineſt provinces. They were only to "puſh at," and ſorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to ſubvert and deſtroy it. "And the king of the north ſhall come againſt him like "a whirlwind with chariots, and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, "and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs "over:" that is the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north; and after the Saracens ſeiſed on Syria, and aſſaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themſelves abſolute maſters of the whole. The Saracens diſmembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and deſtroyed it: and for this reaſon, we may preſume, ſo much more is ſaid of the Turks than of the Saracens. Their "chariots" and their "horſemen" are particularly mentioned; becauſe their armies conſiſted chiefly of horſe, eſpecially before the inſtitution of the Janizaries, and their ſtandards ſtill are horſe-tails. Their "ſhips" too are ſaid to be "many;" and indeed without many ſhips they could never have gotten poſſeſſion of ſo many ilands and maritime countries, nor have ſo frequently vanquiſhed the Venetians, who were at that time the greateſt naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies were employed in the beſieging and taking of Conſtantinople, of Negropont or Eubœa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and laſtly of Candy or Crete? The words "ſhall enter into the countries, and overflow, and paſs over," give us an exact idea of their "overflowing" the weſtern parts of Aſia, and then "paſſing over" into Europe, and fixing the ſeat of their empire at Conſtantinople, as they did under their ſeventh emperor Mohammed the ſecond.

Among

(6) Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 674. et B. 4. p. 816.

(7) Antiochus, aiunt, feſtinans contra Ptolemæum regem auſtri, Idumæos, et Moabitas et Ammonitas, qui ex latere Judææ erant, non tetigit; ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum redderet fortiorem. Hieron. ibid.

(8) His pepercit Antiochus, quod omnia imperata facerent. Vide 1 Macc. V. Ideo Maccabæi his

Among his other conqueſts this king of the north was to take poſſeſſion of the holy land, and to ſubdue the neighbouring countries; but the mixed people of Arabia were to eſcape out of his hands. "He "ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, and many countries ſhall be "overthrown; but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom, and "Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon." (ver. 41.) Porphyry and thoſe of his opinion (7) affirm, that Antiochus marching haſtily againſt Ptolemy the king of the ſouth, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were ſituated on the ſide of Judea; leſt his being engaged in another war ſhould render Ptolemy the ſtronger. Grotius ſaith, (8) that Antiochus ſpared theſe nations, becauſe they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator, and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary, (9) aſſerts, that neither do theſe things any more than the reſt fit Antiochus; for having overthrown theſe nations, he conſtituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites. This Timotheus, I ſuppoſe, was the ſame who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the firſt book of Maccabees. The diverſity of theſe accounts demonſtrates the difficulty of accommodating this paſſage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied to Antiochus in any ſenſe. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper ſenſe. The words are, "Many coun-"tries ſhall be overthrown, but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand." The manner of expreſſion ſufficiently implies, that he ſhould attempt to conquer "theſe" as well as the reſt, but not with the ſame ſucceſs. "Theſe" ſhould not like the reſt "be overthrown;" they ſhould deliver themſelves, and "eſcape out of his hand:" and we read of no ſuch tranſaction in the hiſtory of Antiochus. We ſhall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. "He "ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land:" the ſame expreſſion "of the "glorious land" was uſed before; (ver. 16.) and in both places it is

his populis, ut Antiochi amicis, bellum intulere. Grot. in locum.

(9) Ουδε ταυτα δε αρμοττει τω Αντιοχῳ· και γαρ τουτους καταστρεψαμενος, ἡγεμονας αυτοις κατεστησεν, ὡν εις ην ὁ Τιμοθεος Αμμανιτων ἡγεμων. Neque hæc Antiocho conveniunt; etenim cum hos ſubegiſſet, duces ipſis præfuit, ex quibus unus erat Timotheus dux Ammanitarum. Theodoret in locum. p. 690. Edit. Sirmondi.

(1) Stabitque

rendered by the Syriac tranſlator (1) " the land of Iſrael." Now nothing is better known, than that the Turks took poſſeſſion of the holy land, and remain maſters of it to this day. Sultan Selim (2) entered into Jeruſalem in his way to Egypt. " And many countries ſhall be over-" thrown:" Aleppo, Damaſcus, Gaza, and the neighbouring cities and countries were forced to ſubmit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror. " But theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and " the chief of the children of Ammon:" theſe were ſome of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able with all their forces to ſubdue entirely. Sultan Selim their ninth emperor, was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conqueſt of the Arabians. By large gifts (3) he brought over ſome of their chieftains, and ſo bribed them to a ſubmiſſion: and ever ſince his time, (4) the Othman emperors have paid them an annual penſion of forty thouſand crowns of gold for the ſafe paſſage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther ſecurity the Sultan commonly orders the Baſha of Damaſcus to attend them with ſoldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their number never fall ſhort of fourteen thouſand. This penſion was not paid for ſome years on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the conſequence? One of the Arabian princes in the year 1694, with ſeveral thouſands of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all priſoners. The neighbouring Baſha's were ſent againſt him; but the prince defeated them all by a ſtratagem, and put them to flight. Among the priſoners who had been taken was the moſt illuſtrious Chan of Tartary, whom the Arabians diſmiſſed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the penſion. He ſtood to his engagement, and never ceaſed importuning the Othman court, till the arrears of the penſion were duly paid. But notwithſtanding this penſion, the Arabians, as often as they find a lucky opportunity, rob and plunder the Turks

(1) Stabitque in terra Iſraelis. ver. 16. Perveniet-que ad terram Iſraelis. ver. 41. Syr.

(2) Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. 1. p. 243. Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire in Selim I. Sect. 21. p. 163. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hiſt. Turcic. Cap. 210. p. 486. Edit. Paris. p. 366. Edit. Venet. Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 17. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo.

(3) Savage ibid. p. 248. Itaque Selymus per idoneos

Turks as well as other travelers. An inſtance of the ſame kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of Feb. 11, 1758. "Conſtantinople, December 23. The Mecca caravan, which has been "lately plundered by the Arabs, was attacked by a numerous body of "that people; ſome ſay, from 30 to 40,000. The action laſted 16 "hours. They firſt cut off the Baſha of Sidon, who marched out as "uſual to ſupply the pilgrims with proviſions; he was killed in the en-"gagement; then they turned and attacked the caravan. The Emir "Hadgé, or commanding Baſha, offered them 1000 purſes of money "to deſiſt; but they refuſed any terms, being determined by a mere "principle of revenge, for their tribes having been laid aſide as con-"ductors or guards to the caravan, and others ſubſtituted in their "place; and it is thought the removal of their favourite, Ezade-"Baſha, from that poſt to Aleppo, had alſo ſome ſhare in it. At the "return to Damaſcus of the fugitive ſoldiery, who convoyed the caravan, "thoſe in the town roſe up in arms againſt them, as traitors to their "faith; a great ſlaughter enſued, and continued ſome time; but there "are advices ſince, that all is quieted there. The Baſha of the "caravan fled to Gaza, with about 15 or 16 of his people, and it "is thought he will loſe his head. The riches loſt to many cities of "this empire, which are either taken by the Arabs, or diſperſed in the "deſerts, are computed to amount to an immenſe ſum, as they are "ſupplied from India with all ſorts of valuable merchandize, ſpices, "&c. by that canal. A like accident happened in the year 1694, "under Ahmed the 2d." Other inſtances of the ſame kind have happened ſince; and are alſo recorded in the London Gazette; but I cannot recollect the dates, and at preſent have not the collection of Gazettes to apply to upon this occaſion. So conſtantly have the Arabs maintained the ſame ſpirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually controll them. Armies have been ſent againſt parties of the Arabians, but without ſucceſs. Theſe free-booters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies: and when it was thought that they

neos homines plures eorum duces data fide ad ſe Memphim evocavit, et ſumma liberalitate proſecutus eſt: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut cæteri quotidie accederent, acceptiſque muneribus in verba ejus continuo jurarent. Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 18. p. 1064. Edit. Gryphii. 1561.

(4) Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. in Ahmed. II. Sect. 49. p. 393. with the note, and alſo in Bajazet II. Sect. 1. p. 116. with note 2.

(5) Hæc

were well nigh ſurrounded and taken, they have ſtill " eſcaped out of " their hands." So well doth this particular prediction relating to ſome of the tribes of the Arabians agree with that general one concerning the main body of the nation, (Gen. XVI. 12.) " He will be a wild man; " his hand will be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt " him: and he ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his brethren."

But tho' the Arabians ſhould " eſcape out of his hands," yet Egypt ſhould " not eſcape," but fall under his dominion together with the adjoining countries. " He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the " countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have " power over the treaſures of gold and of ſilver, and over all the pre- " cious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians ſhall be " at his ſteps." (ver. 42, 43.) We read, ſaith (5) Jerome, that Antiochus did theſe things in part: but what follows relating to the Libyans and Ethiopians, our doctors aſſert, agrees better with Antichriſt; for Antiochus did not poſſeſs Libya and Ethiopia. Theodoret too (6) affirms, that theſe things alſo by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither poſſeſſed Libya, nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itſelf. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus; and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. " He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon " the countries:" This implies that his dominions ſhould be of large extent; and he hath " ſtretched forth his hand" upon many, not only Aſian and European, but likewiſe African countries. Egypt in particular was deſtined to ſubmit to his yoke: " And the land of Egypt " ſhall not eſcape; but he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold " and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:" and the conqueſt of Egypt with the neighbouring countries follows next in order after the conqueſt of Judea with the neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, ſo likewiſe in hiſtory. The Othman emperor Selim, (7) having routed and ſlain Gauri ſultan of Egypt in a battle near Aleppo, became maſter of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into

(5) Hæc Antiochum ex parte feciſſe legimus. Sed quod ſequitur, *per Libyas et Æthiopias tranſibit*, magis noſtri aſſerunt Antichriſto convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam plerique Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiamque non tenuit. Hieron. ibid.

(6) Και ταυτα δε ουκ αρμοττει τω Αντιοχω· ουτε γαρ Λιβυης, ουτε Αιθιοπιας επρατησεν, ουτε δε αυτης της Αιγυπτου. Et hæc item minime conveniunt Antiocho: qui neque Libya, neque Æthiopia, neque etiam ipſa Ægypto potitus eſt. Theod. ibid. p. 691.

(7) Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. in Selim I. Sect. 16. p. 156, &c. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut,

into Egypt againſt Tumanbäi the new ſultan, whom alſo having vanquiſhed and taken priſoner, he barbarouſly ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo: and ſo put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and eſtabliſhed that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy ſays particularly, that "he ſhould have power over the treaſures of gold "and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:" And hiſtory informs us, that (8) when Cairo was taken, "the Turks rifled the "houſes of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and ſuffered nothing "to be locked up or kept private from them: and Selim cauſed 500 of "the chiefeſt families of the Egyptians to be tranſported to Conſtanti-"nople, as likewiſe a great number of the Mamalucs wives and chil-"dren, beſides the ſultan's treaſure and other vaſt riches." And ſince that time, it is impoſſible to ſay what immenſe treaſures have been drained out of this rich and fertil, but oppreſſed and wretched country. The prophecy ſays farther, that ſome others alſo of the African nations ſhould ſubmit to the conqueror, "the Libyans and the Ethiopians "ſhould be at his ſteps:" And we read in hiſtory, that (9) after the conqueſt of Egypt, "the terror of Selim's many victories now ſpread-"ing wide, the kings of Afric bordering upon Cyreniaca, ſent their "embaſſadors with proffers to become his tributaries. Other more "remote nations alſo towards Ethiopia were eaſily induced to join in "amity with the Turks." At this preſent time alſo many places in Africa beſides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are under the dominion of the Turks. One thing more is obſervable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that the particular prophecy coincides exactly with the general one, as it did before in the inſtance of Arabia. It was foretold by Ezekiel, (XXIX. 14. XXX. 12.) that Egypt ſhould always be "a baſe "kingdom," and ſubject to ſtrangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it ſhould be made a province to the Turks, as we ſee at this day.

The

Rycaut, Vol. I. p. 240, &c. Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 18. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. p. 341. Edit. Paris. p. 265. Edit. Venet. Pandect. Hiſt. Turc. Cap. 207, &c.

(8) Savage, ibid. p. 246, and 248. Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 18.

(9) Savage, ibid. p. 248. Ipſique Africæ reges Cyreniacæ finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et Sulthanis certo fœdere parere conſueverant, legationes deſtinabant. —Omneſque hæ gentes, quæ ad Æthiopiam vergunt, ſicuti amicitiam potius, quam imperium Sulthanorum agnoſcebant, ita victoriæ fama perductæ, in Turcarum fidem facile conceſſere. Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 18. p. 1062 et 1065. Edit. Gryph. 1561.

(1) Prideaux

The two next, which are the two laſt verſes of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. " But tidings out of the eaſt, and out of " the north ſhall trouble him: therefore he ſhall go forth with great " fury to deſtroy, and utterly to make away many. And he ſhall plant " the tabernacles of his palace," or rather " of his camp, between the " ſeas in the glorious holy mountain," or as it is in the margin " the " mountain of delight of holineſs; yet he ſhall come to his end, and " none ſhall help him." (ver. 44, 45.) Prideaux (1) and other learned men as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this paſſage to Antiochus; to his hearing of the revolt of the provinces in the eaſt, and of Artaxias in the north; and to his going forth therefore in great anger and with a great army to reduce them to their obedience. But if this part might be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be ſaid afterwards to " plant the tabernacles of his camp between the ſeas in the glorious holy " mountain;" for he returned no more into Judea, but died in that eaſtern expedition? Porphyry therefore (2) conſiders the word *Aphedno*, which we tranſlate *his palace* or *his camp*, as the proper name of a place ſituated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: But as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any hiſtory, wherein mention is made of any ſuch place; neither can he ſay which is " the glorious and holy " mountain;" beſide the folly of interpreting two ſeas by two rivers. Father Houbigant (3) underſtands it as the name of a place ſituated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, ſays he, was " between two ſeas," namely the Caſpian and Euxine, in Armenia itſelf, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he produce any authority for his aſſertions. Where doth he read of any ſuch place as *Aphedno* between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas? Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he allegeth,

(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in locum, &c. &c. Porphyr. apud Hieron. Col. 1133. Grotius in locum. Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio. Parthi ad *orientem* Antiocho, Armenii ad *ſeptentrionem*. De Partho teſtimonium habemus Taciti, ubi de Judæis agit, " Rex Antiochus demere ſuperſtitionem et mores Græcorum dare admixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus eſt."

(2) *Aphedno*, qui inter duo latiſſima ſitus eſt flumina, Tigrim et Euphratem. Quumque hucuſque proceſſerit, in quo monte inclyto ſederit, et ſancto, dicere non poteſt: quanquam inter duo maria eum ſediſſe probare non poteſt; et ſtultum ſit duo Meſopotamiæ flumina, duo maria interpretari. Hieron. Col. 1133.

(3) Accipymus

legeth, teſtifieth no ſuch thing. Both the (4) books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Perſia, through Babylon according to the firſt book, through Ecbatana according to the ſecond, "in the "mountains" indeed, but it is not ſaid in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not die there. Beſides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called "the glorious holy "mountain?" Theodotion and Aquila too (5) render it *Aphedanos* the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome alſo, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it muſt be ſome place in the holy land; becauſe in the Pſalms (CVI. 24.) "the pleaſant land," in Jeremiah (III. 19.) "the pleaſant land, the goodly heritage," and in Ezekiel (XX. 6.) "the glory of all lands," and conſtantly throughout the book of Daniel, "the pleaſant land" (VIII. 9.) "the glorious land" (XI. 16.) and again "the glorious land" (ver. 41.) are appellatives of the holy land; and ſo conſequently "the glorious holy mountain" muſt be Sion, or Olivet, or ſome mountain in the holy land, which lieth "between "the ſeas," (6) the Dead Sea on the eaſt, and the Mediterranean on the weſt. But after all *Aphedno* doth not ſeem to be the name of any place. They who render it as the proper name of a place, moſt probably did not know what elſe to make of it: but the word (7) occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, (XLIII. 10.) and there it ſignifies "a pavilion, "and he ſhall ſpread his royal pavilion over them;" and to the ſame purpoſe it ſhould be tranſlated here, "he ſhall plant the tabernacles of "his camp between the ſeas in the glorious holy mountain." This prophecy then cannot by the help of any explication be made to fit and agree with Antiochus: and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as theſe events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactneſs. Mr. Mede (8) ſuppoſeth, that "the

(3) Accipimus *Aphedno*, ut nomen loci, in montibus narrat liber Machabæorum Antiochum occidiſſe. Hic locus erat *inter duo maria* nimirum mare Caſpium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipſa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias. Houbigant in locum.

(4) 1 Macc. IV. 4. 2 Macc. IX. 2, 28.

(5) Theodotio: *Et figet tabernaculum ſuum in Aphedano inter maria.* Aquila: *Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii ſui in* Αφαδανῳ *inter maria.* Aphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur. Hieron. Col. 1134.

(6) Inter duo maria, mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Mortuum ab oriente, et mare Magnum. Hieron. Col. 1134.

(7) אפדניה Et extendet *tentorium ſuum* ſuper eos.

(8) Mede's Works. B. 4. p. 816.

(9) Cap.

" the *tidings from the eaſt and north* may be that of the return of Judah " and Iſrael from thoſe quarters. For Judah was carried captive at the firſt " into the *eaſt*, and Iſrael by the Aſſyrian into the *north*, (namely in re- " ſpect of the holy land) and in thoſe parts the greateſt number of each " are diſperſed at this day. Of the reduction of Iſrael from the *north*, ſee " the prophecies Jer. XVI. 14, 15. and chap. XXIII. 8. alſo chap. " XXXI. 8. Or if this *tidings from the north* may be ſome other thing, " yet *that from the eaſt* I may have ſome warrant to apply to the Jews " return, from that of the *ſixth vial* in the Apocalyps XVI. 12. where " the waters of the great river Euphrates are dried up, to prepare the " way of the *kings of the eaſt*." If this application be not admitted, yet it is univerſally known, that the Perſians are ſeated to the eaſt of the Othman dominions, and the Ruſſians to the north. Perſia hath indeed of late years been miſerably torn and diſtracted by inteſtin diviſions; but when it ſhall unite again in a ſettled government under one ſovran, it may become again, as it hath frequently been, a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman emperor. The power of Ruſſia is growing daily; and it is a current tradition among the common people in Turky, that their empire ſhall one time or other be deſtroyed by the Ruſſians. Sir Paul Rycaut in his account of the (9) Preſent State of the Greek Church, ſpeaking of the reſpect and reverence which the Muſcovites have for the ſee of Conſtantinople, ſays alſo that " the Greeks on the other ſide have " an eſteem and affection for the Muſcovites, as for thoſe whom an- " cient prophecies mention to be deſigned by God, for their avengers " and deliverers in after-ages." Which, if it proveth nothing more, yet proveth that the Greek church interpreted this prophecy much in the ſame ſenſe as we explain it. However this may be, the Port is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of Perſia and Ruſſia, and exerts all its policy to prevent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks; and who can ſay what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Port? who can ſay, how unlikely ſoever it be at preſent, that they may not hereafter be made inſtruments of providence in the reſtoration of the Jews? Whatever

(9) Cap. 3. p. 83.

(1) החרים Anathematizavit, Anathemate vel anathemati, internecioni, perditioni devovit: Conſecravit, Devotum effecit. Buxtorf.

(2) See

ever be the motive and occaſion, the Turk "ſhall go forth with great "fury to deſtroy, and utterly to make away many." The original word, which we tranſlate "utterly to make away," (1) ſignifies "to anatha-"matize, to conſecrate, to devote to utter perdition," ſo that it ſtrongly implies, that this war ſhould be made upon a religious account. "And "he ſhall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the ſeas in the "glorious holy mountain." It is a notion advanced by (2) ſome commentators, that here both the Turk and the Pope are ſignified, the former of whom hath fixed his ſeat between the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas at Conſtantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic at Rome; both Antichriſts, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But ſuch notions are more ingenious than ſolid, and have rather the ſemblance of worth than the ſubſtance. "Between "the ſeas in the glorious holy mountain" muſt denote, as we have ſhown, ſome part of the holy land. There the Turk ſhall incamp with all his power, "yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him," ſhall help him effectually, or deliver him. The ſame times and the ſame events ſeem to be preſignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning "Gog of the land of Magog." He likewiſe is a northern power. He is repreſented as of (3) Scythian extraction. (XXXVIII. 2.) He "cometh from his place out of the north parts." (ver. 15.) His army too is deſcribed as conſiſting chiefly of "horſes and horſemen," (ver. 4.) He likewiſe hath "Ethiopia and Lybia with him." (ver. 5.) He "ſhall "come up againſt the people of Iſrael in the latter days" (ver. 16.) after their return from captivity. (ver. 8.) He too ſhall incamp "upon the "mountains of Iſrael." (XXXIX. 2.) He ſhall alſo "fall upon the "mountains of Iſrael, and all the people that is with him." (ver. 4.) There the divine judgments ſhall overtake him, (XXXVIII. 22, 23.) and God ſhall be "magnified" and "ſanctified in the eyes of many na-"tions."

At that time there ſhall be great tribulation, (XII. 1.) "ſuch as ne-"ver was ſince there was a nation, even to that ſame time:" And after that ſhall be the general reſurrection, (ver. 2.) "and many of them that

(2) See Poole, and his additional commentators.
(3) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. Col. 117, &c.

(4) πολλοι

" ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting life, " and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt." They certainly are guilty of manifeſt violence and injury to the ſacred text, and rack and torture the words to confeſs a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this paſſage, than the perſecution of the Jews by Antiochus, and the Maccabees after ſome time coming out of the holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themſelves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies. Theſe critics uſually pretend to be ſtrong advocates for the litteral and obvious meaning of the prophecies: but here they pervert the plaineſt expreſſions into figures, and prefer the moſt forced to the moſt natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had ſuffered under Nebuchadnezzar; ſo that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned " a " time of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there was a nation." The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleanſed the ſanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himſelf: but the reſurrection in this place is deſcribed as ſomething ſubſequent to the deſtruction of the king of the north. Beſides how could the Maccabees, who were a ſett of brave virtuous men, zealouſly devoted to their religion, liberty and country, by coming forth from the rocks and caves to oppoſe the enemy in the open field, be ſaid to " awake, " ſome to everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt?" Such expreſſions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt: and though it be ſaid " many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake," yet that is no objection to the truth here delivered; for as (4) Theodoret obſerved long ago, the prophet hath ſaid " many" for *all*, in the ſame manner as St. Paul hath put " many" for *all*, when he ſaid, " If thro' " the offenſe of one" many " be dead, much more the grace of God, and " the gift by grace which is by one man, Jeſus Chriſt, hath abounded " unto" many: (Rom. V. 15.) and again (ver. 19.) " As by one " man's diſobedience" many " were made ſinners, ſo by the obedience " of

(4) πολλοι δε, αντι τε παιτες εφη. και γαρ ὁ μακαριος Παυλος αντι τε παντες, οἱ πολλοι τεθεικε λεγων. κ. τ. λ. *Multi* autem pro *omnes* dixit. Etenim beatus quoque Paulus *multi* pro *omnes* poſuit, cum dixit, &c. Theod. in locum. p. 693.

(5) הפלאות

" of one ſhall" many " be made righteous." The proper concluſion of all is the general reſurrection, and the conſequent happineſs of the wiſe and good; (ver. 3.) " And they that be wiſe, ſhall ſhine as the bright-" neſs of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteouſneſs as " the ſtars for ever and ever."

The angel having thus finiſhed his prophecy of the things " noted in " the ſcripture of truth," an inquiry is made relating to the time of theſe events. It was ſaid before (XI. 40.) " At the time of the end ſhall the " king of the ſouth puſh at him:" and here the queſtion is aſked (ver. 6.) (5) " How long ſhall be the end of theſe wonders?" The anſwer is returned in the moſt ſolemn manner, (ver. 7.) " that it ſhall be for a " time, times, and a half. A time, times, and a half," as there hath been occaſion to ſhow in a former diſſertation, are three prophetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half are 1260 prophetic days; and 1260 prophetic days are 1260 years. The ſame time therefore is prefixed for the deſolation and oppreſſion of the eaſtern church, as for the tyranny of the little horn (VII. 25.) in the weſtern church: And it is wonderfully remarkable, that the doctrin of Mohammed was firſt forged at Mecca, and the ſupremacy of the Pope was eſtabliſhed by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, in the very ſame year of Chriſt 606. " It is to be obſerved, ſays (6) Dean Prideaux, that " Mahomet began this impoſture about the ſame time that the Biſhop " of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, firſt " aſſumed the title of Univerſal Paſtor, and thereon claimed to him-" ſelf that ſupremacy which he hath been ever ſince endevoring to " uſurp over the chriſtian church. [Phocas made this grant A. D. 606. " which was the very year that Mahomet retired to his cave to forge " that impoſture there, which two years after A. D. 608. he began to " propagate at Mecca.] And from this time both having conſpired to " found themſelves an empire in impoſture, their followers have been " ever ſince endevoring by the ſame methods, that is, thoſe of fire and " ſword, to propagate it among mankind; ſo that Antichriſt ſeems at " this time to have ſet both his feet upon Chriſtendom together, the

(5) עדימתי קץ הפלאות Uſque quo finis mirabilium; Pagnin. Uſque quo finis horum mirabilium? Vul. Εως ποτε το τερας; ων ειρηκας των θαυμασιων; Sept.

(6) Life of Mahomet. p. 13. 8th Edit. See alſo Biſhop Jewel's Reply to Harding, p. 181.

(7) אלה

" one in the eaſt, and the other in the weſt; and how much each hath " trampled upon the church of Chriſt, the ages ever ſince ſucceeding " have abundantly experienced." There is a farther notation of the time in the following words, " And when he ſhall have accompliſhed to " ſcatter the power of the holy people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed:" when the Jews ſhall be recalled from their diſperſion, then all theſe things ſhall receive their full and final completion. The prophet, not ſufficiently underſtanding this anſwer, (7) inquired, (ver. 8) " What" or " how long ſhall be theſe latter times" or " latter wonders?" And it is anſwered again, (ver. 11.) that " from the time of taking away the " daily ſacrifice, and ſetting up the abomination that maketh deſolate, " there ſhall be a thouſand two hundred and ninety days." The days ſtill are prophetic days or years: but even if they were natural days, they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The " ſetting up of the abomination of deſo- " lation" appears to be a general phraſe, and comprehenſive of various events. It is applied by the writer of the firſt book of Maccabees (I. 54.) to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, and his ſetting up the image of Jupiter Olympius upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour (Matt. XXIV. 15.) to the deſtruction of the city and temple by the Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Veſpaſian. It may for the ſame reaſon be applied to the Roman emperor Adrian's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the ſame place where the temple of God had ſtood; and to the miſery of the Jews, and the deſolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal juſtice be applied to the Mohammedans invading and deſolating Chriſtendom, and converting the churches into moſques: and this latter event ſeemeth to have been particularly intended in this paſſage. If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the eaſt the ſpace of 1260 years; and then a great and glorious revolution will follow; perhaps the reſtoration of the Jews, perhaps the deſtruction of Antichriſt; but another ſtill greater and more glorious will ſucceed: and what can this be ſo probably as the full converſion of the Gentiles to the

(7) מה אחרית אלה.

(8) See Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 717. De numeris Danielis.

(9) Prid. Connect. Part. 2. B. 3. in the concluſion.

(1) As

the church of Chriſt and the beginning of the millennium or reign of the ſaints upon earth? For (ver. 12.) "bleſſed is he that waiteth, and "cometh to the thouſand three hundred and five and thirty days." Here are then three different periods aſſigned, 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years: and what is the preciſe time of their beginning and conſequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and ſignal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty diſcover. If we are miſtaken in our conjectures, it is no more than (8) Mr. Mede and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully underſtand and explain theſe things: for as the angel ſaid to Daniel himſelf, (ver. 4 and 9.) tho' "many ſhould run to and fro," ſhould inquire and examin into theſe things, "and" thereby "knowlege ſhould be increaſed;" yet the full underſtanding of them is reſerved for the time of the end, "the words are cloſed up, and ſealed till the time of the end." But however the great uncertainty of theſe events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot ſhake the credit and certainty of thoſe particulars, which have already been accompliſhed. As (9) Prideaux judiciouſly obſerves, it is the nature of ſuch prophecies not to be thoroughly underſtood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that ſuch prophecies are therefore like the pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and deluſive nature. Obſcure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obſcurity and equivocation. The pagan oracles were purpoſely worded in ſuch a manner, that if they failed in one ſenſe, they might hold good in another, tho' (1) directly the contrary: the ſcripture-prophecies have a determined meaning, and tho' ſometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The pagan oracles were delivered for the immediate direction of thoſe who conſulted them, and therefore a miſtake at firſt was of more fatal conſequence: the ſcripture-prophecies were intended more for the inſtruction and illumination of future ages, and therefore it is ſufficient if time ſhall illuſtrate the particulars. The pagan oracles are

(1) As in theſe inſtances
Crœſus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim.
Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere poſſe.

(2) Or

are no ſooner underſtood, than they are deſpiſed, whereas the reverſe is true of the ſcripture-prophecies, and the better you underſtand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonſtrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and dignity.

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending ſo many various events, and extending thro' ſo many ſucceſſive ages, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire, above 530 years before Chriſt, to the general reſurrection! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazing ſurely, and the more divine it muſt appear, if not to an infidel like Porphyry, yet to all who like Grotius have any belief of revelation. How much nobler and more exalted the ſenſe, more important and more worthy to be known by men and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular ſeries of affairs, by the moſt eaſy and natural conſtruction; than when confined and limited to the times and actions of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled by the moſt ſtrained and unnatural interpretation! What ſtronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the tranſactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inſpired by him, "a man "greatly beloved," as he is often addreſſed by the angel! Our bleſſed Saviour (Matt. XXIV. 15.) hath beſtowed upon him the appellation of "Daniel the prophet;" and that is authority ſufficient for any Chriſtian: but in this work have been produced ſuch inſtances and atteſtations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot diſprove. The character that is given of him by Joſephus is nothing more than ſtrictly his due. It expreſſeth the ſenſe of the Jewiſh church; and the ſame muſt be the ſentiments of every man, who will

(2) Ου γαρ τα μελλοντα μονον προφητευων διετελει, καθαπερ και οἱ αλλοι προφηται, αλλα και καιρον ὡριζεν, εις ὁν ταυτα αποβησεται. Non enim futura ſolum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere ſolebat, ſed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) ταυτα παντα εκεινος, Θεου δειξαντος αυτῳ, συγγραψας κατελειψεν· ὡστε τους αναγινωσκοντας, και τα συμβαινοντα σκοπουντας, θαυμαζειν επι τῃ παρα τω Θεω τιμῃ τον Δανιηλον· και τους Ελληνιζειν οκ τοτων ευρισκειν παυομενους, οἱ την τε προνοιαν εκβαλλουσι του βιου, και τον Θεον ουκ αξιουσιν επιτροπευειν των πραγματων, ουδ' ὑπο της μακαριας και αφθαρτου προς διαμονην των ὁλων ουσιας κυβερνασθαι τα συμπαντα, αμοιρον δ' ηνιοχης και φροντιδος τον κοσμον αυτοματως φερεσθαι λεγουσιν. ὡς ει τουτον απροσατητος ην τον τροπον, καθαπερ και τας ναυς ερημους κυβερνητων καταδυομενας ὁρωμεν ὑπο των πνευματων, η και τα ἁρματα περιτρεπομενα μη εχοντα τους ηνιοχευτας, συμπιπτοντα αν απο της απρονοητου φορας, απολωλει και διεφθειρετο. τοις γαρ προειρημενοις ὑπο Δανιηλου δοκησι μοι σφοδρα της αληθους δοξης διαμαρτανειν, οἱ τῳ Θεῳ μισθαρνιαν ειναι περι των ανθρωπινων αποφαινομενοι προνοιαν. ου γαρ αν κατα την εκεινου προφη-

will conſider and compare the prophecies and events together. This hiſtorian is commending the ſuperior excellence of Daniel's predictions; 'for he was wont, (2) ſays he, not only to foretel future things, as other 'prophets alſo did; but he likewiſe determined the time, wherein they 'ſhould happen.' Afterwards having mentioned ſome of Daniel's prophecies he (3) proceeds thus: 'All theſe things, God having ſhown 'them to him, he left in writing, that they who read them, and be-'hold the events might admire Daniel for the honor vouchſafed unto 'him by God; and by theſe things might be convinced how much the 'Epicureans are miſtaken, who deny a providence, and allow not that 'God regards human actions, nor that all things are governed by a 'bleſſed and immortal Being for the preſervation of the whole, but 'aſſert that the world is carried on at random without a guide or 'ruler: which, if it was without a governor as they pretend, would 'have been deſtroyed by the blind impulſe, and have periſhed and 'come to nought, as we ſee ſhips, which are deſtitute of pilots, 'overwhelmed by the ſtorms, and chariots overturned and broken to 'pieces, which have no drivers. For by theſe things predicted by 'Daniel, they appear to me widely to err from the truth, who declare, 'that God hath no care of human affairs: for we ſhould not ſee all 'things ſucceed according to his prophecies, if it happened that the 'world was governed by chance.'

In ſhort we ſee how well Daniel deſerves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him (XIV. and XXVIII.) for his "piety" and "wiſdom:" and theſe uſually go together, for as the angel ſaith, (ver. 10.) "none of the wicked ſhall underſtand, but the wiſe ſhall "underſtand." Happy are they, who both know the will of God, and do it!

XVIII.

προφητειαν, ει συνεβαινεν αυτοματισμῳ τινι τον κοσμον διαγειν, παντα ιωρμειν αποβαινοντα. Iſta omnia, a Deo ſibi monſtrata, ſcriptis conſignata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et eventus perſpexerint, Danielum mirentur ob tam inſignem honorem illi a Deo habitum; et Epicureos *magno* in errore verſari deprehendant, qui providentiam e vita ejiciunt, et a Deo res *humanas* curari non exiſtimant, nec omnia a natura beata et immortali (ad univerſitatis rerum perennitatem) regi et adminiſtrari *volunt*, ſed ſine rectore et curatore mundum ſuopte impetu ferri aſſeverant: qui ſi ita ut illi autumant præſide careret, quemadmodum naves ſine gubernatoribus videmus procellis *et fluctibus* obrui, curruſque aurigis deſtitutos percelli, temerario *ſane* motu labefactatus concideret periretque. Cumque iſta prædicta fuerint a Danielo, videntur mihi a vera opinione multum aberrare, qui Deum non curare pronunciant quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus reſpondiſſe conſpiceremus, ſi omnia in mundo temeritate regerentur. ibid. p. 466.

(1) πρωτον

XVIII.

Our Saviour's Prophecies relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewiſh church, conſiſting only of a ſingle nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpoſitions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favor and protection, and was from time to time inſtructed by prophets raiſed up and ſent one after another as occaſions required. But the Chriſtian church being deſigned to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at firſt erected by miracle, but like the world too is ſince governed by a general ordinary providence, by eſtabliſhed laws, and the mediation of ſecond cauſes. This difference in the nature and conſtitution of the two churches, is the reaſon why prophecies, and miracles, and other ſupernatural powers, which were continued ſo long, and repeated ſo frequently in the Jewiſh church, were in the Chriſtian church confined to the firſt ages, and limited chiefly to the perſons of our bleſſed Saviour, and his diſciples, and their companions. There were "prophets" (Acts XI. 27.) who "came from Je-"ruſalem unto Antioch. One of them named Agabus" (ver. 28.) foretold the "great dearth, which came to paſs in the days of Claudius "Cæſar." The ſame prophet foretold likewiſe (Acts XXI. 10, 11.) the bonds and impriſonment of St. Paul. Philip the evangeliſt had alſo (ver. 9.) "four daughters, virgins, which did propheſy." Prophetic as well as other ſpiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; "their ſons and their daughters did propheſy," (Acts II. 17.) "their "young men ſaw viſions, and their old men dreamed dreams." But the

the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preſerve, are ſome delivered by our bleſſed Saviour himſelf, and by his apoſtles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

Our bleſſed Saviour, as he was the great ſubject of prophecy, ſo was an illuſtrious prophet himſelf; as he excelled in all other ſpiritual gifts and graces, ſo was eminent in this alſo; and gave ample proofs of his divine commiſſion by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he ſaid upon one occaſion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accompliſhment is a ſufficient atteſtation of his being the Meſſiah; (John XIII. 19.) "Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come "to paſs, ye may believe that I am he." He foretold not only his own paſſion, death, and reſurrection, but alſo the manner and circumſtances of them, that he ſhould be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iſcariot the ſon of Simon; that all the reſt ſhould be offended becauſe of him that very night, and notwithſtanding their proteſtations to the contrary, ſhould forſake him and fly; that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the reſt, before the cock crew twice, ſhould deny him thrice; that he ſhould be betrayed to the chief prieſts, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to ſcourge, to ſpit upon, and to kill him; that he ſhould be crucified, and the third day ſhould riſe again, and appear to his diſciples in Galilee. He foretold that his apoſtles ſhould be enabled of plain fiſhers to become fiſhers of men; that they ſhould be indued with power from on high to ſpeak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they ſhould go forth into all nations, and publiſh the glad tidings of the goſpel unto the uttermoſt parts of the earth. He foretold the perſecutions and ſufferings which his diſciples ſhould undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age ſhould glorify God, and that John ſhould ſurvive till after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven ſhould be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who ſhould bring forth the fruits thereof; that the number of his diſciples from ſmall beginnings ſhould increaſe wonderfully, as a little ſeed groweth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church ſhould be ſo founded upon a rock, that it ſhould ſtand for ever, and all the powers of hell ſhould not prevail againſt it. Theſe

things were moſt of them contrary to all human appearances, and impoſſible to be foreſeen by human prudence or effected by human power; and he muſt be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and diſpoſition of future events, who could foretel them with ſuch certainty and exactneſs: and ſome of them are actually accompliſhing in the world at this preſent time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than thoſe relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the deſign of theſe diſcourſes: and we will conſider them as they lie in the twenty fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in alſo what is ſuperadded by the other evangeliſts upon parallel occaſions. Theſe prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is univerſally allowed to be the (1) firſt of the four goſpels; the firſt in time, as it is always placed the firſt in order. It was written, as (2) moſt writers affirm, in the eighth year after the aſcenſion of our Saviour. It muſt have been written before the diſperſion of the apoſtles, becauſe (3) St. Bartholomew is ſaid to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found ſeveral years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, for there was no occaſion for writing in that language after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the diſperſion of the Jews into all nations. It is aſſerted upon (4) good authority, that the Goſpels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papias Biſhop of Hierapolis and Clemens Alexandrinus ſay expreſly that the Goſpel of St. Mark was written at the deſire of the new converts, and ratified by St. Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the ſecond Goſpel is that of Mark, who wrote

(1) πρωτον μεν γεγραπθαι το κατα τον ποτε τελωνην, ὑστερον δε αποστολον Ιησυ Χριστυ Ματθαιον. Primum evangelium ſcriptum eſſe a Matthæo, prius quidem publicano, poſtea vero apoſtolo Jeſu Chriſti. Origen. apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. &c. &c.

(2) On croit que ſaint Matthieu commença a travailler à ſon evangile, la huitiéme année après la reſurrection du Sauveur; c'eſt-a-dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Preſque tous les anciens manuſcrits Grecs le marquent ainſi à la fin de ſon volume. Calmet Preface. Magno conſenſu perhibent Patres, Matthæum, in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palæſtina, evangelium ſuum ſcripſiſſe, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hieroſolymis, octavo poſt aſcenſionem Chriſti anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit. Wetſtein.

(3) Euſeb.

wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Goſpel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian ſaith, that Mark's Goſpel is affirmed to be Peter's, whoſe interpreter Mark was; and Luke's Goſpel they are wont to aſcribe to Paul. So Jerome ſaith, that the Goſpel according to Mark, who was the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, is ſaid to be Peter's. Theſe authorities are more than ſufficient to weigh down the ſingle teſtimony of Irenæus to the contrary; but beſides theſe Gregory Nazianzen, Athanaſius, and other fathers might be alleged to prove, that the Goſpels of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul: and it is very well known, that both theſe apoſtles ſuffered martyrdom under Nero. The Goſpel of St. Mark muſt have been written at lateſt in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the (5) eighth year of Nero according to Jerome. The Goſpel of St. Luke was written before the Acts of the Apoſtles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the apoſtles concluding with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written ſoon after that time, and before the death of St. Paul. It may be concluded then as certain that three of the four Goſpels were written and publiſhed before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; Dr. Lardner himſelf, who fixed the time of writing the three firſt Goſpels later than moſt other authors, yet (6) maintains that they were all publiſhed ſome years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; and in all probability the writers themſelves were dead before that period; St. Matthew and St. Mark were certainly ſo: and conſequently it cannot with any color of reaſon be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St. John is the only evangeliſt, who lived and wrote after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; and he purpoſely omits theſe prophecies, to prevent this very cavil, as we may ſuppoſe with reaſon. Neither can it be pretended, that theſe predic-

(3) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. in Pantæno. p. 112. Vol. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Bened.

(4) Papias et Clemens Alex. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Origen apud Euſeb. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 416. Edit. Rigaltii, Paris. 1675. Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. p. 101. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

(5) Mortuus eſt autem octavo Neronis anno. De Script. Eccleſ. p. 105. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(6) See Vol. 1. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory.

(7) See

tions were (7) interpolations made afterwards, becauſe they are inſerted in ſeveral places, and woven into the very ſubſtance of the Goſpels; and becauſe they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and becauſe they were not to be accompliſhed all at once, but required ſeveral ages to their perfect completion; and we ſee them, in ſome inſtances, fulfilling to this very day.

In the concluſion of the twenty third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the moſt merciful ſeverity, with the moſt compaſſionate juſtice, pronounced the ſentence of deſolation upon Jeruſalem; (ver. 37, 38.) "O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, "and ſtoneſt them which are ſent unto thee, how often would I have "gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chick-"ens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your houſe is left "unto you deſolate." In like manner, upon another occaſion, when he was approaching to Jeruſalem, (Luke XIX. 41, 42.) "he beheld "the city, and wept over it, ſaying, If thou hadſt known, even thou, "at leaſt in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but "now they are hid from thine eyes." So deeply was our Saviour affected, and ſo tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot ſpirit hath he left to his diſciples; and ſo contrary to truth is the inſinuation of a (8) noble writer, that there is nothing in the Goſpels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, ſpeaking to a mixt audience of his diſciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1ſt. of the twenty fourth chapter) "his "diſciples came to him for to ſhow him the buildings of the temple," intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that ſo magnificent a ſtructure ſhould be deſtroyed. In the other Goſpels they are repreſented as ſaying, (Mark XIII. 1.) "Maſter, ſee what manner of ſtones, "and

(7) See this argument purſued more at large in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 1. p. 72—77.

(8) Shaftſbury's Characteriſtics. Vol. 1. p. 99.

(9) Vide Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 13. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) πεῖραι δε τεσσαρακονλαπηχεις το μεγεθος ησαν τω δομηματος. Saxis vero in exſtructione uſi ſunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis.—Ην δε αξια των τοιωδων θεμελιων και τα ὑπερ αυλων εργα. Tantis autem fundamentis dig-

nis

" and what buildings are here;" and as ſpeaking of the temple, (Luke XXI. 5.) " how it was adorned with goodly ſtones, and gifts." The gifts of ages were repoſited there, the (9) preſents of kings and emperors as well as the offerings of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greateſt coſt and magnificence, ſo nothing was more ſtupendous than the uncommon meaſure of the ſtones. The diſciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a ſize almoſt incredible. Thoſe (1) employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above ſixty feet, a cubit being ſomewhat more than a foot and a half: and the ſuperſtructure was worthy of ſuch foundations. There were ſome ſtones of the whiteſt marble forty five cubits long, five cubits high, and ſix cubits broad, as a prieſt of the temple hath deſcribed them.

Such a ſtructure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations; and was indeed worthy of the higheſt admiration: but notwithſtanding our Saviour aſſures his diſciples, (ver. 2.) " There ſhall not be left here one ſtone upon another, that " ſhall not be thrown down." Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phraſes and expreſſions uſed by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet Haggai (II. 15.) expreſſeth the building of the temple by " a ſtone being laid upon a ſtone," ſo Chriſt expreſſeth the deſtruction of it by " one ſtone not being left upon another." In the ſame manner he ſpeaketh of and to the city, (Luke XIX. 44.) " They ſhall lay thee even with the ground, and ſhall not leave in thee " one ſtone upon another." It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expreſſion, to denote an utter deſtruction; and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every ſingle ſtone had not been overturned. But it happened in this caſe, that the words were almoſt litterally fulfilled, and ſcarce " one ſtone was left upon another." For when (2) the Romans had taken Jeruſalem,

na erant opera illis impoſita.——των δε εν αυτῳ λιθων ενιοι μηκ῾ πεντε και τεσσαρακοντα πηχων ησαν, ὑψ῾ πενε, ευρ῾ δε ἑξ. Saxorum autem, quibus exſtructum erat templum, quædam erant XLV cubitos longa, alta V, et lata VI. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 5. Sect. 1, 2, 6. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) κελευει Καισαρ ηδη την τε πολιν ἁπασαν και τον νεων κατασκαπτειν. jubet eos Cæſar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 1295. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) τριτῳ

Jeruſalem, Titus ordered his ſoldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of ſuch ſtrength and grandeur, of ſuch ſplendor and beauty, that it was likely to be preſerved, as it was worthy to be preſerved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very deſirous of preſerving it, and (3) proteſted to the Jews, who had fortified themſelves within it, that he would preſerve it, even againſt their will. He had (4) expreſſed the like deſire of preſerving the city too, and ſent Joſephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to perſuade them to a ſurrender. But an overruling providence directed things otherwiſe. The Jews themſelves (5) firſt ſet fire to the portico's of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the ſoldiers, (6) neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for ſuch an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulſe, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby ſet fire to the buildings of the temple itſelf. Titus (7) ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his ſoldiers to extinguiſh the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatnings could reſtrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and thoſe behind encouraged thoſe before to ſet fire to the temple. He was ſtill for preſerving the holy place. He commanded his ſoldiers even to be beaten for diſobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A ſoldier in the dark ſet fire to the doors: and thus, as Joſephus (8) ſays, the temple was burnt againſt the will of Cæſar. Afterwards, as we (9) read in the Jewiſh Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather (1) Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army at Jeruſalem, did with

(3) τηρησω δε τον ναον ὑμιν και μη θελησι. Vobis autem etiam invitis templum ſervabo. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1269. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, &c. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) ενθα δη των στρατιωτων τις, ὀυτε παραγγελμα περιμεινας, ὀυτε επι τηλικουτῳ δεισας εγχειρηματι, δαιμονιῳ ὁρμῃ τινι χρωμενος, κ. τ. λ. Quo tempore miles quidam, non exſpectato cujuſquam mandato, neque tantum facinus veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus, &c. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. p. 1278. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Joſeph. ibid. Sect. 6, et 7.

(8) ὁ μεν ὀν ναος ὀυτως, ακοντος Καισαρος, εμπιπραται. Et templum quidem hoc modo exuritur, invito Cæſare. Sect. 7. p. 1279.

(9) See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby, Wetſtein, &c. upon the place.

(1) Τερεντιος Ρυφος ὀτος γαρ αρχων της στρατιας καταλελειπτο. Terentius Rufus; namque is exercitui præfectus relictus erat. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. p. 1298.

(2) Euſebii

with a ploughſhare tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby ſignally fulfilled thoſe words of Micah, (III. 12.) "Therefore ſhall "Zion for your ſake be ploughed as a field." Euſebius (2) too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he ſaw it lying in ruins. The (3) city alſo ſhared the ſame fate, and was burnt and deſtroyed as well as the temple. The (4) Romans burnt the extremeſt parts of the city, and demoliſhed the walls. Three (5) towers only, and ſome part of the wall were left ſtanding, for the better incamping of the ſoldiers, and to ſhow to poſterity what a city and how fortified the valor of the Romans had taken. All the reſt of the city was ſo demoliſhed and leveled with the ground, that they who came to ſee it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and deſtroyed, (6) great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in ſearch of the treaſures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So litterally were our Saviour's words accompliſhed in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar (7) ſay, that God had delivered his moſt holy city to be burnt, and to be ſubverted by their enemies; and (8) wiſh that they all had died, before they ſaw that holy city demoliſhed by the hands of their enemies, and the ſacred temple ſo wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the abſolute ruin and deſtruction of the city and temple. The diſciples were curious to know more of theſe events, when they ſhould be, and how they ſhould be; but yet thought it not proper to aſk him at preſent, the multitude probably ſtill flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him "privately, as he was "ſitting upon the mount of Olives," from whence was a good proſpect of.

(2) Euſebii Demonſ. Evangel. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. p. 273. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(3) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) Ρωμαιοι δε τας τε εσχαλιας τυ αγε⊕· ενηπρησαν, και τα τειχη καθεσκαψαν. Romani vero extremas urbis partes incenderunt, et mænia funditus everterunt. Joſeph. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 4. p. 1292. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Joſeph. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(7) προηκατο δε την ιερωτατην αυτε πολιν πυρι και κατασκαφαις πολεμιων. Urbemque ſibi ſacratiſſimam tradidiſſet hoſtibus ut incendio periret et funditus diueretur. Joſeph. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 6. p. 1318.

(8) αλλ' ειθε παντες ετεθνηκειμεν. πριν την ιεραν εκεινην πολιν χερσιν ιδιαις κατασκαπτομενην πολεμιων, πριν τον ναον τον αγιον ἑτως ανοσιως εξορωρυγμενον. Atque utinam omnes fuiſſemus mortui, priuſquam illam ſacram civitatem hoſtium manibus exſcindi videremus, priuſquam templum tanta impietate funditus erui. Joſeph. ibid. Sect. 7. p. 1322. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) συλελεια

of the city and temple, and there prefer their requeſt to him, (ver. 3.) " Tell us when ſhall theſe things be, and what ſhall be the ſign of thy " coming, and of the end of the world?" Theſe are only different expreſſions to denote the ſame period with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; for when they conceived would be the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Chriſt; and when they conceived would be the coming of Chriſt, then they conceived would be " the " end of the world," or (9) rather (as it ſhould be rendered) " the con- " cluſion of the age. The end of the world or the concluſion of the " age" is the ſame period with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Meſſiah; when the city and temple were deſtroyed, and the Jewiſh polity in church and ſtate was diſſolved, the former age muſt of courſe be concluded, and the age under the Meſſiah be commenced. It is true the phraſe συντελειᾳ τȣ αιωνος moſt uſually ſignifies " the end of the world" properly ſo called; as in the parable of the tares (Matt. XIII. 39.) " the harveſt is συντελεια τȣ αιωνος the " end of the world; As therefore the tares (ver. 40.) are gathered and " burnt in the fire, ſo ſhall it be εν τῃ συντελειᾳ τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ in the end " of this world." And again (ver. 49.) " So ſhall it be εν τῃ συντελειᾳ " τȣ αιωνος at the end of the world, the angels ſhall come forth, and " ſever the wicked from among the juſt." In like manner our Saviour ſays to his diſciples, (Matt. XXVIII. 20.) " Lo, I am with you alway, " εως της συντελειας τȣ αιωνος even unto the end of the world." But here the phraſe appears to be uſed much in the ſame manner as in the Epiſt. to the Hebrews, (IX. 26.) " But now once in the end of the world hath " he appeared to put away ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf; in the end of " the world, επι συντελειᾳ των αιωνων, in the concluſion of the Jewiſh age or ages: And theſe, I think, are all the places where the phraſe occurs in ſcripture. " The coming of Chriſt" is alſo the ſame period with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as may appear from ſeveral places in the Goſpels, and particularly from theſe two paſſages. " There are " ſome ſtanding here," ſaith our bleſſed Lord, (Matt. XVI. 28.) " who ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the ſon of man coming in " his

(9) συντελεια τȣ αιωνος.

(1) Irenæi

" his kingdom," that is evidently, there are ſome ſtanding here who ſhall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Chriſt to judge mankind, but till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, to the coming of Chriſt in judgment upon the Jews. In another place (John XXI. 22.) ſpeaking to Peter concerning John, he ſaith, " If I will that he tarry till I " come, what is that to thee?" what is it to thee, if I will that he live till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem? as in truth he did, and longer. " The coming of Chriſt" and " the concluſion of the age" being therefore only different expreſſions to denote the ſame period with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the purport of the queſtion plainly is, " when ſhall the deſtruction of Jeruſalem be, and what ſhall be the " ſigns of it?" In the parallel place of St. Mark (XIII. 4.) the queſtion is put thus, " When ſhall theſe things be, and what ſhall be the ſign " when all theſe things ſhall be fulfilled?" In the parallel place of St. Luke (XXI. 7.) the queſtion is put thus, " When ſhall theſe things be, " and what ſign ſhall there be when theſe things ſhall come to paſs?" So that the diſciples aſk two things, firſt the " time" of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, " when theſe things ſhall be;" and ſecondly the " ſigns" of it, " and what ſhall be the ſign when all theſe things ſhall be fulfilled" as it is in St. Mark, " and what ſhall be the ſign when theſe things ſhall " come to paſs" as it is in St. Luke, " and what ſhall be the ſign of thy " coming and of the concluſion of the age" as it is in St. Matthew. The latter part of the queſtion our Saviour anſwereth firſt, and treateth of the " ſigns" of his coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem from the 4th to the 31ſt verſe incluſive; and then paſſeth on to the other part of the queſtion concerning the " time" of his coming: And theſe two heads of our Saviour's anſwer ſhall likewiſe in the ſame method and order be made the ſubject of this and ſome ſubſequent diſcourſes.

Our bleſſed Saviour treateth of the ſigns of his coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem from the 4th to the 31ſt verſe incluſive; by " ſigns" meaning the circumſtances and accidents which ſhould forerun, uſher in, and attend this great event: And I am perſuaded the whole compaſs of hiſtory cannot furniſh us with a prophecy more exactly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

Falſe Chriſts our Saviour mentions as the firſt ſign of his coming, (ver. 4. and 5.) " Take heed that no man deceive you: For many ſhall

"come in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt; and ſhall deceive many." With this he begins in all the evangeliſts, and in all uſeth almoſt the very ſame words; only in St. Luke (XXI. 8.) he addeth "the time "draweth near;" and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very ſoon after our Saviour's deceaſe appeared Simon Magus, (Acts VIII. 9, 10.) "and bewitched the people "of Samaria, giving out that himſelf was ſome great one: To whom "they all gave heed, from the leaſt to the greateſt, ſaying, This man is "the great power of God." He boaſted himſelf likewiſe (1) among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the ſame ſtamp and character was alſo (2) Doſitheus the Samaritan, who pretended that he was the Chriſt foretold by Moſes. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuſpius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impoſtor, named Theudas, perſuaded a great multitude with their beſt effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he ſaid that he was a prophet, and promiſed to divide the river for their paſſage, and ſaying theſe things he deceived many, (3) ſaith Joſephus. But Fadus ſent a troop of horſe againſt them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many priſoners; and having taken Theudas himſelf alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jeruſalem. A few years afterwards in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorſhip of Felix, theſe impoſtors aroſe ſo frequent, that (4) many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They ſeduced great numbers of the people ſtill expecting the Meſſiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his diſciples againſt them.

The next ſigns he giveth of his coming are ſeveral terrible calamities, as wars and rumors of wars, famins, and peſtilences, and earthquakes in divers places, (ver. 6 and 7.) "And ye ſhall hear of wars and rumors "of

(1) Irenæi Lib. 1. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Grabe. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 192. Vol. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

(2) και μετα τους Ιησυ δε χρονους ηθελησε και ὁ Σαμαρευς Δοσιθεος πεισαι Σαμαρεις, ὁτι αυτος ειη ὁ προφητευομενος ὑπο Μωσεως Χριστος· και εδοξε τινων τη ἑαυτω διδασκαλια κεκρατηκεναι. Poſt Jeſu tempora voluit et Doſitheus quidam Samarita ſuis perſuadere, ſe eſſe Chriſtum illum, quem Moyſes prædixerat, viſuſque eſt nonnullos ſibi ſua doctrina conciliare. Origen contra Celſum, Lib. 1. p. 372. Vide etiam Lib. 6. p. 638. Vol. 1. In Matt. Tract. 27. p. 851. Col. 2. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(3) και ταυτα λεγων πολλους ηπατησεν. et hujuſmodi ſermonibus plurimos decepit. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 886. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) τουτων μεν ὁ φηλιξ πολλους καθ' ἑκαστην ἡμεραν——λαμβανων ανηρει horum quidem multos,—quotidie captos, Felix ſuſtulit. Joſeph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. p. 892.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. Edit. Hudſon. Philo contra Flaccum.

" of wars: ſee that ye be not troubled: for all theſe things muſt come " to paſs, but the end is not yet. For nation ſhall riſe againſt nation, " and kingdom againſt kingdom: and there ſhall be famins, and peſti- " lences, and earthquakes in divers places." Accordingly there were " wars and rumors of wars," as appears in all the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and above all in Joſephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to tranſcribe great part of his hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars. There were more eſpecially " rumors of wars," (5) when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his ſtatue to be ſet up in the temple of Jeruſalem, which the Jews refuſed to ſuffer, and perſiſted in their refuſal; and having therefore reaſon to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in ſuch a conſternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this ſtorm was ſoon blown over, and their fears were diſſipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is ſaid moreover, that " nation ſhall riſe againſt nation, and " kingdom againſt kingdom." Here, as (6) Grotius well obſerves, Chriſt declares that greater diſturbances than thoſe which happened under Caligula, ſhould fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of " nation againſt nation" portended the diſſenſions, inſurrections, and mutual ſlaughter of the Jews and thoſe of other nations, who dwelt in the ſame cities together: as particularly at (7) Cæſarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded ſo far, that above twenty thouſand Jews were ſlain, and the city was cleared of the Jewiſh inhabitants. At this blow the (8) whole nation of the Jews were exaſperated; and divided themſelves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immenſe ſlaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge deſtroyed

Flaccum. Tacitus Hiſt. Lib. 5.

(6) Indicat Chriſtus majores quam ſub Caio evenerant cædes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud ἐθνος ἐπι ἐθνος ſignificat Judæos et qui aliarum erant gentium iiſdem in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter ſe cædibus collidendos: quod contigit Cæſareæ primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gadaris, rurſum Alexandriæ, deinde et Damaſci. Illud autem βασιλεια ἐπι βασιλειαν ſignificat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta inter ſe bella.—Huc referri debet Judæorum in Peræa habitantium bellum adverſus Philadelphenos ob finium controverſiam, Cuſpio Fado procuratore; Judæorum et Galilæorum bellum adverſus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; poſtremo bellum primum a ſicariis quos vocabant, deinde ad univerſa Judæorum gente ſumtum adverſus Romanos et Agrippam alioſque Romani imperii ſocios, quod initium habuit Geſſio Floro procuratore. Grot.

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 7. Cap. 18. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

(9) Ibid.

not a leſs number of Jews, and every city, as (9) Joſephus expreſſeth it, was divided into two armies. At (1) Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who reſided among them to fight againſt their own countrymen, and after the victory baſely ſetting upon them by night, murdered above thirteen thouſand of them, and ſpoiled their goods. At (2) Aſcalon they killed two thouſand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thouſand, and made not a few priſoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and impriſoned more. The people of Gadara did likewiſe, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria (3) the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both ſides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thouſand. The (4) people of Damaſcus too conſpired againſt the Jews of the ſame city, and aſſaulting them unarmed, killed ten thouſand of them. That of "kingdom againſt kingdom" portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces againſt one another: as (5) that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa againſt the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuſpius Fadus was procurator; and (6) that of the Jews and Galilæans againſt the Samaritans, for the murder of ſome Galilæans going up to the feaſt at Jeruſalem while Cumanus was procurator; and (7) that of the whole nation of the Jews againſt the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Geſſius Florus was procurator. But as (8) Joſephus ſaith, there was not only ſedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewiſe in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, "and there ſhall be famins, and peſtilences, and "earthquakes in divers places." There were "famins," as particularly that

(9) Ibid. Sect. 2. και πασα πολις εις δυο διηρηλο στρατοπιδα. et unaquæque civitas in duos diviſa erat exercitus p. 1095.

(1) Ibid. Sect. 3. Vita Joſephi. Sect. 6.

(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 5.

(3) Ibid. Sect. 7 et 8.

(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. Sect. 1.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 5. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. &c.

(7) Ibid. Cap. 17.

(8) Ου μονον δε κατα την Ιυδαιαν στασις ην και πολεμος ενφυλιος, αλλα και επι της Ιταλιας. Verum non ſolum per Judæam erat ſeditio et bellum civile, ſed etiam in Italia. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. p. 1200.

(9) Suetonius in Claudio 18. Taciti Annal. Lib. 12. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

(1) πολλων υπ' ενδειας αναλωματων φθειρομενων. multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 2. Sect. 6. p. 881. Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) ὰ δη παντα κατα των ασεβων εκυρωσεν ὁ Θεος. Quæ ſane univerſa contra improbos rata habuit Deus. Joſeph. de

that propheſied of by Agabus, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, (XI. 28.) and by (9) Suetonius and other profane hiſtorians referred to by Euſebius, " which came to paſs in the days of Claudius Cæſar," and was ſo ſevere at Jeruſalem, that, as (1) Joſephus ſaith, many periſhed for want of victuals.—And " peſtilences," for theſe are the uſual attendents upon famins. Scarcity and badneſs of proviſions almoſt always end in ſome epidemical diſtemper. We ſee many died by reaſon of the famin in the reign of Claudius: and (2) Joſephus farther informs us, that when Niger was killed by the Jewiſh zelots, he imprecated beſides other calamities famin and peſtilence upon them, (λιμον και λοιμον the very words uſed by the evangeliſt) all which, ſaith he, God ratified and brought to paſs againſt the ungodly.—" And earthquakes in divers " places," as particularly that (3) in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philoſtratus in the life of Apollonius, and thoſe alſo mentioned by Philoſtratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places ſome Jews inhabited; and thoſe (4) at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that (5) at Laodicea in the reign of Nero, mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewiſe Hierapolis and Coloſſe; and that in (6) Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and that at (7) Rome in the reign of Galba mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea mentioned by (8) Joſephus. For by night there broke out a moſt dreadful tempeſt, and violent ſtrong winds with the moſt vehement ſhowers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thundrings, and prodigious bellowings of the ſhaken earth: and it was manifeſt, as he ſaith, that the conſtitution of the univerſe was confounded for the deſtruction of men; and any one might eaſily conjecture, that theſe things portended no common calamity.

To

de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1186. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Gravis terræ motus qui in Creta accidit Claudio imperante meminit Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii. Item terræ motuum Smyrnæ, Mileti, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora exciſæ urbis Hieroſolymorum. Grot. in locum.

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 12. p. 91. Edit. Lipſii.

(5) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. p. 113. Edit. Lipſii. Oroſius Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

(6) Nat. Quæſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 1.

(7) Suet. Galb. Cap. 18.

(8) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. δια γαρ της νυκτος αμηχανος εκρηγνυται χειμων, αιεμοι τε βιαιοι συν ομβροις λαβροτατοις, και συνεχεις αστραπαι, βρονται τε φρικωδεις, και μυκημαλα σειομενης της γης εξαισια. προδηλον δ' ην, επ' ανθρωπων ολεθρω, το καταστημα των ὁλων συγκεχυμενον· και ουκ αν τις αν εικασαι συμπλωματος τα τερατα Nocte enim graviſſima erumpit tempeſtas, ventuſque violentus cum imbre vehementi conjunctus, et crebra fulgura, horrendaque tonitrua, et ingentes terræ concuſſæ mugitus: manifeſtumque erat, hominum in exitium, mundi ſtatum fuiſſe conturbatum: eratque ut quis conjiceret ea non vulgares portendere calamitates. p. 1181. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) και

To theſe St. Luke addeth (XXI. 11.) that "there ſhall be fearful "ſights and great ſigns from heaven." Joſephus in (9) the preface to his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war undertakes to relate the ſigns and prodigies, which preceded the taking of the city: And he relates accordingly, that (1) a ſtar hung over the city like a ſword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that (2) the people being aſſembled to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there ſhone ſo great a light about the altar and the temple, that it ſeemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that (3) at the ſame feaſt a cow, led by the prieſt to ſacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that (4) the eaſtern gate of the temple, which was of ſolid braſs and very heavy, and was ſcarcely ſhut in an evening by twenty men, and was faſtened by ſtrong bars and bolts, was ſeen at the ſixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be ſhut again; that (5) before the ſetting of the ſun there were ſeen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and beſieging cities; that (6) at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, as the prieſts were going into the inner temple by night as uſual to attend their ſervice, they heard firſt a motion and noiſe, and then a voice as of a multitude ſaying, Let us depart hence; and (7) what he reckons as the moſt terrible of all, that one Jeſus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feaſt of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the ſtreets day and night, 'A voice from the eaſt, a 'voice from the weſt, a voice from the four winds, a voice againſt Je-'ruſalem and the temple, a voice againſt the bridegrooms and the 'brides, a voice againſt all the people.' The magiſtrates endevored by ſtripes and torture, to reſtrain him; but he ſtill cried with a mournful voice,

(9) και τα προ ταυτης σημεια και τερατα. quæque præceſſerant ſigna et prodigia. Sect. 11. p. 957.

(1) ὑπερ την πολιν αστρον εστη ῥομφαια παραπλησιον, και πα-ρατεινας επ' ενιαυτον κομητης. ſupra civitatem ſtetit ſidus ſimile gladio, et anni ſpatio ardere perſeverabat cometes. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 1281.

(2) αθροιζομενε τε λαε προ την των Αζυμων εορτην,—κατα νυκ-τος ενατην ὡραν, τοσουτον φως περιελαμψε τον βωμον και τον ναον, ὡς δοκειν ἡμεραν ειναι λαμπραν, και τουτο παρετεινεν ἐφ' ἡμισειαν ὡραν. populo ad feſtum diem Azymorum congregato, —hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfuſa eſt, ut dies clarus eſſe videretur, atque hoc horæ dimidiæ ſpatio duravit. Ibid.

(3) και κατα την αυτην εορτην βους μεν, αχθεισα ὑπο του αρχιε-ρεως προς την θυσιαν, ἐτεκεν αρνα εν τῳ ἱερῳ μεσῳ. in eadem quoque ſolennitate, vacca, cum a pontifice ad ſacrificium adduceretur, agnum in medio templo enixa eſt. Ibid.

(4) ἡ δε ανατολικη πυλη κ. τ. λ. ſed et janua, &c. Ibid.

(5) προ ἡλιου δυσεως ωφθη μετεωρα περι πασαν την χωραν ἁρματα και φαλαγγες ενοπλοι διατεθησαι των νεφων, και κυκλουμεναι τας πολεις· ante ſolis occaſum per univerſam regionem currus in aere ſublimes ferri, et armatæ phalanges per nubes diſcurrere, urbeſque circumvallare ſunt viſæ.

voice, ‘ Woe woe to Jeruſalem!’ This he continued to do for ſeven years and five months together, and eſpecially at the great feſtivals; and he neither grew hoarſe nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, ‘ Woe woe to the city, and to the people, ‘ and to the temple;’ and as he added at laſt, ‘ Woe woe alſo to my- ‘ ſelf,’ it happened that a ſtone from ſome ſling or engin immediately ſtruck him dead. Theſe were indeed “ fearful ſigns and great ſights “ from heaven:” and there is not a more creditable hiſtorian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the teſtimony of thoſe who ſaw and heard them. But it may add ſome weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman hiſtorian, alſo gives us a ſummary account of the ſame occurrences. He ſaith that (8) there happened ſeveral prodigies, armies were ſeen engaging in the heavens, arms were ſeen glittering, and the temple ſhone with the ſudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened ſuddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewiſe a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's (9) remark is very pertinent, “ If Chriſt had “ not expreſly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents and “ who know that hiſtorians have been too credulous in that point, “ would have ſuſpected that Joſephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus “ was miſinformed; but as the teſtimonies of Joſephus and Tacitus “ confirm the predictions of Chriſt, ſo the predictions of Chriſt confirm “ the wonders recorded by theſe hiſtorians.” But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famin, and peſtilence, the people always grow ſuperſtitious, and are ſtruck with religious panics;—that they ſee nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier ſeaſons are overlooked;—that ſome of theſe appear

viſæ. Ibid. p. 1282.

(6) κατα δε την εορτην, ἡ Πεντεκοστη καλειται, νυκτωρ οἱ ἱερεις παρελθοντες εις το ενδον ἱερον, ὡσπερ αυλοις εθος ην προς τας λειτουργιας, πρωτον μεν κινησεως αντιλαβεσθαι εφασαν και κτυπου, μετα ταυτα και φωνης αθροας, μεταβαινομεν ενθενδε. Feſto autem die qui Pentecoſte appellatur, ſacredotes noctu templum ingreſſi ad obeunda ex more miniſteria, primùm quidem motum ac ſtrepitum ſe exaudiſſe dixerunt, tum deinde vocem quaſi confertæ multitudinis ſimul clamantis, Migremus hinc. Ibid.

(7) το δε τοτων φοβερωτερον· Ιησους γαρ τις κ. τ. λ. Quod vero his omnibus terribilius eſt, Jeſus quidam, &c. Ibid.

(8) Evenerant prodigia—Viſæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et ſubito nubium igne collucere templum. Expaſſæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, Excedere deos. Simul ingens motus excedentium. Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipſii.

(9) Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. 1. p. 41.

(1) Euſeb.

pear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, ſeen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, ſuch as the aurora borealis;—in ſhort, allowing that ſome of theſe prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the leſs divine on that account. Whether they were ſupernatural, or the fictions only of a diſordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. "Fearful ſights and great ſigns from heaven" they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpoſe to aſtoniſh the earth.

But notwithſtanding all theſe terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his diſciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehenſions, as they were particularly in the caſe of Caligula above mentioned; but "be not ye troubled, for all theſe things muſt come "to paſs, but the end is not yet," but the deſtruction of Jeruſalem is not yet. "All theſe are" only "the beginning of ſorrows" (ver. 8.) αρχη ωδινων. Great troubles and calamities are often expreſſed in ſcripture-language metaphorically by the pains of traveling women. All theſe are only the firſt pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labor which ſhall follow.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he paſſeth to thoſe of the Chriſtians in particular: and indeed the former were in great meaſure the occaſion of the latter; famins, peſtilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the ſins of the Chriſtians, and the poor Chriſtians being often maltreated and perſecuted on that account, as we learn from ſome of the earlieſt apologiſts for the Chriſtian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Chriſtians were cruel perſecutions, (ver. 9.) "Then ſhall they deliver you up to be "afflicted, and ſhall kill you; and ye ſhall be hated of all nations," not only of the Jews but likewiſe of the Gentiles, "for my name's ſake." St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark ſaith (XIII. 9, 11.) "They ſhall deliver you up to councils; and in the "ſynagogues

(1) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

(2) Tertull.

" ſynagogues ye ſhall be beaten, and ye ſhall be brought before rulers " and kings for my ſake, for a teſtimony againſt them. But when they " ſhall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought before hand what " ye ſhall ſpeak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatſoever ſhall be " given you in that hour, that ſpeak ye; for it is not ye that ſpeak, " but the holy Ghoſt." St. Luke ſaith (XXI. 12, 13, 14, 15.) " But " before all theſe they ſhall lay their hands on you, and perſecute you, " delivering you up to the ſynagogue, and into priſons, being brought " before kings and rulers for my name's ſake. And it ſhall turn to " you for a teſtimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to medi- " tate before, what ye ſhall anſwer. For I will give you a mouth and " wiſdom, which all your adverſaries ſhall not be able to gainſay, nor " reſiſt." We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apoſtles for the completion of theſe particulars. There are inſtances enow of the ſufferings of ſome Chriſtians, and of the deaths of others. Some are " delivered to councils," as Peter and John. (IV. 5, &c.) Some are " brought before rulers and kings," as Paul before Gallio, (XVIII. 12.) Felix, (XXIV.) Feſtus and Agrippa. (XXV.) Some have " a mouth and " wiſdom which all their adverſaries were not able to gainſay nor reſiſt," as it is ſaid of Stephen, (VI. 10.) that " they were not able to reſiſt the " wiſdom and the ſpirit by which he ſpake," and Paul made even Felix to " tremble," (XXIV. 25.) and the goſpel ſtill prevailed againſt all oppoſition and perſecution whatever. Some are " impriſoned," as Peter and John. (IV. 3.) Some are " beaten," as Paul and Silas. (XVI. 23.) Some are " put to death," as Stephen, (VII. 59.) and James the brother of John (XII. 2.) But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the perſecutions under Nero, in which (beſides numberleſs other Chriſtians) fell thoſe (1) two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nominis prælium*, as (2) Tertullian calleth it; it was a war againſt the very name. Though a man was poſſeſſed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Chriſtian*; ſo true were our Saviour's words, that they ſhould be hated of all nations " for his name's ſake."

(2) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 2. p. 4. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(3) Primò

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were alſo to be betrayed by apoſtates and traitors of their own brethren, (ver. 10.) "And then ſhall many be offended, and ſhall betray one another, and "ſhall hate one another." By reaſon of perſecution "many ſhall be "offended," and apoſtatize from the faith; as particularly thoſe mentioned by St. Paul in his ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy, (I. 15.) "Phygellus "and Hermogenes, who with many others in Aſia turned away from "him," and (VI. 10.) "Demas who forſook him, having loved this preſent "world." But they ſhall not only apoſtatize from the faith, but alſo "ſhall betray one another, and ſhall hate one another." To illuſtrate this point we need only cite a ſentence out of Tacitus ſpeaking of the perſecution under Nero. At firſt, ſays (3) he, ſeveral were ſeiſed who confeſſed, and then by their diſcovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarouſly executed.

Falſe teachers too and falſe prophets were to infeſt the church, (ver. 11.) "And many falſe prophets ſhall riſe, and ſhall deceive many." Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers the Gnoſtics were very numerous. Such alſo were the Judaizing teachers, "falſe apoſtles," as they are called by St. Paul, (2 Cor. XI. 13.) "deceitful workers, "transforming themſelves into the apoſtles of Chriſt." Such alſo were "Hymeneus and Philetus," of whom the apoſtle complains (2 Tim. II. 17, 18.) that they affirmed "the reſurrection to be paſt already, and "overthrew the faith of ſome."

The genuin fruit and effect of theſe evils was lukewarmneſs and coolneſs among Chriſtians, (ver. 12.) "And becauſe iniquity ſhall abound, "the love of many ſhall wax cold." By reaſon of theſe trials and perſecutions from without, and theſe apoſtaſies and falſe prophets from within, the love of many to Chriſt and his doctrin, and alſo their love to one another, ſhall wax cold. Some ſhall openly deſert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others ſhall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here) ſhall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other inſtances) who can hear St. Paul complaining at Rome (2 Tim. IV. 16.) that "at his "firſt anſwer no man ſtood with him, but all men forſook him;" who

(3) Primò correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens convicti ſunt. Et pereuntibus

who can hear the divine author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews exhorting them (X. 25.) " not to forſake the aſſembling of themſelves together, " as the manner of ſome is;" and not conclude the event to have ſufficiently juſtified our Saviour's prediction?

" But he that ſhall endure unto the end;" (ver. 13.) but he who ſhall not be terrified by theſe trials and perſecutions; he who ſhall neither apoſtatize from the faith himſelf, nor be ſeduced by others; he who ſhall not be aſhamed to profeſs his faith in Chriſt, and his love to the brethren; " the ſame ſhall be ſaved," ſaved both here and hereafter. " There ſhall not an hair of your head periſh," as it is in St. Luke: (XXI. 18.) and indeed it is very remarkable, and was certainly a moſt ſignal act of providence, that none of the Chriſtians periſhed in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. So true and prophetic alſo was that aſſertion of St. Peter upon this ſame occaſion, (2 Pet. II. 9.) " The Lord know- " eth how to deliver the godly out of temptations."

But notwithſtanding the perſecutions and calamities of the Chriſtians, there was to be an univerſal publication of the goſpel before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, (ver. 14.) " And this goſpel of the kingdom" (this goſpel of the kingdom of God) " ſhall be preached in all the world, " for a witneſs unto all nations, and then ſhall the end come;" and then ſhall the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the end of the Jewiſh polity come to paſs; when all nations ſhall be or may be convinced of the crying ſin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the juſtice of God's judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the Apoſtles contain only a ſmall part of the hiſtory of a ſmall part of the apoſtles; and yet even in that hiſtory we ſee, the goſpel was widely diſſeminated, and had taken root in the moſt conſiderable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, (4) the Chriſtians were grown ſo numerous at Rome, as to raiſe the jealouſy of the government, and the firſt general perſecution was commenced againſt them under pretence of their having ſet fire to the city, of which the emperor himſelf was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Chriſtians. Clement, who was a contemporary and

bus addita ludibria, &c. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15. p. 128. Edit. Lipſii.

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15.

(5) κηρυξ

fellow-laborer with St. Paul, (5) ſays of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the eaſt and in the weſt, that he taught the whole world righteouſneſs, and traveled as far as to the utmoſt borders of the weſt: and if ſuch were the labors of one apoſtle, tho' the chiefeſt of the apoſtles, what were the united labors of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the hiſtory of the church, that before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem the goſpel was not only preached in the leſſer Aſia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewiſe propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far ſouthward as Ethiopia, as far eaſtward as Parthia and India, as far weſtward as Spain and Britain. Our anceſtors of this iland ſeem to have lain as remote from the ſcene of our Saviour's actions as almoſt any nation, and were a (6) rough inhoſpitable people, as unlikely to receive ſo civilized an inſtitution as any people whatever. But yet there is (7) ſome probability, that the goſpel was preached here by St. Simon the apoſtle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is abſolute certainty, that Chriſtianity was planted in this country, in the days of the apoſtles, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Agreeably to this (8) Euſebius informs us, that the apoſtles preached the goſpel in all the world; and ſome of them paſſed beyond the ocean to the Britannic iles. Theodoret likewiſe (9) affirms, that the apoſtles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the goſpel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himſelf in his Epiſtle to the Coloſſians (I. 6, 23.) ſpeaketh of the goſpel's being "come into all the world, and preached "to every creature under heaven:" and in his Epiſtle to the Romans (X. 18.) very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Pſalmiſt ſaid of the lights of heaven, "their ſound went into all the "earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." But how improbable, and in all human appearance impoſſible was it, that a few poor fiſhermen and ſuch inferior illiterate perſons ſhould propagate and eſtabliſh

(5) κηρυξ γενομενος εν τε τη ἀνατολη και εν τη δυσει — δικαιοσυνην διδαξας ὁλον τον κοσμον, και επι το τερμα της δυσεως ελθων. Præco factus in oriente ac occidente,—totum mundum docens juſtitiam, et ad occidentis terminum veniens. Clem. Epiſt. ad Corinth. I. Cap. 5.

(6) Britannos hoſpitibus feros. Hor. Od. III. IV. 33.

(7) See Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ. Chap. 1. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 1. Uſſerii Britann. Eccleſ. Antiquitates. Cap. 1, &c.

(8) ὑπερ

eſtabliſh a new religion, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, throughout the world? Doubtleſs it was not man's but God's work, and from the ſame divine ſpirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion!

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the ſiege of Jeruſalem; and now let us ſtop to make a few ſhort reflections upon what hath been ſaid.

The firſt reflection that naturally occurs, is the ſtrange and ſurpriſing manner in which theſe prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn for the truth of our Saviour's divine miſſion: but we ſhall have a fitter opportunity for inlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the ſincerity and ingenuity of Chriſt, and the courage and conſtancy of his diſciples. Had Jeſus been an impoſtor, he would, like all other impoſtors, have fed his followers with fair hopes and promiſes: but on the contrary we ſee, that he denounceth perſecution to be the lot of his diſciples, he pointeth out to them the difficulties they muſt encounter, the fiery trials they muſt undergo; and yet they did not therefore ſtagger in their faith, they did not therefore like faint-hearted ſoldiers forſake their colors and deſert his ſervice. One hardly knoweth whom to admire moſt, him for dealing ſo plainly with them, or them for adhering ſo ſteddily to him. Such inſtances are rarely found of openneſs on one ſide, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the ſudden and amazing progreſs of the goſpel, that it ſhould ſpread ſo far and ſo wide before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. The greatneſs of the work that was wrought, the meanneſs of the inſtruments which wrought it, and the ſhort time that it was wrought in, muſt force all conſidering men to ſay (Pſal. CXVIII. 23.) "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvelous in our eyes." The Mohammedan religion indeed in leſs than a century overran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the ſword, and owed its

(8) ὑπερ τον ωκεανον παρελθειν επι τας καλουμενας Βρεττανικας νησους.—trans oceanum evaſiſſe, ad eas inſulas quæ Britannicæ vocantur. Demonſ. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. p. 112. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(9) Theod. Serm. 9. Tom. 4. p. 610. Edit. Paris. 1642. και ου μονον Ρωμαιους—αλλα και—Βρεττανους—και απαξαπλως παν εθνος και γενος ανθρωπων—κ. τ. λ. neque ſolum Romanos—ſed et—Britannos—atque, ut ſemel dicam, omne hominum genus nationeſque omnes, &c.

(1) ἁπαν

its ſucceſs to arms and violence. But the Chriſtian religion was diffuſed over the face of the earth in the ſpace of forty years, and prevailed not only without the ſword but againſt the ſword, not only without the powers civil and military to ſupport it, but againſt them all united to oppreſs it. And what but the Spirit of God could bid it thus go forth (Rev. VI. 2.) "conquering and to conquer? Had this counſel or this "work been of men," as Gamaliel argued, (Acts V. 28.) "it would "have come to nought; but being of God, nothing could over-"throw it."

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the laſt that I ſhall make) that ſeldom any ſtate is ruined, but there are evident ſignals and preſages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be ſo particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumſtances preceding and ſucceeding, without divine inſpiration. So many paſſages and circumſtances cannot be particularly foretold unleſs particularly revealed: but in the general, without the ſpirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending towards their final period and diſſolution. There are as certain tokens and ſymptoms of a conſumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not preſage ill to my country; but when we conſider the many hainous and preſumptuous ſins of this nation, the licentiouſneſs and violation of all order and diſciplin, the daring inſolence of robbers and ſmugglers in open defiance of all law and juſtice, the factions and diviſions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profuſion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public ſpirit and ardent paſſion for private ends and intereſts, the luxury and gaming and diſſoluteneſs in high life, and the lazineſs and drunkenneſs and debauchery in low life, and above all that barefaced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that ſcandalous neglect, and I wiſh I could not ſay contempt of all public worſhip and religion; when we conſider theſe things, theſe ſigns of the times, the ſtouteſt and moſt ſanguin of us all muſt tremble at the natural and probable conſequences of them. God give us grace, that we may "know," (Luke XIX. 42.) "at leaſt "in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace," before "they are hid from our eyes." Never may ſuch blindneſs happen to us,

as

as befel the Jews; but may we (Isa. LV. 6, 7.) "seek the Lord while he "may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto "the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he "will abundantly pardon."

XIX.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the forerunners and attendents of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars.

"When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of "by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him "understand) Then let them which be in Judea, flee into the moun-"tains." (ver. 15 and 16.) Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St. Luke, (XXI. 20, 21.) "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know "that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in "Judea, flee to the mountains." So that "the abomination of desola-"tion" is the Roman army, and "the abomination of desolation stand-"ing in the holy place" is the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is "the abomination of desolation, spoken of by "Daniel the prophet," in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army

army is called "the abomination" for its enſigns and images which were ſo to the Jews. As Chryſoſtom affirms (1) every idol and every image of a man was called "an abomination" among the Jews. For this reaſon, as (2) Joſephus informs us, the principal Jews earneſtly intreated Vitellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army thro' Judea againſt Aretas king of the Arabians, to lead it another way; and he greatly obliged them by complying with their requeſt. We farther learn from (3) Joſephus, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their enſigns into the temple, and placed them over againſt the eaſtern gate, and ſacrificed to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called "the abomination," and "the abomination of deſolation," as it was to deſolate and lay waſte Jeruſalem: and this army's beſieging Jeruſalem is called "ſtanding where it ought not," as it is in St. Mark; (XIII. 14.) or "ſtanding in the holy place," as it is in St. Matthew; the city and ſuch a compaſs of ground about it being accounted holy. When therefore the Roman army ſhall advance to beſiege Jeruſalem, then let them who are in Judea conſult their own ſafety, and fly into the mountains. This counſel was wiſely remembered, and put in practice by the Chriſtians afterwards. Joſephus informs us, that when Ceſtius Gallus came with his army againſt Jeruſalem, (4) many fled from the city as if it would be taken preſently: and after his retreat, (5) many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a ſinking ſhip: and a few years afterwards, when Veſpaſian was drawing his forces towards Jeruſalem, (6) a great multitude fled from Jericho εις την ορεινην *into the mountainous country* for their ſecurity. It is probable that there were ſome Chriſtians among theſe, but we learn more certainly from (7) eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, that at this juncture all who believed in Chriſt left Jeruſalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan: ſo that they all marvelouſly eſcaped the general ſhip-

wrack

(1) ἅπαν οιδωλον, και παν τυπωμα ανθρωπυ παρα τοις Ιυδαιοις βδελυγμα εκαλειτο. omne ſimulacrum et hominis effigies apud Judæos appellabatur abominatio. Adverſ. Judæos V. Orat. p. 645. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) κομισαιτες τας ζημειας εις το ἱερον, και θεμενοι της αναλολικης πυλης αντικρυς, εθυσαν τε αυταις αυτοθι. ſignis in templum illatis poſitiſque contra portam orientalem, et illis ibi ſacrificarunt. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1283. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) ηδη δε πολλοι διεδρασκον απο της πολεως, ὡς ἁλωσομενης αυτικα: jamque multi ex civitate diffugiebant, ac ſi continuo eſſet expugnanda. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. Sect. 6. p. 1103.

(5) πολλοι των επιφανων Ιυδαιων, ὡσπερ βαπτιζομενης νεως, απηνηχοντο

wrack of their country, and we do not read any where that ſo much as one of them periſhed in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Of ſuch ſignal ſervice was this caution of our Saviour to the believers!

He proſecutes the ſame ſubject in the following verſes. "Let him "which is on the houſe-top, not come down to take any thing out of "his houſe." (ver. 17.) The (8) houſes of the Jews, as well as thoſe of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had uſually ſtairs on the outſide, by which they might aſcend and deſcend without coming into the houſe. In the eaſtern walled cities theſe flat-roofed houſes uſually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himſelf upon the houſe-top, let him not come down to take any thing out of his houſe; but let him inſtantly purſue his courſe along the tops of the houſes, and eſcape out at the city-gate as faſt as he poſſibly can. "Neither let him which is in "the field, return back to take his cloaths." (ver. 18.) Our Saviour maketh uſe of theſe expreſſions to intimate, that their flight muſt be as ſudden and haſty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Chriſtians eſcaping juſt as they did was the more providential, becauſe afterwards (9) all egreſs out of the city was prevented.

"And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give "ſuck in thoſe days." (ver. 19.) For neither will ſuch perſons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the diſtreſs and hardſhips of a ſiege. This woe was ſufficiently fulfilled in the cruel ſlaughters which were made both of the women and children, and particularly in that grievous famin, which ſo miſerably afflicted Jeruſalem during the ſiege. For as Joſephus reports, (1) mothers ſnatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths: and again

απηιχοντο της πολεως. nobilium Judæorum multi, quaſi in eo eſſet navis ut mergeretur, e civitate veluti natando egreſſi ſunt. Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 1. p. 1105.

(6) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 1193. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. cum notis Valeſii. Epiphanius Adverſus Nazaræos. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 7. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii. Idem. de Menſ. et Pond. Sect. 15. Vol. 2.

(8) See Grotius on the place, and the Miracles of Jeſus vindicated by Bp. Pearce. Part IV. p. 27, 28.

(9) Joſeph de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. et 10. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) μητερες νηπιων εξηρπαζον εξ αυλων των στοματων τας τροφας. matres infantibus cibum ex ipſo ore rapiebant. Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(2) και

in another place, (2) the houſes were full of women and children, who periſhed by famin. But Joſephus ſtill relates a more horrid ſtory; and I make no queſtion, that our Saviour with his ſpirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There (3) was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, illuſtrious for her family and riches. She having been ſtript and plundered of all her ſubſtance and proviſions by the ſoldiers, out of neceſſity and fury killed her own ſucking child, and having boiled him devoured half of him, and covering up the reſt preſerved it for another time. The ſoldiers ſoon came allured by the ſmell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if ſhe would not produce what ſhe had dreſſed. But ſhe replied that ſhe had reſerved a good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her ſon. Dread and aſtoniſhment ſeiſed them, and they ſtood ſtupified at the ſight. "But this, ſaid ſhe, is my own ſon, and this my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compaſſionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half, and let the reſt remain for me." They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was ſtruck with horror, ſays the hiſtorian, at this wickedneſs; and they were pronounced bleſſed, who died before they had heard or ſeen ſuch great evils. So true alſo was what our Saviour declared on another occaſion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution; (Luke XXIII. 28, 29, 30.) "Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, but weep for your-"ſelves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in "the which they ſhall ſay, Bleſſed are the barren, and the wombs that "never bare, and the paps which never gave ſuck. Then ſhall they be-"gin to ſay to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us." Proverbial expreſſions to ſignify their deſire of any ſhelter or refuge; and ſo very deſirous were they of hiding themſelves, that (4) ſome thouſands of them crept even into the common-ſewers, and there miſerably periſhed, or were dragged out to ſlaughter.

"But

(2) και τα μεν τεγη πεπληρωτο γυναικων και βρεφων λελυμενων. ac tecta quidem plena erant mulieribus et infantibus fame enectis. Ib. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. p. 1252.

(3) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 4.

(4) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 4.

(5) Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. και

"But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the "ſabbath-day." (ver. 20.) Pray that theſe evils be not farther aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, ſuch as the inclemencies of the ſeaſons and your own ſuperſtitions. "Pray that "your flight be not in the winter;" for the hardneſs of the ſeaſon, the badneſs of the roads, the ſhortneſs of the days, will all be great impediments to your flight: "neither on the ſabbath-day;" that you may not raiſe the indignation of the Jews by traveling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own ſuperſtition. It ſeemeth to be ſpoken a good deal in condeſcenſion to the Jewiſh prejudices, a ſabbath-day's journey among the Jews being but about a mile. In the parallel place of St. Mark (XIII. 18.) it is obſervable, that the evangeliſt ſaith only, "And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter," without any mention of the ſabbath-day.

As our Saviour cautioned his diſciples to fly, when they ſhould ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with armies; ſo it was very providentially ordered, that Jeruſalem ſhould be compaſſed with armies, and yet that they ſhould have ſuch favorable opportunities of making their eſcape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Ceſtius Gallus, the preſident of Syria, came againſt Jeruſalem with a powerful army. He might, as Joſephus (5) affirms, if he would have aſſaulted the city, have preſently taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But without any juſt reaſon, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raiſed the ſiege, and departed. Veſpaſian was deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on the war againſt the Jews. This great general, (6) having ſubdued all the country, prepared to beſiege Jeruſalem, and inveſted the city on every ſide. But the news of Nero's death, and ſoon afterwards of Galba's, and the diſturbances which thereupon enſued in the Roman empire, and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Veſpaſian and Titus in ſuſpenſe; and they thought it unſeaſonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the ſafety of their own country. By theſe means the expedition againſt Jeruſalem was deferred for ſome time; and the city was not actually beſieged in form, till after Veſpaſian was confirmed in

και ειπερ ηθελησε κατ' αυτην εκεινην την ωραν εντος των τειχων βιασασθαι, παρ' αυλικα την πολιν εσχε, και τον πολεμον συνεβη καταλελυσθαι. Et ſi eadem illa hora voluiſſet vi muros perrumpere, e veſtigio urbem cepiſſet, bellumque ab ipſo confectum fuiſſe contigiſſet. Sect. 4. p. 1102. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Joſeph. ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1, 2, &c.

(7) Joſeph.

the empire, and Titus was ſent to command the forces in Judea. Theſe incidental delays were very opportune for the Chriſtians, and for thoſe who had any thoughts of retreating and providing for their own ſafety. Afterwards there was hardly any poſſibility of eſcaping: for as our Saviour ſaid in St. Luke's Goſpel, (XIX. 43.) "The days ſhall come "upon thee, that thine enemies ſhall caſt a trench about thee, and "compaſs thee round, and keep thee in on every ſide." Accordingly the Romans having begirt Jeruſalem with their forces, and having made ſeveral aſſaults without the deſired ſucceſs, (7) Titus reſolved to ſurround the city with a wall; and by the diligence and emulation of the ſoldiers, animated by the preſence, and acting under the continual inſpection of the general, this work, which was worthy of months, was with incredible ſpeed completed in three days. The wall was of the dimenſions of thirty nine furlongs, and was ſtrengthened with thirteen forts at proper diſtances: ſo that, as the (8) hiſtorian ſaith, all hope of ſafety was cut off from the Jews, together with all the means of eſcaping out of the city. No proviſions could be carried in, and no perſon could comeout unknown to the enemy. But to return to St. Matthew.

In the preceding verſes our Saviour had warned his diſciples to fly, as ſoon as ever they ſaw Jeruſalem beſieged by the Romans; and now he aſſigns the reaſon of his giving them this caution. (ver. 21.) "For "then ſhall be great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning "of the world to this time, no nor ever ſhall be." St. Mark expreſſeth it much in the ſame manner, (XIII. 19.) "For in thoſe days ſhall "be affliction, ſuch as was not from the beginning of the creation which "God created, unto this time, neither ſhall be." This ſeemeth to be a proverbial form of expreſſion, as in Exodus (X. 14.) "And the lo-"cuſts were very grievous, before them there were no ſuch locuſts as "they, neither after them ſhall be ſuch:" and again in Joel (II. 2.) "A great people and a ſtrong, there hath not been ever the like, nei-

"ther

(7) Joſeph. ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1 et 2.

(8) Ιυδαιοις δε μιλα των εξοδων απεκοπη πασα σωτηριας ελπις. Judæis autem cum egrediendi facultate ſpes quoque omnis ſalutis præciſa erat. Sect. 3. p. 1252. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) πολιν γαρ δη των ὑπο Ρωμαιως πασων την ἡμετεραν επι πλειστον τε ευδαιμονιας ζυνεβη προελθειν, και προς ισχατον ζυμφορων αιθις καταπεσειν. τα γαν παντων απ' αιωνος ατυχηματα, προς τα Ιυδαιων, ἡτιασθαι μοι δοκει κατα ζυγκρισιν. nam ex omnibus civitatibus, quæ Romanorum jugum ſubierunt,

" ther ſhall be any more after it, even to the years of many genera-
" tions." Of the ſame kind is that in Daniel (XII. 1.) " There ſhall
" be a time of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there was a nation, even
" to that ſame time :" and that in the firſt book of Maccabees (IX. 27.)
" There was great affliction in Iſrael, the like whereof was not ſince
" the time that a prophet was not ſeen amongſt them." Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply the ſame manner of ſpeaking upon the preſent occaſion : but he doth not make uſe of proverbial expreſſions without proper meaning, and this may be underſtood even litterally. For indeed all hiſtory cannot furniſh us with a parallel to the calamities and miſeries of the Jews ; rapin and murder, famin and peſtilence within ; fire and ſword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foreſight of theſe calamities, and it is almoſt impoſſible for perſons of any humanity to read the relation of them in Joſephus without weeping too. That hiſtorian therefore might well ſay, as he doth in (9) the preface to his hiſtory, ' Our city of all thoſe which have been ' ſubjected to the Romans, was advanced to the higheſt felicity, and was ' thruſt down again to the extremeſt miſery ; for if the misfortunes of ' all from the beginning of the world were compared with thoſe of the ' Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the compariſon :' and again in another (1) place he ſaith, ' To ſpeak in brief, no other city ever ' ſuffered ſuch things, as no other generation from the beginning of the ' world was ever more fruitful of wickedneſs.' St. Luke expreſſeth the reaſon thus, (XXI. 22.) " For theſe be the days of vengeance, that all
" things which are written may be fulfilled. Theſe be the days of ven-
" geance," wherein the calamities foretold by Moſes, Joel, Daniel and other prophets, as well as thoſe predicted by our Saviour ſhall all meet as in one common center, and be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. " Theſe be the days of vengeance" too in another ſenſe, as if God's vengeance had certain periods and revolutions, and the ſame days were fatal to the Jews, and deſtinated to their deſtruction. For it is

runt, noſtræ ſane contigit ad ſummum felicitatis perveniſſe, ac deinde in extremam calamitatem incidiſſe, namque omnium ab omnis ævi memoria res adverſæ, ſi cum iis conferantur quæ Judæis acciderunt, longe ab illis ſuperari mihi videntur. Joſephi Proem. Sect. 4. p. 955.

(1) Συνελοντα δ' ειπειν, μητε πολιν αλλην τοιαυτα πεπονθεναι, μητε γενεαν εξ αιωνος γεγονεναι κακιας γονιμωτεραν. illud autem breviter dici poteſt, neque aliam urbem talia perpeſſam eſſe, neque hominum genus aliud ab omni ævo ſceleratius exſtitiſſe. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. p. 1246.

(2) Lib.

is very memorable, and matter of juſt admiration according to (2) Joſephus, that the temple was burnt by the Romans in the ſame month, and on the ſame day of the month, as it was before by the Babylonians.

Nothing ſo violent can be of long continuance. Theſe calamities were ſo ſevere, that like fire, they muſt in time have conſumed all, and have left nothing for themſelves to prey upon. "And except thoſe days ſhould "be ſhortened, there ſhould no fleſh be ſaved." (ver. 22.) If theſe wars and deſolations were to continue, none of the Jews would eſcape deſtruction, they would all be cut off root and branch. I think (3) Joſephus computes the number of thoſe who periſhed in the ſiege at eleven hundred thouſand, beſides thoſe who were ſlain in other places: and if the Romans had gone on deſtroying in this manner, the whole nation of the Jews would certainly in a little time have been extirpated. "But for the elects ſake," but for the ſake of the Chriſtian Jews, "thoſe days ſhall be ſhortened. But for the elects ſake, whom he hath "choſen, the Lord hath ſhortened the days," as it is expreſſed in St. Mark. (XIII. 20.) "The elect" is a well known appellation in ſcripture and antiquity for the Chriſtians: and the Chriſtian Jews, partly thro' the fury of the Zelots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly through the difficulty of ſubſiſting in the mountains without houſes or proviſions, would in all probability have been almoſt all deſtroyed either by the ſword or by famin, if the days had not been ſhortened. But providentially the days were ſhortened. Titus himſelf (4) was deſirous of putting a ſpeedy end to the ſiege, having Rome and the riches and the pleaſures there before his eyes. Some of his officers (5) propoſed to him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and ſince they could not take the city by ſtorm, to ſtarve it into a ſurrender: but he thought

(2) Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. θαυμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτη της περιοδε την ακριβειαν. και μηνα γαρ, ως εφην, και ἡμεραν επετηρησε την αυθην, εν ἡ προτερον ὑπο Βαβυλωνιων ὁ νεως ενεπρησθη. eſt autem ut mirari quis poſſit in eo accuratam circumacti temporis rationem, nam eundem, ut dictum eſt, menſem et diem ſervavit, quo prius templum a Babyloniis exuſtum fuerat. Sect. 8. p. 1279. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3.

(4) Ipſi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptateſque ante oculos; ac ni ſtatim Hieroſolyma concidereut, morari videbantur. Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipſii.

(5) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1. αυτῳ δε το μεν αργειν καθολυ μετα τοσαυτης δυναμεως ουκ ιδοκει πρεπειν. Ipſi autem Tito ceſſare quidem prorſus tanto cum exercitu honeſtum non videbatur. δεδιεναι τε μη την δοξαν του κατορθωματος αυτῳ το μηκος ελαττωση του χρονου· τουτῳ μεν γαρ ειναι φαν ανυσιμον, προς δε της ευκλειας το ταχυς· metuendumque ne ſucceſſus gloriam ipſi diminuat temporis

thought it not becoming to ſit ſtill with ſo great an army; and he feared leſt the length of the time ſhould diminiſh the glory of his ſucceſs; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celerity contributes much to the fame and ſplendor of actions. The beſieged too helped to ſhorten the days by (6) their diviſions and mutual ſlaughters; by (7) burning their proviſions, which would have ſufficed for many years; and by (8) fatally deſerting their ſtrongeſt holds, where they could never have been taken by force, but by famin alone. By theſe means "the days were ſhortened;" and indeed otherwiſe Jeruſalem could never have been taken in ſo ſhort a time, ſo well fortified as it was, and ſo well fitted to ſuſtain a longer ſiege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and ſeditions within. Titus himſelf could not but aſcribe his ſucceſs to God, as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable. "We have fought, (9) ſaid he, with God on our ſide; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of theſe ſtrong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines againſt theſe towers?" "God" therefore, in the opinion of Titus as well as of St. Mark, "ſhortened "the days." After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem too, God inclined the heart of Titus to take ſome pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to reſtrain the nations from exerciſing the cruelty that they would have exerciſed towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians) (1) the ſenate and people earneſtly importuned him to expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently anſwered, that their country whither they ſhould return being laid waſte, there was no place that could receive them. Then they requeſted him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but thoſe he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus "for the elects ſake thoſe days" of perſecution "were ſhortened."

Our

temporis longitudo. hac enim cuncta quidem effici poſſe, ſed ad gloriam facere celeritatem. p. 1251. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 1, &c.

(7) Sect. 4. ὁς αν αυτοις ȣκ επ' ολιγα διηρκεσεν ετη πολιορκȣμενοις· quod non paucis annis illis ſufficere potuiſſet obſeſſis. p. 1213.

(8) Lib. 6. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. εφ' ὡν βια μεν ȣδεποτ' ἁλωτα, μονῳ δ' εδυναντο λιμῳ. in quibus vi quidem nunquam, ſola vero fame expugnari poterant. p. 1289.

(9) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. Συν Θεῳ γ' επολεμησαμεν, εφη, και Θεος ην ὁ τωνδε των ερυμαλων Ιȣδαιȣς καθελων, επει χειρες τε ανθρωπων η μηχαναι τι προς τȣτȣς τȣς πυργȣς δυνανται; Deo, inquit, favente bellavimus, Deus eſt, qui Judæos ex iſtis munimentis detraxit; nam humanæ manus et machinæ quid contra tales turres valeant? p. 1290.

(1) Joſeph. ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(2) πολλοι

Our bleſſed Lord hath cautioned his diſciples againſt falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution againſt them about the time of the ſiege and deſtruction of Jeruſalem. (ver. 23 and 24.) " Then if any man ſhall ſay unto you, Lo here is Chriſt or " there, believe it not; For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts and falſe " prophets, and ſhall ſhow great ſigns and wonders, inſomuch that " (if it were poſſible) they ſhall deceive the very elect." And in fact many ſuch impoſtors did ariſe about that time, as we learn from (2) Joſephus, and promiſed deliverance from God, being ſuborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and ſoldiers from deſerting to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more diſpoſed would they be to liſten to theſe deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegeſippus too in (3) Euſebius mentions the coming of falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets about the ſame time. But as it was to little purpoſe for a man to take upon him the character of the Chriſt, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine miſſion; ſo it was the common artifice and pretence of thoſe impoſtors to ſhow " ſigns and wonders," σημεια και τερατα, the very words uſed by Chriſt in his prophecy, and by (4) Joſephus in his hiſtory. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts of the Apoſtles. (VIII. 9, 10, 11.) " There was a certain man " called Simon, which before time in the ſame city uſed ſorcery, and " bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himſelf was ſome " great one: To whom they all gave heed from the leaſt to the greateſt, " ſaying, This man is the great power of God: And to him they had " regard, becauſe that of long time he had betwitched them with " ſorceries." Doſitheus likewiſe was reputed to work wonders according

(2) πολλοι δ' ησαν εγκαθετοι παρα των τυραννων τοτε προς τον δημον προφηται, προσμενειν την απο τυ Θευ βοηθειαν καταγγελλοντες, ὡς ητιον αυτομολοιεν, και τυς επανω δευς και φυλακης γινομενης ελπις παρακραιωη. πειθεται δε ταχεως ανθρωπος εν ζυμφοραις. Multi autem tunc a tyrannis ſubornati erant ad populum prophetæ, denunciantes eſſe auxilium a Deo exſpectandum, ut populus minus transfugeret, et eos, qui ſupra metum erant et cuſtodes, ſpes retineret. Cito autem in adverſis homini perſuadetur. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 1281. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 22.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudſon. Vide etiam de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 1.

(5) Contra Celſum, Lib. 6. Cap. 11. p. 638. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Adverſus Rufinum. Lib. 3. Col. 466. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(7) οι δε γοητες και απαιδευτοι ανθρωποι τον οχλον επειθον αυτοις εις την ερημιαν επεσθαι. δειξειν γαρ εφασαν εναργη τερατα και ζημεια, κατα την τυ Θευ προνοιαν γενομενα. Και πολλοι πεισθεντες, της αφροσυνης τιμωριας υπεσχον. ανεχθεντας γαρ αυτυς Φηλιξ

cording to (5) Origen: Barchochebas too, who (6) Jerome ſaith pretended to vomit flames. Such alſo were the Jews, of whom St. Paul ſpeaketh, (2 Tim. III. 8, 13.) comparing them to "Jannes and Jambres," famous magicians of Egypt, who "withſtood Moſes, as theſe alſo reſiſted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith," πονηροι ανθραποι και γοητες, "wicked men and impoſtors." There is a ſtrange propenſity in mankind to believe things marvelous and aſtoniſhing: and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by ſuch impoſtors; when if it had been poſſible they would have deceived "the very elect," the Chriſtians themſelves.

But "behold," ſaith our Saviour, "I have told you before." (ver. 25.) Behold I have given you ſufficient warning. "Wherefore if they ſhall ſay unto you, Behold, he is in the deſert, go not forth; behold, he is in the ſecret chambers, believe it not." (ver. 26.) It is ſurpriſing that our Saviour ſhould not only foretel the appearance of theſe impoſtors, but alſo the manner and circumſtances of their conduct. For ſome he mentions as appearing in "the deſert," and ſome in "the ſecret chambers;" and the event hath in all points anſwered to the prediction. Several of the falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets conducted their followers "into the deſert." Joſephus in his (7) Antiquities ſaith expreſly, that many impoſtors and cheats perſuaded the people to follow them "into the deſert," where they promiſed to ſhow manifeſt wonders and ſigns done by the providence of God; and many being perſuaded ſuffered the puniſhment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chaſtiſed them. Again in his (8) hiſtory of the Jewiſh war ſpeaking of the ſame perſons he ſaith, that theſe impoſtors, under a pretence of divine inſpiration, affecting innovations and changes, perſuaded the multitude to

Φηλιξ εκολασεν. Impoſtores vero et fallaciis pleni homines ſuadebant multitudini, ut ipſos in ſolitudinem ſequerentur. Se enim ipſis oſtenſuros dicebant manifeſta prodigia et ſigna, quæ Dei cura et providentia evenirent. Multique, fidem habentes, dementiæ ſuæ pœnas pertulerunt. Eos quippe retractos Felix ſupplicio affecit. Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) πλανοι γαρ ανθρωποι και απατεωνες, προσχηματι θειασμε, νεωτερισμους και μεταβολας πραγματευομενοι, δαιμονιαν το πληθος ανεπειθον, και προηγον εις την ερημιαν, ὡς εκει τε Θεε δειξοντος αυτοις σημεια ελευθεριας. επι τετοις ὁ Φηλιξ, εδοκει γαρ απο στασεως ειναι καταβολη, πεμψας ἱππεις και πεζες ὁπλιτας, πολυ πληθος διεφθειρε. Nam homines ſeductores et fallaciis pleni, ſpecie divini afflatus, novis rebus et mutationibus ſtudentes, vulgo ut inſanirent perſuadebant, et proliciebant in ſolitudinem; ac ſi illic Deus oſtenſurus eſſet eis ſigna libertatis. Contra iſtos (inde enim videtur oritura eſſe inſurrectio) milites, tam pedites quam equites, miſit Felix, magnumque eorum numerum interfecit. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

(9) Antiq.

grow mad, and led them forth "into the deſert," as if God would there ſhow them the ſigns of liberty. Againſt theſe Felix, for it ſeemed to be the foundation of a revolt, ſent horſe and foot ſoldiers, and ſlew a great number of them. The Egyptian falſe prophet, mentioned by (9) Joſephus and in the Acts of the Apoſtles, (XXI. 38.) "led out into "the wilderneſs four thouſand men that were murderers:" but Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an engagement with him, the Egyptian himſelf with a few others fled away, and moſt of thoſe who had been with him were ſlain or taken priſoners. There was likewiſe another impoſtor mentioned by (1) Joſephus, who promiſed ſalvation to the people, and a ceſſation of all evils, if they would follow him "into "the deſert;" but Feſtus ſent horſe and foot againſt him, and deſtroyed the deceiver himſelf, and thoſe who followed him. Theſe things happened before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and a little after (2) Jonathan a weaver perſuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth "into the deſert," promiſing there to ſhow ſigns and apparitions; but his followers moſt were ſlain, ſome were made priſoners, and he himſelf was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Veſpaſian. As ſeveral of theſe impoſtors thus conducted their followers into "the deſert," ſo did others into "the ſecret chambers" or places of ſecurity: as particularly the pſeudoprophet mentioned by (3) Joſephus, who declared to the people in the city, that God commanded them to go up into the temple, and there they ſhould receive the ſigns of deliverance. A multitude of men, women, and children, went up accordingly; but inſtead of deliverance, the place was ſet on fire by the Romans, and ſix thouſand periſhed miſerably in the flames, or by throwing themſelves down to eſcape them.

Our

(9) Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. ὡσε ζυμβολης γενομενης, τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων, διαφθαρηναι δε και ζωγρηθηναι πλειστους των ζυν αυτω. Facto igitur congreſſu, Ægyptius quidem ipſe cum paucis evaſit; plurimique eorum qui cum eo erant partim trucidati, partim vivi capti ſunt. p. 1076.

(1) πεμπει δε Φηστος δυναμιν ἱππικην τε και πεζικην επι τους απατηθεντας απο τινος ανθρωπου γοητος, ζωτηριαν αυτοις επαγγελλομενου και παυλαν κακων, ει βουληθειεν ἑπεσθαι μεχρι της ερημιας αυτου. και αυτον τε εκεινον τον απατησαντα, και τους ακολουθησαντας διεφθειραν οἱ πεμπθεντες. Quin et Feſtus equeſtres pedeſtreſque copias contra eos miſit, qui decepti erant ab homine quodam præſtigiatore, ſalutem ipſis pollicente et malorum ceſſationem, ſi ſe uſque ad deſertum ſequi vellent; atque ipſum deceptorem, pariter ac eos qui illum comitati ſunt, interfecerunt milites ab eo miſſi. Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 10. p. 895.

(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. ὑπ ολιγους των απορων ανεπεισε προσεχειν αυτω, και προηγαγεν εις τον ερημον, ζημεια και φασματα δειξειν ὑπισχνουμενος. Pauperum et indigentium

Our Saviour therefore might well caution his diſciples both againſt the former and the latter ſort of theſe deceivers. " For as the light-" ning cometh out of the eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the weſt; ſo " ſhall alſo the coming of the Son of man be." (ver. 27.) His coming will not be in this or that particular place, but like the lightning will be ſudden and univerſal. The appearance of the true Chriſt will be as diſtinguiſhable from that of the falſe Chriſts, as lightning which ſhineth all round the hemiſphere is from a blaze of ſtraw. What a learned (4) Prelate obſerves from Joſephus is very memorable, that " the Ro-" man army entered into Judea on the eaſt ſide of it, and carried on " their conqueſts weſtward, as if not only the extenſiveneſs of the ruin, " but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the " compariſon of the lightning coming out of the eaſt, and ſhining " even unto the weſt." " For whereſoever the carcaſe is, there will " the eagles be gathered together." (ver. 28.) By the word " carcaſe," as the ſame excellent (5) Prelate juſtly remarks, is meant the Jewiſh nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whoſe deſtruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven. Our Saviour, after his uſual manner, applieth a proverbial expreſſion with a particular meaning. For as, according to the old proverb, " whereſoever the carcaſe is, there " will the eagles be gathered together;" ſo whereſoever the Jews are, there will Chriſt be taken vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles as the fierceſt birds of prey, and whoſe enſign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this paſſage alluded. And as it was ſaid, ſo was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood overran the whole land. Joſephus ſaith that (6) there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch, (7) the

digentium non paucis, ut ipſi ſe adjungerent, perſuaſit, et in deſertum eduxit, promittens ſe ſigna ipſis et apparitiones oſtenſurum. Sect. 1. p. 1337.

(3) τουτοις αιτιος της απωλειας ψευδοπροφητης τις κατεστη, κατ' εκεινην κηρυξας την ημεραν τοις επι της πολεως, ως ὁ Θεος επι το ἱερον αναβηναι κελευει, δειξομενης τα σημεια της σωτηριας. His cauſa interitus erat pſeudopropheta quidam, qui illo tempore prædicaverat populo in civitate, " jubere Deum eos in templum aſcendere, ſigna ſalutis accepturos." Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 1281.

(4) Biſhop Pearce's Diſſertation on the deſtruction of Jeruſalem inſerted in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 1. p. 27.

(5) Ditto, p. 22.

(6) ουδεν δε μερος ην της Ιουδαιας, ὁ μη τη προανεχουση πολει συναπολλυτο. Nulla autem pars Judææ erat quæ ſimul cum urbe eminentiſſima non interibat. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 1190. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3.

(8) Ibid.

Jews being falſly accuſed of a deſign to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were ſlain. The Romans purſued, and took, and ſlew them every where, as particularly (8) at the ſiege of Machærus; at (9) the wood Jardes, where the Jews were ſurrounded, and none of them eſcaped, but being not fewer than three thouſand were all ſlain; and (1) at Maſada, where being cloſely beſieged, and upon the point of being taken, they firſt murdered their wives and children, and then themſelves to the number of nine hundred and ſixty, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. When (2) Judea was totally ſubdued, the danger extended to thoſe who dwelt at a diſtance. Many (3) were ſlain in Egypt, and their temple there was ſhut up: and (4) in Cyrene the followers of Jonathan, a weaver, and author of new diſturbances, were moſt of them ſlain; he himſelf was taken priſoner, and by his falſe accuſation three thouſand of the richeſt Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Joſephus concludes his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war.

There was ſomething ſo very extraordinary in the conduct of theſe falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to beſtow ſome conſiderations upon this ſubject, eſpecially as theſe conſiderations may tend to confirm and ſtrengthen us in our moſt holy religion.

1. It is obvious to obſerve from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Chriſt, otherwiſe there would hardly have been ſo many cheats and counterfeits. Fictions are uſually formed upon realities; and there would be nothing ſpurious, but for the ſake of ſomething true and genuin. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no phyſicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inſpiration, were none truly and divinely inſpired. There would not (we may reaſonably preſume) have been ſo many falſe Meſſiah's, had not a true Meſſiah been promiſed by God, and expected by men. And if a Meſſiah hath come from God, whom can we ſo properly pitch upon for the perſon, as the man Chriſt Jeſus? If there were alſo ſome mock prophets in imitation of

(8) Ibid. Cap. 6. (9) Ibid. Sect. 5. (1) Ibid. Cap. 9. (2) Ibid.

of Mohammed, yet their number was nothing near ſo conſiderable, and his ſucceſs was ſufficient to excite and encourage them; whereas the fate and condition of Jeſus would rather have deterred any impoſtors from following his example.

2. Another natural obſervation from hence is, that the Meſſiah was particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, and conſequently that the prophets had beforehand marked out that very time for his coming. For we read not of any falſe Meſſiahs before the age of our Saviour, nor of ſo many in any age after; and why did they riſe at that time particularly, if the Meſſiah was not at that time particularly expected? and why did the Jews expect their Meſſiah at that time more than at any other, if that was not the time before appointed for his coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold, (IX. 25, &c.) that Meſſiah the prince ſhould come towards the end of ſeventy weeks of years, or 490 years, from the going forth of the decree to reſtore and rebuild Jeruſalem. Before theſe weeks of years were, by one account or other, near expiring, hiſtory ſaith nothing of the falſe Meſſiahs: but when the prophetic weeks drew towards a concluſion, then theſe impoſtors aroſe frequent, like ſo many meteors to dazzle the eyes, and miſlead the wandring ſteps of Jews and Samaritans. Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof, that the Jews then underſtood the prophecy in the ſame ſenſe as the Chriſtians, however they may endevor to evade the force of it now. They pretend that the coming of the Meſſiah was delayed for the ſins of the people, and therefore they ſtill live in expectation of him, tho' they know neither the time nor the place of his appearing. Strange! that he who was to come for the ſins of the people, ſhould delay his coming for their ſins: and more ſtrange ſtill! that God ſhould falſify ſo many of his promiſes made by the mouths of his holy prophets. (Num. XXIII. 19.) "God is not a "man that he ſhould lie, neither the ſon of man that he ſhould repent: "hath he ſaid, and would he not do it? or hath he ſpoken, and would "he not make it good?"

3. It may be farther obſerved from hence, that the Meſſiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are the credentials of a meſſenger from

(2) Ibid. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. (3) Ibid. Cap. 10. (4) Ibid. Cap. 11.

(5) Joſeph.

from God: and it was foretold particularly of the Meſſiah, that he ſhould work miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the character of the Meſſiah without the neceſſary qualifications. Had not the power of working miracles been eſteemed an eſſential ingredient in the character of the Meſſiah, theſe impoſtors would never have had the aſſurance to pretend to it, or been ſo fooliſh as to hazard their reputation, and venture their whole ſucceſs upon ſuch an experiment: but all of them to a man drew the people after them with a pretence of working miracles, of ſhowing ſigns, and wonders, and apparitions. Now the very miracles which the Meſſiah was to perform, Jeſus hath performed, and none other beſides Jeſus. The prophet Iſaiah foretold, that the Meſſiah ſhould cure the "lame" and the "blind, the "deaf" and the "dumb;" and accordingly theſe very perſons were cured in great numbers by Jeſus. The prophet Iſaiah foretold likewiſe, that theſe miracles ſhould be wrought in "the de-"ſert;" and accordingly in the deſert Jeſus wrought them: and by the way I ſuppoſe this prophecy was one principal reaſon why moſt of the falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets led their followers into ſolitudes and deſerts, promiſing there to ſhow ſigns and wonders. The prophet Iſaiah foretold (XXXV. 1, &c.) "The wilderneſs and the ſolitary place ſhall "be glad for them, and the deſert ſhall rejoice, and bloſſom as the "roſe.—They ſhall ſee the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of "our God.—The eyes of the blind ſhall be opened, and the ears of "the deaf ſhall be unſtopped. The lame man ſhall leap as an hart, "and the tongue of the dumb ſing." The apoſtle and evangeliſt St. Matthew relates (XV. 29, &c.) that "Jeſus departed from thence" (from the coaſt of Tyre and Sidon) "and came nigh unto the ſea of "Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and ſat down there. And "great multitudes came unto him, having with them thoſe that were "lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and caſt them down "at Jeſus feet, and he healed them: Inſomuch that the multitude "wondered, when they ſaw the dumb to ſpeak, the maimed to be "whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to ſee: and they glorified the "God of Iſrael." Since then the miracles of the Meſſiah were wrought by Jeſus alone, Jeſus alone can have any juſt claim to be the Meſſiah: and from his works we may conclude (John VI. 14.) "This is of a truth "that prophet that ſhould come into the world."

4. Very

4. Very obſervable is the difference between the conduct and ſucceſs of theſe deceivers and of Jeſus Chriſt: for in him we have all the marks and characters of ſimplicity and truth, in them of fraud and impoſture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles: He "did no ſin," (1 Pet. II. 22.) "neither was guile found in his "mouth;" even Pilate his judge declared (John XIX. 6.) that he could "find no fault in him." They lived by rapin and ſpoil, by plunder and murder: He (Luke IX. 56.) "came not to deſtroy mens lives, but "to ſave them;" He fed the hungry, healed the ſick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge: His behaviour was all humility and meekneſs, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and propoſed to themſelves ſecular ends and intereſts: Jeſus was the fartheſt removed from any ſuſpicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him (John VI. 15.) "to make him "a king," he withdrew himſelf from them, "and departed again into "a mountain himſelf alone." Their pretenſions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not ſucceed and proſper: On the contrary, the religion of Jeſus was ſpiritual, diſclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly ſpeaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed againſt all the power and oppoſition of the world. Now of theſe who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Chriſt? Had Jeſus been an impoſtor, he would have lived and acted like an impoſtor. Had his deſign been any thing like theirs, like theirs it would have been diſcovered and brought to nought. Nothing could make his religion ſtand, but its coming from God. This is the reaſoning of one, who cannot be ſuſpected to favor the cauſe of Chriſtianity, the learned Gamaliel in the Jewiſh Sanhedrim; and to him that great council agreed. (Acts V. 36, &c.) "Before theſe days roſe up Theudas, boaſting him-"ſelf to be ſome body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, "joined themſelves; who was ſlain, and all, as many as obeyed him, "were ſcattered, and brought to nought. After this man roſe up Judas "of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people "after him; he alſo periſhed, and all, even as many as obeyed him, "were diſperſed. And now I ſay unto you, refrain from theſe men,

"and

" and let them alone; for if this counſel or this work be of men, it " will come to nought: But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; " leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God. And to him they " agreed."

5. But tho' the truth will at laſt prevail over error and impoſture, yet it is a melancholy proof of the weakneſs, and ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm of mankind, that theſe falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets ſhould delude ſuch numbers as they did to their deſtruction. The falſe Meſſiahs had for a time many more diſciples and followers than the true Meſſiah. The Chriſtians were once (Luke XII. 32.) " a little flock. " The number of the names together" (Acts I. 15.) " were about an " hundred and twenty." Whereas theſe impoſtors attracted and drew away great multitudes, one of them (5) ſix thouſand, another (6) even thirty thouſand. With a pretence of divine inſpiration, they taught the people, as (7) Joſephus expreſſeth it, δαιμονᾶν to grow enthuſiaſtically mad, as if they were poſſeſſed and actuated by ſome ſpirit or demon: and indeed no plague or epidemical diſtemper is more catching and contagious than enthuſiaſm. It paſſeth from man to man like wild-fire. The imagination is ſoon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. " The very elect," even good Chriſtians themſelves, if they attend to enthuſiaſts, will be in danger of taking the infection; and be continually liable to be (Eph. IV. 14.) " toſſed to " and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrin," if they have not (as all have not) a ſufficient ballaſt of diſcretion to keep them ſteddy. In reality enthuſiaſts know as little of the revelation given us by Chriſt, as of the reaſon given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. " Wherefore if they ſhall ſay unto you, Behold, he is in the deſert," behold his power is experienced in field-preaching, " go not forth; " behold, he is in the ſecret chambers," behold his preſence is conſpicuous in the tabernacles or conventicles, " believe it not." He is beſt ſought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by thoſe, and thoſe alone, who love him, not with fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, but in truth and ſoberneſs, ſo as to keep his commandments, which is the

(5) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon. και συμμικτος οχλος πολυς εις εξακισχιλιους. et plurima multitudo promiſcua, ad ſex hominum millia. p. 1281.

(6) Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. περι τρισμυριους μεν αθροιζει των πατημενων. uſque ad triginta hominum millia, quos

the only infallible proof and legitimate iſſue of love. For as our Saviour himſelf ſaith, (John XIV. 23.) "If a man love me, he will keep my "words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, "and make our abode with him."

6. Once more it is to be obſerved, that we muſt not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets pretended to ſhow great ſigns and wonders; and yet notwithſtanding all their miraculous pretenſions, our bleſſed Lord cautions his diſciples not to believe or follow them. But then the queſtion will be naturally aſked, If we muſt not believe thoſe who work miracles, whom muſt we believe? how ſhall we know whether a perſon doth or doth not act by commiſſion from heaven? how ſhall we diſtinguiſh whether the doctrin is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not poſſible to be wrought at all, as ſome have pretended; or could be wrought only by God, or thoſe who are commiſſioned by him, as others have argued; the reply would be obvious and eaſy: but that miracles are poſſible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reaſon, and that they may be wrought by evil ſpirits is a ſuppoſition agreeable to ſcripture; and therefore the beſt anſwer is, that reaſon muſt judge in this caſe as in every other, and determin of the miracles by the doctrins which they are alleged to confirm. If a doctrin is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf; for God can never ſet his hand and ſeal to a lie. If a doctrin is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil ſpirits; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, (Luke XI. 18.) "Satan would be divided againſt himſelf, and his kingdom could "not ſtand." Good ſpirits can never confirm and eſtabliſh what is evil, neither can evil ſpirits be ſuppoſed to promote what is good. Suppoſing that the miracles pretended in favor of Paganiſm were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worſhip, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them, according to the command of Moſes, (Deut. XIII. 1, &c.) "If there ariſe among you "a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a ſign or a wonder,

quos præſtigiis ſuis deceperat, congregavit. p. 1075, 6.

(7) πρωσχηματι θειασμυ,—δαιμονων το πληθος ανεπειθον. ſpecie divini afflatus,—vulgo ut inſanirent perſuadebant. Ibid. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

" And the ſign or the wonder come to paſs, whereof he ſpake unto thee, " ſaying, Let us go after other Gods (which thou haſt not known) and " let us ſerve them: Thou ſhalt not hearken unto the words of that " prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God prov- " eth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your " heart, and with all your ſoul." In like manner we muſt not admit any thing contrary to the doctrins of Chriſt and his apoſtles, whatever miracles are boaſted to recommend and authorize it. For the doctrins of the Chriſtian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reaſon, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it, by miracles, and hath injoined us ſtrictly to adhere to it; and God can never be ſuppoſed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore allowing (what we cannot reaſonably allow) that the miracles of Apollonius and other impoſtors were true and well atteſted, yet the foundation of Chriſt ſtandeth firm, and cannot at all be ſhaken by them. Should any man, or number of men, with ever ſo grave and confident a pretence to infallibility aſſert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church; when Chriſt commands us (Matt. XXIII. 9.) " to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is in " heaven"—that the ſervice of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St. Paul in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter (XIV.) expreſly againſt it—that the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper is to be adminiſtered only in one kind; when Chriſt inſtituted it, (Matt. XXVI.) and his apoſtles ordered it (1 Cor. XI.) to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory ſacrifice of Chriſt is to be repeated in the maſs; when the divine author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews teacheth us, (X. 10.) that " the body of Jeſus " Chriſt was offered once for all," and (ver. 14.) that " by one offer- " ing he hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified"—that men may arrive at ſuch highths of virtue as to perform works of merit and ſupererogation; when our Saviour orders us, (Luke XVII. 10.) " after " we have done all thoſe things which are commanded us, to ſay, we " are unprofitable ſervants, we have done *but* that which was our " duty to do"—that attrition and confeſſion together with the abſolu- tion of the prieſt will put a dying ſinner into a ſtate of grace and ſalvation; when the ſcripture again and again declares, (Heb. XII. 14.)

that

that " without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord," and (1 Cor. VI. 9.) " the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God"—that the ſouls of men, even of good men, immediately after death paſs into purga ory; when St. John is commanded from heaven to write (Rev. XIV. 13.) " Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may reſt " from their labors, and their works do follow them"—that we muſt worſhip images, and the relics of the ſaints; when our Saviour teacheth us, (Matt. IV. 10.) " that we muſt worſhip the Lord God, and him " only we muſt ſerve"—that we muſt invocate and adore ſaints and angels; when the apoſtle chargeth us (Col. II. 18.) to " let no man " beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worſhipping of " angels" — that we muſt pray to the virgin Mary and all ſaints to intercede for us; when St. Paul affirms, (1 Tim. II. 5.) that as there is only " one God," ſo there is only " one mediator between God and " men, the man Chriſt Jeſus"—that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treaſons, with perſecutions and maſſacres, for the ſake of religion and the church; when St. James aſſures us, (I. 20.) that " the " wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſs of God;" and when Chriſt maketh univerſal love and charity the diſtinguiſhing mark and badge of his diſciples, (John XIII. 35.) " By this ſhall all men know " that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another"—I ſay ſhould any man aſſert theſe things ſo directly contrary to reaſon and to the word of God, and vouch ever ſo many miracles in confirmation of them, yet we ſhould make no ſcruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay we are obliged to denounce anathema againſt the teacher of ſuch doctrins, though he were an apoſtle, though he were an angel from heaven: and for this we have the warrant and authority of St. Paul, and to ſhow that he laid peculiar ſtreſs upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, (Gal. I. 8, 9.) " Tho' we or an angel from " heaven preach any other goſpel unto you than that which we have " preached unto you, let him be accurſed. As we ſaid before, ſo ſay " I now again, If any one preach any other goſpel unto you, than that " ye have received, let him be accurſed." Indeed the miracles alleged in ſupport of theſe doctrins are ſuch ridiculous incredible things that a man muſt have faith, I do not ſay to remove mountains, but to ſwallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome.

But admitting that any of the Romiſh miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were atteſted by the beſt and moſt authentic records of time, yet I know not what the Biſhop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichriſt. For we know that the coming of Antichriſt, as St. Paul declares, (2 Theſſ. II. 9, 10.) " is after the " working of Satan with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and " with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs: and he doeth great wond- " ers in the ſight of men," according to the prophecy of St. John, (Rev. XIII. 13, 14.) " and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by " the means of thoſe miracles which he hath power to do." Nor indeed is any thing more congruous and reaſonable, than that " God" (2 Theſſ. II. 10, 11.) " ſhould ſend men ſtrong deluſion, that they " ſhould believe a lie, becauſe they received not the love of the truth, " that they might be ſaved."

But to return from this digreſſion, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digreſſion, to our main ſubject.

XX.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART III.

WE are now come to the laſt act of this diſmal tragedy, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the final diſſolution of the Jewiſh polity in church and ſtate, which our Saviour for ſeveral reaſons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooſeth to cloath his diſcourſe in figurative language. " He " might poſſibly do it, as (1) Dr. Jortin conceives, to perplex the un- " believing

(1) Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory, Vol. 1. p. 75.

(2) War-

" believing perſecuting Jews, if his diſcourſes ſhould ever fall into their " hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil." (ver. 29 and ſo on.) " Immediately after the tribulation of thoſe days, " ſhall the ſun be darkened, and the moon ſhall not give her light, and " the ſtars ſhall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens ſhall " be ſhaken." Commentators generally underſtand this and what follows of the end of the world and of Chriſt's coming to judgment: but the words " immediately after the tribulation of thoſe days" ſhow evidently that he is not ſpeaking of any diſtant event, but of ſomething immediately conſequent upon the tribulation before mentioned, and that muſt be the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. It is true, his figures are very ſtrong, but no ſtronger than are uſed by the ancient prophets upon ſimilar occaſions. The prophet Iſaiah ſpeaketh in the ſame manner of Babylon, (XIII. 9, 10.) " Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel " both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land deſolate; and he " ſhall deſtroy the ſinners thereof out of it. For the ſtars of heaven " and the conſtellations thereof ſhall not give their light; the ſun " ſhall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon ſhall not cauſe her " light to ſhine." The prophet Ezekiel ſpeaking in the ſame manner of Egypt, (XXXII. 7, 8.) " And when I ſhall put thee out, I will " cover the heaven, and make the ſtars thereof dark; I will cover the " ſun with a cloud, and the moon ſhall not give her light. And the " bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and ſet darkneſs " upon thy land, ſaith the Lord God." The prophet Daniel ſpeaketh in the ſame manner of the ſlaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be underſtood Antiochus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; (VIII. 10.) " And it waxed great, even to the " hoſt of heaven; and it caſt down ſome of the hoſt, and of the ſtars " to the ground, and ſtamped upon them:" And the prophet Joel of this very deſtruction of Jeruſalem, (II. 30, 31.) " And I will ſhow " wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars " of ſmoke. The ſun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and the moon into " blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often repreſented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

Our

Our Saviour proceedeth in the ſame figurative ſtile (ver. 30.) " And " then ſhall appear the ſign of the Son of man in heaven; and then " ſhall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they ſhall ſee the Son of " man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." The plain meaning of it is, that the deſtruction of Jeruſalem will be ſuch a remarkable inſtance of divine vengeance, ſuch a ſignal manifeſtation of Chriſt's power and glory, that all the Jewiſh tribes ſhall mourn, and many will be led from thence to acknowlege Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion. In the ancient prophets God is frequently deſcribed as coming in the " clouds," upon any remarkable interpoſition and manifeſtation of his power; and the ſame deſcription is here applied to Chriſt. The deſtruction of Jeruſalem will be as ample a manifeſtation of Chriſt's power and glory, as if he was himſelf to come viſibly in the clouds of heaven.

The ſame ſort of metaphor is carried on in the next verſe. (ver. 31.) " And he ſhall ſend his angels with a great ſound of a trumpet, and " they ſhall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one " end of heaven to the other." This is all in the ſtile and phraſeology of the prophets, and ſtript of its figures meaneth only, that after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem Chriſt by his angels or miniſters will gather to himſelf a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews ſhall be " thruſt out," as he expreſſeth himſelf in another place, (Luke XIII. 28, 29.) " and they ſhall come from the eaſt, and from the " weſt, and from the north, and from the ſouth; and ſhall ſit down in " the kingdom of God." No one ever ſo little verſed in hiſtory needeth to be told, that the Chriſtian religion ſpread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this ſucceſs of the goſpel, than the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumſtances ſo particularly foretold by our bleſſed Saviour.

What Dr. Warburton hath (2) written upon the ſame ſubject will much illuſtrate and enforce the foregoing expoſition. " The prophecy " of Jeſus, concerning the approaching deſtruction of Jeruſalem by " Titus, is conceived in ſuch high and ſwelling terms, that not only the " modern

(2) Warburton's Julian, Book 1. Chap. 1. p. 21, &c. 2d Edit.

(3) Divine

" modern interpreters, but the ancient likewiſe, have ſuppoſed, that " our Lord interweaves into it a direct prediction of his ſecond coming " to judgment. Hence aroſe a current opinion in *thoſe* times, that the " conſummation of all things was at hand; which hath afforded a " handle to an infidel object in *theſe*, inſinuating that Jeſus, in order " to keep his followers attached to his ſervice, and patient under ſuf- " ferings, flattered them with the near approach of thoſe rewards, " which completed all their views and expectations. To which, the " defenders of religion have oppoſed this anſwer, That the diſtinction " of ſhort and long, in the duration of time, is loſt in eternity, and " with the Almighty *a thouſand years are but as yeſterday*, &c.

" But the principle both go upon is falſe; and if what hath been " ſaid be duly weighed, it will appear, that this prophecy doth not " reſpect Chriſt's *ſecond* coming to judgment but his *firſt*; in the " abolition of the Jewiſh policy, and the eſtabliſhment of the " Chriſtian: That kingdom of Chriſt, which commenced on the " total ceaſing of the theocracy. For as God's reign over the Jews en- " tirely ended with the abolition of the temple-ſervice, ſo the reign of " Chriſt, *in ſpirit and in truth*, had then its firſt beginning.

" This was the true *eſtabliſhment* of Chriſtianity, not that effected " by the donations or converſions of Conſtantine. Till the Jewiſh law " was aboliſhed, over which the *Father* preſided as king, the reign of " the *Son* could not take place; becauſe the ſovranty of Chriſt over " mankind, was that very ſovranty of God over the Jews, *transferred*, " and more largely extended.

" This therefore being one of the moſt important æras in the œco- " nomy of grace, and the moſt awful revolution in all God's religious " diſpenſations; we ſee the elegance and propriety of the terms in " queſtion, to denote ſo great an event, together with the deſtruction " of Jeruſalem, by which it was effected: for in the old prophetic " language the change and fall of principalities and powers, whether " ſpiritual or civil, are ſignified by the ſhaking heaven and earth, the " darkening the ſun and moon, and the falling of the ſtars; as the riſe " and eſtabliſhment of new ones are by proceſſions in the clouds of " heaven, by the ſound of trumpets, and the aſſembling together of " hoſts and congregations."

This

This language, as he obſerves (3) in another place, was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics. " For as in the hieroglyphic writing the ſun, " moon, and ſtars were uſed to repreſent ſtates and empires, kings, " queens, and nobility; their eclipſe and extinction, temporary diſ- " aſters, or entire overthrow; &c; ſo in like manner the holy prophets " call kings and empires by the names of the heavenly luminaries; " their misfortunes and overthrow are repreſented by eclipſes and ex- " tinction; ſtars falling from the firmament are employed to denote " the deſtruction of the nobility; &c. In a word, the prophetic ſtile " ſeems to be a ſpeaking hieroglyphic. Theſe obſervations will not " only aſſiſt us in the ſtudy of the Old and New Teſtament, but " likewiſe vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern " libertines, who have fooliſhly miſtaken *that* for the peculiar work- " manſhip of the prophet's heated imagination, which was the ſober " eſtabliſhed language of their times, and which God and his Son con- " deſcended to employ as the propereſt conveyance of the high myſte- " rious ways of providence in the revelation of themſelves to man- " kind."

To St. Matthew's account St. Luke addeth, (XXI. 24.) " And they " ſhall fall by the edge of the ſword, and ſhall be led away captive into " all nations; and Jeruſalem ſhall be troden down of the Gentiles, un- " til the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." The number of thoſe who " fell by the edge of the ſword" was indeed very great. Of thoſe who periſhed during the whole ſiege, there were, as Joſephus (4) ſaith, eleven hundred thouſand. Many were alſo ſlain (5) at other times and in other places. By the command of Florus, who was the firſt author of the war, there were ſlain at Jeruſalem (6) three thouſand and ſix hundred: By the inhabitants of Cæſarea (7) above twenty thouſand: At

(3) Divine Legation, Vol. 2. Book 4. Sect. 4.

(4) των δ' απολυμενων καθα πασαν την πολιορκιαν, μυριαδες ἑκαδον και δεκα. totius autem obſidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Juſt. Lipſius de Conſtantia. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. Uſher's Annals in the concluſion. Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. B. 1. Ch. 8. Sect. 19.

(6) Joſeph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 14. Sect. 9.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
(1) Ibid. Sect. 8.
(2) Ibid. Sect. 10.
(3) Ibid. Sect. 11.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.
(5) Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.

(6) Ibid.

At Scythopolis (8) above thirteen thouſand: At Aſcalon (9) two thouſand five hundred, and at Ptolemais two thouſand: At Alexandria, under Tiberius Alexander the preſident, (1) fifty thouſand: at Joppa, when it was taken by Ceſtius Gallus, (2) eight thouſand four hundred: In a mountain called Aſamon near Sepphoris (3) above two thouſand: At Damaſcus (4) ten thouſand: In a battle with the Romans at Aſcalon (5) ten thouſand: In an ambuſcade near the ſame place (6) eight thouſand: At Japha (7) fifteen thouſand: Of the Samaritans upon mount Garizin (8) eleven thouſand and ſix hundred: At Jotapa (9) forty thouſand: At Joppa, when taken by Veſpaſian, (1) four thouſand two hundred: At Tarichea (2) ſix thouſand five hundred, and after the city was taken twelve hundred: At Gamala (3) four thouſand ſlain, beſides five thouſand who threw themſelves down a precipice: Of thoſe who fled with John from Giſchala (4) ſix thouſand: Of the Gadarenes (5) fifteen thouſand ſlain, beſides an infinite number drowned: In the villages of Idumea (6) above ten thouſand ſlain: At Geraſa (7) a thouſand: At Machærus (8) ſeventeen hundred: In the wood of Jardes (9) three thouſand: In the caſtle of Maſada (1) nine hundred and ſixty: In Cyrene by Catullus the governor (2) three thouſand. Beſides theſe many of every age, ſex and condition, were ſlain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of theſe who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred and ſixty; which would appear almoſt incredible, if their own hiſtorian had not ſo particularly enumerated them.

But beſides the Jews who "fell by the edge of the ſword," others were alſo to "be led away captive into all nations:" and conſidering the numbers of the ſlain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at Japha (3) two thouſand one hundred and thirty; At Jotapa (4) one thouſand two hundred: At Tarichea (5) ſix

(6) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 32.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 36.
(1) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 9, 10.
(3) Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.
(5) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.
(6) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
(8) Lib. 7. Cap. 6. Sect. 4.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
(1) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 11. Sect. 2.
(3) Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(4) Ibid. Sect. 36.
(5) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 10.

(6) Lib.

ſix thouſand choſen young men were ſent to Nero, the reſt ſold to the number of thirty thouſand and four hundred, beſides thoſe who were given to Agrippa: Of the Gadarenes (6) two thouſand two hundred: In Idumea (7) above a thouſand. Many beſides theſe were taken at Jeruſalem, ſo that as Joſephus himſelf (8) informs us, the number of the captives taken in the whole war amounted to ninety ſeven thouſand; the tall and handſome young men Titus reſerved for his triumph; of the reſt, thoſe above ſeventeen years of age were ſent to the works in Egypt, but moſt were diſtributed thro' the Roman provinces, to be deſtroyed in their theatres by the ſword or by the wild beaſts; thoſe under ſeventeen were ſold for ſlaves. Of theſe captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thouſand of them (9) periſhed for want. Titus exhibited all ſorts of ſhows and ſpectacles at Cæſarea, and (1) many of the captives were there deſtroyed, ſome being expoſed to the wild beaſts, and others compelled to fight in troops againſt one another. At Cæſarea too in honor of his brother's birth-day (2) two thouſand five hundred Jews were ſlain; and a great number likewiſe at Berytus in honor of his father's. The like (3) was done in other cities of Syria. Thoſe whom he reſerved for his triumph (4) were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and ſeven hundred others of remarkable ſtature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miſerably tormented, and diſtributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not ſtill diſtreſſed and diſperſed over all the nations of the earth?

As the Jews were "to be led away captive into all nations," ſo Jeruſalem was to be "troden down of the Gentiles, until the times of "the Gentiles be fulfilled." And accordingly Jeruſalem hath never ſince been in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, but hath conſtantly been in ſubjection to ſome other nation, as firſt to the Romans, and afterwards to

(6) Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.
(8) των δε νεων τους ὑψηλοτατους και καλους επιλεξας ετηρει τῳ θριαμβῳ. τῳ δε λοιπῳ πληθει τους ὑπερ επτακαιδεκα ετη δησας επεμψεν εις τα κατ' Αιγυπτον εργα, πλειους δ' εις τας επαρχιας διεδωρησατο Τιτος, φθαρησομενους εν τοις θεατροις σιδηρῳ και θηριοις. οι δ' ετος επτακαιδεκα ετων επραθησαν.—Των μεν ουν αιχμαλωτων πασων, ὁσα καθ' ὁλον ελκφθη τον πολεμον, αριθμος ενενηκοντα μυριαδες και επτακισχιλιοι συνηχθη. juvenes autem lectos, qui proceritate et forma cæteris præſtarent, triumpho ſervabat. Ex reliqua autem multitudine, annis XVII majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda, in Ægyptum miſit; plurimos etiam per provincias diſtribuit Titus, in theatris ferro et beſtiis conſumendos. Quicunque vero infra XVII annum ætatis erant, ſub corona venditi ſunt.—Et captivorum quidem omnium, qui totius belli tempore capti ſunt, numerus erat ad nonaginta ſeptem millia. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2 et 3. p. 1291. Pro ενενηκοντα ſcripſiſſe Joſephum cenſet Villalpandus, tom. 3. p. 123.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 2.
(1) Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Sect. 1.
(2) Ibid.

to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mamalucs, and now to the Turks.

Titus, as it was related before, (5) commanded all the city as well as the temple to be deſtroyed: only three towers were left ſtanding for monuments to poſterity of the ſtrength of the city, and ſo much of the wall as encompaſſed the city on the weſt, for barracks for the ſoldiers who were left there in garriſon. All the reſt of the city was ſo totally demoliſhed, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The ſoldiers who were left there, were (6) the tenth legion, with ſome troops of horſe and companies of foot, (7) under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus (8) came again to Jeruſalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the ſad devaſtation of the city, and called to mind its former ſplendor and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and curſing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel neceſſity of deſtroying ſo fine a city. Veſpaſian (9) ordered all the lands of the Jews to be ſold for his own uſe; and all the Jews, whereſoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the ſame ſum to the capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jeruſalem. The deſolation was ſo complete, that Eleazar (1) ſaid to his countrymen; 'What is become of our city, which was be-'lieved to be inhabited by God? It is rooted up from the very founda-'tions, and the only monument of it that is left, is the camp of thoſe 'who deſtroyed it, ſtill pitched upon its remains. Some unhappy old 'men ſit over the aſhes of the temple, and a few women reſerved by the 'enemy for the baſeſt of injuries.'

The firſt who (2) rebuilt Jeruſalem, tho' not all exactly on the ſame ſpot, was the Roman emperor Ælius Adrian, and he called it after his

(2) Ibid. Cap. 3. Sect. 1.
(3) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1.
(4) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(5) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.
(6) Ibid. Sect. 2.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 2.
(8) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect 2.
(9) Ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 6.

(1) ωs γεγονεν ημιν η τον Θεον εχειν οικισην πεπιστευμενη; προρριζος εκ βαθρων ανηρπασαι, και μονον αυτης μνημειον υπολελειπσαι, το των ανηρηκοτων αυτην στρατοπεδον, ετι τοις λειψανοις επoικεν, προσβυται δε δυσηνοι τη σποδω τs τεμενους παρανεθηνται, και γυναικες ολιγαι προς ὑβριν αισχισην ὑπο των πολεμιων τετηρημεναι. quid de ea factum eſt, quam Deum habitaſſe credidimus? Radicitus ex fundamentis evulſa eſt, et id ſolum ejus monumentum relictum, caſtra ſcilicet illorum a quibus exciſa eſt jam reliquiis ejus impoſita. Senes vero infelices templi cineribus aſſident, et paucæ mulieres ad turpiſſimam *pudoris* injuriam ab hoſtibus reſervatæ. Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 1322.

(2) Dionis Caſſ. Hiſt. Lib. 69. p. 793. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

(3) Epiphan.

own name Ælia, and placed in it a Roman colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the room of the temple of the true God. While he was viſiting the eaſtern parts of the empire, he came to Jeruſalem, as (3) Epiphanius informs us, forty-ſeven years after its deſtruction by Titus, and found the city all leveled with the ground, and the temple of God troden under foot, except a few houſes: and he then formed the reſolution of rebuilding it, but his deſign was not put in execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a ſeditious ſpirit, were inflamed (4) upon this occaſion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppreſſors: and they were headed by a man called (5) *Barchochab*, a vile robber and murderer, whoſe name ſignifying the "ſon of a ſtar," he confidently pretended that he was the perſon propheſied of by Balaam in thoſe words, (Num. XXIV. 17.) "There ſhall "come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ſhall riſe out of Iſrael." They were (6) ſucceſsful in their firſt enterpriſes thro' the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable, as the rebellion was raiſed for this purpoſe, that they made themſelves maſters of Ælia, or the new Jeruſalem, and maſſacred or chaced from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans beſieged and took it again; for we read in ſeveral authors, in (7) Euſebius, in (8) Jerome, in (9) Chryſoſtom, and in (1) Appian who lived at that time, that Jeruſalem was again beſieged by the Romans under Adrian, and was entirely burnt and conſumed. However that be, the Jews were at length ſubdued with moſt terrible ſlaughter; (2) fifty of their ſtrongeſt caſtles, and nine hundred and eighty five of their beſt towns were ſacked and demoliſhed; five hundred and eighty thouſand men fell by the ſword in battle, beſides an infinite multitude who periſhed by famin, and ſickneſs, and fire, ſo that Judea was almoſt all deſolated.

(3) Epiphan. de Menſ. et Pond. Cap. 14. p. 170. Vol. 2. Edit. Petavii.

(4) Dion's Hiſt. ibid.

(5) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Vide etiam Scaligeri Animadverſ. in Euſebii Chron. p. 216.

(6) Dionis Hiſt. ibid.

(7) Euſeb. Demonſ. Evang. Lib. 2. Cap. 38. p. 71. Lib. 6. Cap. 18. p. 286. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(8) Hieron. in Jerem. XXXI. Col. 679. in Ezek. V. Col. 725. in Dan. IX. Col. 1117. in Joe II. Col. 1340. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(9) Orat. V. adverſ. Judæos. Vol. 1. p. 645. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 119. Edit. Steph. p. 191. Edit. Tollii.

(2) Dionis Hiſt. ibid. p. 794.

(3) Author libri Juchaſin ſcribit Hadrianum *duplo plures Judæos in hoc bello trucidâſſe quam egreſſi ſint ex*

lated. The Jewiſh (3) writers themſelves reckon, that doubly more Jews were ſlain in this war, than came out of Egypt; and that their ſufferings under Nebuchadnezzar and Titus were not ſo great as what they endured under the emperor Adrian. Of the Jews who ſurvived this ſecond ruin of their nation, an (4) incredible number of every age and ſex were ſold like horſes, and diſperſed over the face of the earth. The emperor completed his deſign, rebuilt the city, re-eſtabliſhed the colony, ordered the (5) ſtatue of a hog in marble to be ſet up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem, and (6) publiſhed an edict ſtrictly forbidding any Jew upon pain of death to enter the city, or ſo much as to look upon it at a diſtance.

In this ſtate Jeruſalem continued, being better known by the name of Ælia, till the reign of the firſt chriſtian emperor, Conſtantine the great. The name of Jeruſalem had grown into ſuch diſuſe, and was ſo little remembered or known, eſpecially among the Heathens, that when (7) one of the martyrs of Paleſtine, who ſuffered in the perſecution under Maximin, was examined of what country he was, and anſwered of Jeruſalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his aſſiſtants could comprehend what city it was, or where ſituated. But in Conſtantine's time it began to reſume its ancient name; and this emperor inlarged and beautified it with ſo many ſtately edifices and churches, that (8) Euſebius ſaid more like a courtier than a biſhop, that this perhaps was the new Jeruſalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jews, who hated and abhorred the Chriſtian religion as much or more than the Heathen, (9) aſſembled again, as we learn from St. Chryſoſtom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple: but the emperor with his ſoldiers repreſſed their vain attempt; and having cauſed their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he diſperſed them

ex Ægypto. Alius libro qui inſcribitur מלכי רומי, quem Druſius laudat in Præteritis, *Non ſic afflixiſſe eos Nebuchadnezarem neque Titum, ſicut Hadrianus imperator.* Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 443.

(4) Hieron. in Jerem. XXXI. Col. 679. in Zach. XI. Col. 1744. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Chron. Alex. p. 596.

(5) Euſeb. et Hieron. Chron. Ann. 137.

(6) Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Hieron. in Iſ. VI. Col. 65. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Juſtin. Mart. Apol. Prim. p. 84. Edit. Par. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii.

(7) Euſeb. de Mart. Palæſt. Cap. 11.

(8) ταχα ωι ταυτην ειναι την δια προφητικων θεσπισματων κεκηρυγμενην καινεαν Ιερουσαλημ. atque hæc forſitan fuerit recens illa ac nova Hieruſalem, prophetarum vaticiniis prædicata. Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 33.

(9) Chryſoſtom. Orat. V. adverſ. Jud. Sect. 11. p. 645. Orat. VI. Sect. 2. p. 651. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Juliani

them over all the provinces of his empire, as ſo many fugitives and ſlaves.

The laws of Conſtantine, and of his ſon and ſucceſſor Conſtantius, were likewiſe in other reſpects very ſevere againſt the Jews: but Julian, called the Apoſtate, the nephew of Conſtantine, and ſucceſſor of Conſtantius, was more favourably inclined towards them; not that he really liked the Jews but diſliked the Chriſtians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Chriſtian religion reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the Jewiſh worſhip and ceremonies. Our Saviour had ſaid that "Jeruſalem ſhould "be troden down of the Gentiles;" and he would defeat the prophecy, and reſtore the Jews. For this purpoſe he (1) wrote kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expreſſing his concern for their former ill treatment, and aſſuring them of his protection from future oppreſſion; and concluding with a promiſe, that (2) if he was ſucceſsful in the Perſian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jeruſalem, reſtore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worſhipping the great God of the univerſe. His zeal even exceeded his promiſe; for before he ſet out from Antioch on his Perſian expedition, he propoſed to begin with (3) rebuilding the temple at Jeruſalem, with the greateſt magnificence. He aſſigned immenſe ſums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to ſuperintend and haſten the work. Alypius ſet about it vigorouſly. The governor of the province aſſiſted him in it. But horrible balls of fire burſting forth near the foundations, with frequent aſſaults, rendered the place inacceſſible to the workmen who were burnt ſeveral times: and in this manner the fiery element obſtinately repelling them, the enterpriſe was laid aſide. What a ſignal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts ſhould ſucceed and proſper; and that rather than the prophecies ſhould be defeated, a prodigy was wrought even by the teſtimony of a faithful heathen

(1) Juliani Epiſt. 25. Ιουδαιων τῳ κοινῳ. p. 396. Edit. Spanhemii.

(2) —ἱνα καγω τον των Περσων πολεμον διορθωσάμενος, την εκ πολλων ετων επιθυμουμενην παρ' ὑμιν ιδειν οικουμενην πολιν ἁγιαν Ιερουσαλημ, εμοις καμασις ανοικοδομησας οικησω, και εν αυτη δοξαν δωσω μεθ' ὑμων τῳ κρειττονι.—quo et ipſe Perſico bello ex animi ſententia geſto, ſanctam urbem Hieruſalem, quam multos jam annos habitatam videre deſideratis, meis laboribus refectam incolam, et una vobiſcum in ea optimo Deo gratias agam. Ibid. p. 398.

(3) Ambitioſum quondam apud Hieroſolymam templum, quod poſt multa et interneciva certamina obſidente Veſpaſiano poſteaque Tito ægrè eſt expugnatum,

heathen hiſtorian? The interpoſition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himſelf and his own hiſtorian have teſtified. There are indeed many witneſſes to the truth of the fact, whom an (4) able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order. "Ammianus "Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemuch David a Jew, who confeſſeth that "Julian was *divinitus impeditus*, hindered by God in this attempt: "Nazianzen and Chryſoſtom among the Greeks, St. Ambroſe and "Ruffinus among the Latins, who floriſhed at the very time when "this was done: Theodoret and Sozomen orthodox hiſtorians, Philo-"ſtorgius an Arian, Socrates a favorer of the Novatians, who writ the "ſtory within the ſpace of fifty years after the thing was done, and whilſt "the eye-witneſſes of the fact where yet ſurviving." But the public hath lately been obliged with the beſt and fulleſt account of this whole tranſaction in Dr. Warburton's Julian, where the evidence for the miracle is ſet in the ſtrongeſt light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confuſion of infidelity.

Julian was the laſt of the Heathen emperors. His ſucceſſor Jovian made it the buſineſs of his ſhort reign, to undo, as much as was poſſible, all that Julian had done: and the ſucceeding emperors were generally for repreſſing Judaiſm, in the ſame proportion as they were zealous for promoting Chriſtianity. Adrian's edict was (5) revived, which prohibited all Jews from entering into Jeruſalem, or coming near the city; and guards were poſted to enforce the execution of it. This was a very lucrative ſtation to the ſoldiers; for the Jews (6) uſed to give money for permiſſion to come and ſee the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them, eſpecially on the day whereon Jeruſalem had been taken and deſtroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unleſs by

natum, inſtaurare ſumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exuſtis aliquoties operantibus inacceſſum: hocque modo elemento deſtinatius repellente, ceſſavit inceptum. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 1. p. 350. Edit. Valeſii. 1681.

(4) Whitby's general Preface. p. xxviii.

(5) Auguſtini Serm. 4. Sect. 5. Tom. 5. p. 23. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp. Sulpicii Severi Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(6) Hieron. in Sophon. I. Col. 1655. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Theoph.

by ſtealth or by purchaſe, as long as it continued in ſubjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in ſubjection to the Greek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the ſeventh century after Chriſt, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was (7) taken and plundered by Choſroes king of Perſia, and the greateſt cruelties were exerciſed on the inhabitants. Ninety thouſand Chriſtians are ſaid to have been ſold and ſacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius ſoon repelled and routed the Perſians, reſcued Jeruſalem out of their hands, and baniſhed all Jews, forbidding them, under the ſevereſt penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

Jeruſalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Perſians, before it was expoſed to a worſe evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning of the ſame ſeventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion: and this "little cloud," which was at firſt no bigger than "a man's hand," ſoon overſpread and darkened the whole hemiſphere. Mohammed himſelf conquered ſome parts of Arabia. His ſucceſſor Abubeker broke into Paleſtine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the moſt rapid conquerors, who ever ſpread deſolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half; and in that time he ſubdued all Arabia, Syria, Meſopotamia, Perſia, and Egypt. His (8) army inveſted Jeruſalem. He came thither in perſon; and the Chriſtians after a long ſiege being reduced to the greateſt extremities, in the year of Chriſt 637, ſurrendered the city upon capitulation. He granted them honorable conditions; he would not allow any of their churches to be taken from them; but only demanded of the patriarch, with great modeſty, a place where he might build a moſque. The patriarch ſhowed him Jacob's ſtone, and the place where the temple of Solomon had been built, which the Chriſtians had filled with ordure in

(7) Theoph. ad Heracl. p. 252, &c. Edit. Paris. p. 200, &c. Edit. Venet. Cedren. ad Heracl. p. 408. Edit. Paris. p. 322. &c. Edit. Venet. Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 18. Sect. 7.

(8) Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 22, et 28. Edit. Erpenii. Herbelot. Biblioth. Orientale. p. 687. Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. B. 6. Chap. 19. Sect. 2. Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 243, &c.

(9) Theophanes

in hatred to the Jews. Omar began himſelf to cleanſe the place, and he was followed in this act of piety by the principal officers of his army; and it was in this place that the firſt moſque was erected at Jeruſalem. Sophronius the patriarch (9) ſaid upon Omar's taken poſſeſſion of the city, 'This is of a truth the abomination of deſolation 'ſpoken of by Daniel the prophet ſtanding in the holy place.' Omar the conqueror of Jeruſalem is by ſome authors ſaid alſo to have died there, being ſtabbed by a ſlave at morning prayers in the moſque which he had erected. Abdolmelik the ſon Merwan, the twelfth caliph, (1) inlarged the moſque at Jeruſalem, and ordered the people to go thither on pilgrimage inſtead of Mecca, which was then in the hands of the rebel Abdollah: and afterwards (2) when the pilgrimage to Mecca was by any accident interrupted, the Muſſelmen uſed to repair to Jeruſalem for the ſame purpoſes of devotion.

In this manner the holy city was transferred from the poſſeſſion of the Greek Chriſtians into the dominion of the Arabian Muſſelmen, and continued in ſubjection to the caliphs till the latter part of the eleventh century, that is above 400 years. At that time (3) the Turks of the Selzuccian race had made themſelves maſters of Perſia, had uſurped the government, but ſubmitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly ſeated there, they extended their conqueſts as far as Jeruſalem, and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and alſo deſpoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept poſſeſſion of it, till being weakened by diviſions among themſelves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the diviſions and weakneſs of the Turks, advanced to Jeruſalem with a great army; and the Turks expecting no ſuccour, preſently ſurrendered it to him. But though it thus changed maſters, and paſſed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion profeſſed there was ſtill the ſame, the Mohammedan being authorized and eſtabliſhed, and the Chriſtian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

(9) Theophanes p. 281. Edit. Paris. p. 224. Edit. Venet. Baſnage, ibid. Ockley, p. 249.

(1) Eimacin. Hiſt. Sar. Lib. 1. p. 58. Ockley, Vol. 2. p. 299.

(2) Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 270.

(3) Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 267—287. Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Verſ. Pocockii. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 269.

(4) Abul-

The Egyptians enjoyed their conqueſts but a little while; for in (4) the ſame year that they took poſſeſſion of it, they were diſpoſſeſſed again by the Franks as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Chriſtians. Peter the hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Paleſtine, and there having ſeen and ſhared in the diſtreſſes and miſeries of the Chriſtians, he repreſented them at his return in ſuch pathetic terms, that by his preaching and inſtigation, and by the authority of pope Urban II and the Council of Clermont, the weſt was ſtirred up againſt the eaſt, Europe againſt Aſia, the Chriſtians againſt the Muſſelmen, for the retaking of Jeruſalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. It was the epidemic madneſs of the time; and old and young, men and women, prieſts and ſoldiers, monks and merchants, peaſants and mechanics, all were eager to aſſume the croſs, and to ſet out for what they thought the holy wars. Some aſſert that the number of thoſe who went out on this expedition amounted to above a million. They who make the loweſt computation affirm, that there were at leaſt three hundred thouſand fighting men. After ſome loſſes and ſome victories the army ſat down before Jeruſalem, and after a ſiege of five weeks they took it by ſtorm, on the fifteenth of July in the year of Chriſt 1099; and all, who were not Chriſtians, they put to the ſword. They maſſacred above ſeventy thouſand Muſſulmen; and all the Jews in the place they gathered and burnt together; and the ſpoil that they found in the moſques was of ineſtimable value. Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was choſen king; and there reigned nine kings in ſucceſſion; and the kingdom ſubſiſted eighty eight years, till the year of Chriſt 1187, when the Muſſulmen regained their former dominion, and with ſcarce any interruption have retained it ever ſince.

At that time the famous Saladin, having ſubverted the government of the caliphs, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed ſultan of Egypt. Having alſo ſubdued Syria and Arabia, he formed the (5) deſign of beſieging

(4) Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Verſ. Pocockii Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 293. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 269. Savage's Abridg. of Knolles and Ricaut. Vol. 1. p. 12, &c. Voltaire's Hiſt. of Europe, of the Cruſades. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

(5) Elmacin. ibid. p. 293. Abul-Pharaj. ibid. p. 273, 74. Herbelot ibid. p. 269 et 743. Knolles and Savage, p. 54. Voltaire ibid. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

(6) Her-

ſieging Jeruſalem, and of putting an end to that kingdom. He marched againſt it with a powerful and victorious army, and took it by capitulation on Friday the 2d of October, after a ſiege of fourteen days. He compelled the Chriſtians to redeem their lives at the price of ten pieces of gold for a man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. He reſtored to the oriental Chriſtians the church of the holy ſepulchre; but forced the Franks or weſtern Chriſtians to depart to Tyre or other places, which were in the poſſeſſion of their countrymen. But tho' the city was in the hands of the Muſſelmen, yet the Chriſtians had ſtill their nominal king of Jeruſalem; and for ſome time Richard I of England, who was one of the moſt renowned cruſaders, and had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the holy wars, gloried in the empty title. The city however (6) did not remain ſo aſſured to the family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, ſultan of Damaſcus, was obliged to demoliſh the walls, not being able to keep it himſelf, and fearing leſt the Franks, who were then again become formidable in thoſe parts, ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves again in a place of ſuch ſtrength. Afterwards in the year 1228, (7) another of Saladin's family, Al Kamel, the ſultan of Egypt, who after the death of his kinſman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his eſtates, to ſecure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jeruſalem to the emperor Frederic II, upon condition that he ſhould not rebuild the walls, and that the moſques ſhould be reſerved for the devotions of the Muſſulmen. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but ſoon returned into Europe. Not many years intervened, before (8) the Chriſtians broke the truce; and Melecſalah, ſultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jeruſalem, put all the Franks therein to the ſword, demoliſhed the caſtle which they had built, ſacked and raſed the city, not even ſparing the ſepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and (9) before the end of the ſame century, the cruſaders or European

(6) Herbelot ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 74. Voltaire ibid.

(7) Abul-Pharaji ibid. p. 305. Herbelot ibid. p. 269 et 745. Knolles and Savage p. 81. Voltaire ibid. and Annals of the Empire. Ann. 1229.

(8) Herbelot ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 83.

(9) Knolles and Savage, p. 95. Voltaire ibid.

(1) Pocockii

Chriſtians were totally extirpated out of the holy land, having loſt in their eaſtern expeditions, according to ſome accounts, above two millions of perſons.

Before this time the Mamalucs or the foreign ſlaves to the Egyptian ſultans had uſurped the government from their maſters: and ſoon after this (1) Kazan the chan of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Naſer the ſultan of Egypt, had Damaſcus ſurrendered to him, and ordered Jeruſalem to be repaired and fortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Perſia, he was obliged to quit his new conqueſts, and the Mamaluc ſultan of Egypt ſoon took poſſeſſion of them again. In like manner (2) when the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Aſia, and vanquiſhed both the Turkiſh and Egyptian ſultans, he went twice in paſſing and repaſſing to viſit the holy city, gave many preſents to the religious perſons, and freed the inhabitants from ſubſidies and garriſons. But the ebb was almoſt as ſudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his ſons and grandſons quarrelling about the ſucceſſion, his vaſt empire in a little time mouldered away; and Jeruſalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of the Mamalucs again. It was indeed in a ruined and deſolate ſtate, as Chalcocondylas (3) deſcribes it, and the Chriſtians paid large tribute to the ſultans of Egypt for acceſs to the ſepulchre of Jeſus. And in the ſame ſtate it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamalucs, for the ſpace of above 260 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamalucs fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Othman race.

It was about the year 1516 that (4) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms againſt Egypt; and having conquered one Sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamalucs to the Othman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he (5) went to viſit

(1) Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 2. Knolles and Savage, p. 96.

(2) Chalcocondylas de rebus Turc. Lib. 3. Herbelot, p. 877, &c. Knolles and Savage, p. 138. &c.

(3) Τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ κ. τ. λ. Sepulchrum Jeſu ſub poteſtate iſtius regis in Palæſtina ſitum eſt, unde plurimum lucri ei accedit.—Situm in urbe Hieruſalem, quæ devaſtata eſt cum maritimis regionibus. Chalcocond. ibid. p. 75. Edit. Paris. p. 59. Edit. Venet.

(4) Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 29, 30, 49. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 802. Knolles and Savage, p. 240, &c. Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire, in Selim I.

(5) Pauli Jovii Hiſt. Lib. 17. Herbelot ibid. Knolles

ſit the holy city, the ſeat of ſo many prophets, and the ſcene of ſo many miracles. It lay at that time miſerably deformed and ruined, according to the (6) account of a contemporary hiſtorian, not inhabited by the Jews who were baniſhed into all the world, but by a few Chriſtians who paid large tribute to the Egyptian ſultans for the poſſeſſion of the holy ſepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and preſented the Chriſtian prieſts with as much money as was ſufficient to buy them proviſions for ſix months; and having ſtayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Othman emperors have (7) poſſeſſed it under the title of Hami, that is of protectors, and not of maſters; though they are more properly tyrants and oppreſſors. Turks, Arabians, and Chriſtians of various ſects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of thoſe the greateſt part, as (8) Baſnage ſays, are beggers, and live upon alms. The Jews ſay, that when the Meſſiah ſhall come, the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation in order to be purified from the defilements, which the Chriſtian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they chooſe not to ſettle there. But the writer juſt mentioned aſſigns two more probable and natural reaſons. "One is, that the Mohammedans look upon "Jeruſalem as a holy place; and therefore there are a great many *San-* "*tons* and devout Muſſulmen, who have taken up their abode there, "who are perſecutors of the Jews as well as of the Chriſtians, ſo that "they have leſs tranquility and liberty at Jeruſalem than in other "places: and as there is very little trade, there is not much to be got, "and this want of gain drives them away."

By thus tracing the hiſtory of Jeruſalem from the deſtruction by Titus to the preſent time, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been "led away captive into all nations," ſo Jeruſalem hath been "troden "down of the Gentiles." There are now almoſt 1700 years, in which the

Knolles and Savage. p. 243. Prince Cantemir ibid. Sect. 21. p. 163.

(6) Paulis Jovius ibid. Ea tunc miſerabili ſacrarum ruinarum deformitate inculta atque deſerta, non a Judæis veteribus incolis, qui tunc toto orbe extorres in admiſſi ſceleris pænam, nec ſedem nec patriam habent, ſed a paucis Chriſtianis incolebatur. Ii cum ignominia et gravi admodum contumelia Chriſtiani nominis, ob conceſſam venerandi ſepulchri poſſeſſionem, grave tributum Ægyptiis regibus perſolvunt, &c.

(7) —et ſes ſucceſſeurs l'ont poſſedée juſqu'a preſent ſous le titre de Hami, c'eſt-a-dire, de protecteurs, et non pas de maitres. Herbelot p. 270.

(8) Baſnage Hiſt. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 24. Sect. 10.

(1) Ofea

the Jewiſh nation have been a ſtanding monument of the truth of Chriſt's predictions, themſelves diſperſed over the face of the whole earth, and their land groaning under the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors: And at this day there is no reaſon to doubt but they will continue in the ſame ſtate, nor ever recover their native country, "until "the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Our Saviour's words are very memorable, "Jeruſalem ſhall be troden down of the Gentiles, un-"til the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." It is ſtill troden down by the Gentiles, and conſequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When "the times of the Gentiles" ſhall be "fulfilled," then the expreſſion implies that the Jews ſhall be reſtored: And for what reaſon, can we believe, that though they are diſperſed among all nations, yet by a conſtant miracle they are kept diſtinct from all but for the farther manifeſtation of God's purpoſes towards them? The prophecies have been accompliſhed to the greateſt exactneſs in the deſtruction of their city, and its continuing ſtill ſubject to ſtrangers, in the diſperſion of their people, and their living ſtill ſeparate from all people: and why ſhould not the remaining parts of the ſame prophecies be as fully accompliſhed too in their reſtoration, at the proper ſeaſon, when "the times "of the Gentiles ſhall be fulfilled?" The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of "the four great kingdoms" of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies ſhall be expired, and "the fifth "kingdom" or the kingdom of Chriſt ſhall be ſet up in their place, and "the ſaints of the moſt High ſhall take the kingdom, and poſſeſs the "kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." Jeruſalem, as it hath hitherto remained, ſo probably will remain in ſubjection to the Gentiles, "until" theſe "times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;" or as St. Paul expreſſeth it, (Rom XI. 25, 26.) "until the fulneſs of the Gen-"tiles be come in; and ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved," and become again the people of God. "The fulneſs of the Jews" will come in as well as "the fulneſs of Gentiles." For (ver. 12, &c.) "if the fall of them "be the riches of the world, and the diminiſhing of them the riches of "the Gentiles; how much more their fulneſs? For I would not, "brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, that blindneſs "in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come "in: And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved."

XXI.

XXI.

The ſame ſubject continued.

PART IV.

WHEN we firſt entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, compriſed chiefly in this 24th chapter of St. Matthew, it was obſerved that the diſciples in their queſtion propoſe two things to our Saviour, firſt when ſhould be the "time" of his coming or the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and ſecondly what ſhould be the "ſigns" of it, (ver. 3.) "Tell "us when ſhall theſe things be, and what ſhall be the ſign of thy com-"ing, and of the concluſion of the age." The latter part of the queſtion our Saviour anſwereth firſt, and treateth at large of the "ſigns" of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem from the 4th verſe of the chapter to the 31ſt incluſive. He toucheth upon the moſt material paſſages and accidents, not only of thoſe which were to forerun this great event, but likewiſe of thoſe which were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus anſwered the latter part of the queſtion, he proceeds now in verſe 32d to anſwer the former part of the queſtion, as to the "time" of his coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

He begins with obſerving that the ſigns which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of ſummer; (ver. 32, 33.) "Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, "and putteth forth leaves, ye know that ſummer is nigh: So likewiſe "ye, when ye ſhall ſee all theſe things, know that it is near," or he is near, "even at the doors." He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great diſtance; and to ſhow that he hath been ſpeaking all this while of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, he affirms with his uſual affirmation, (ver. 34.) "Verily I ſay unto you, This genera-

"tion

" tion ſhall not paſs, till all theſe things be fulfilled." It is to me a wonder how any man can refer part of the foregoing diſcourſe to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other diſtant event, when it is ſaid ſo poſitively here in the concluſion, " All " theſe things ſhall be fulfilled in this generation." It ſeemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of ſome ſuch miſapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphaſis to his affirmation, (ver. 35.) " Heaven and earth ſhall paſs away, but my words ſhall not paſs away." It is a common figure of ſpeech in the oriental languages, to ſay of two things that the one ſhall be and the other ſhall not be, when the meaning is only that the one ſhall happen ſooner or more eaſily than the other. As in this inſtance of our Saviour, " Heaven and earth ſhall " paſs away, but my words ſhall not paſs away," the meaning is, Heaven and earth ſhall ſooner or more eaſily paſs away than my words ſhall paſs away; the frame of the univerſe ſhall ſooner or more eaſily be diſſolved than my words ſhall not be fulfilled: And thus it is expreſſed by St. Luke upon a like occaſion, (XVI. 17.) " It is eaſier for heaven and " earth to paſs than one tittle of the law to fail."

In another place he ſays (Matt. XVI. 28.) " There are ſome ſtanding " here, who ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of man " coming in his kingdom:" intimating that it would not ſucceed immediately, and yet not at ſuch a diſtance of time, but that ſome then living ſhould be ſpectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner he ſays to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, (Luke XXIII. 28.) " Daughters of " Jeruſalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourſelves, and for your " children:" which ſufficiently implied, that the days of diſtreſs and miſery were coming, and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of ſuch immediate ruin. The wiſeſt politician could not have inferred it from the then preſent ſtate of affairs. Nothing leſs than divine preſcience could have certainly foreſeen and foretold it.

But ſtill the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, (ver. 36.) " But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the " angels

(1) Ωραν hic non diei particulam ſed latius ſumti temporis ambitum intelligo, &c. Grot. in locum.

(2) Proinde

" angels of heaven, but my Father only." The word ὥρα (1) is of larger ſignification than " hour;" and beſides it ſeemeth ſomewhat improper to ſay " Of that day and hour knoweth no man;" for if the " day" was not known, certainly the " hour" was not, and it was ſuperfluous to make ſuch an addition. I conceive therefore that the paſſage ſhould be rendered, not " Of that day and" *hour* " knoweth no man," but " Of that day and" *ſeaſon* " knoweth no man," as the word is frequently uſed in the beſt authors both ſacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares " All theſe things ſhall be fulfilled in this generation;" it is true the prophet Daniel hath given ſome intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the ſeventy weeks: But tho' this great revolution was to happen in that generation; though it was to happen towards the concluſion of ſeventy weeks or 490 years to be computed from a certain date that is not eaſy to be fixed; yet the particular *day*, the particular *ſeaſon* in which it was to happen, might ſtill remain a ſecret to men and angels: And our Saviour had before (ver. 20.) adviſed his diſciples to pray, that their " flight be not in the winter, neither on the " ſabbath-day;" the *day* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not on the *ſabbath-day*; the *ſeaſon* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not in the *winter*. As it was in the days of Noah, ſaith our Saviour, (ver. 37, 38, 39.) ſo ſhall it be now. As then, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, till they were ſurpriſed by the flood, notwithſtanding the frequent warnings and admonitions of that preacher of righteouſneſs: ſo now, they ſhall be engaged in the buſineſs and pleaſures of the world, little expecting little thinking of this univerſal ruin, till it come upon them, notwithſtanding the expreſs predictions and declarations of Chriſt and his apoſtles. " Then ſhall two be in the field, the one ſhall be " taken, and the other left: Two women ſhall be grinding at the mill," Dr. Shaw in his travels, making ſome obſervations upon the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, ſays in p. 297. that " women alone are employed " to grind their corn, and that when the uppermoſt millſtone is large, " or expedition is required, then only a ſecond woman is called in to " aſſiſt." This obſervation I owe to Biſhop Pearce.—" Two women " ſhall be grinding at the mill, the one ſhall be taken, and the other " left. (ver. 40, 41.) That is, Providence will then make a diſtinction

between ſuch, as are not at all diſtinguiſhed now. Some ſhall be reſcued from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, like Lot out of the burning of Sodom; while others, no ways perhaps different in outward circumſtances, ſhall be left to periſh in it.

The matter is carried ſomewhat farther in the parallel place of St. Mark; and it is ſaid not only that the angels were excluded from the knowlege of the particular time, but that the Son himſelf alſo was ignorant of it. The 13th chapter of that evangeliſt anſwers to the 24th of St. Matthew. Our Saviour treateth there of the ſigns and circumſtances of his coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, from the 5th to the 27th verſe incluſive; and then at verſe the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. The text in St. Matthew is, "Of that day and ſeaſon knoweth no man, no not the "angels of heaven, but my Father only." The text in St. Mark is, "Of that day and ſeaſon knoweth no man, no not the angels which are "in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." It is true the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱος, "neither the Son," were omitted in ſome copies of St. Mark, as they are inſerted in ſome copies of St. Matthew: but there is no ſufficient authority for the omiſſion in St. Mark, any more than for the inſertion in St. Matthew. Eraſmus and ſome of the moderns (2) are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St. Matthew, leſt they ſhould afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father: but it was to little purpoſe to eraſe them out of St. Matthew, and to leave them ſtanding in St. Mark. On the contrary St. Ambroſe and ſome of the ancients (3) aſſert, that they were inſerted in the text of St. Mark by the Arians: but there is as little foundation or pretence for this aſſertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable, that they were omitted in ſome copies of St. Mark by ſome indiſcreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour's dignity. For all the moſt ancient copies and tranſlations extant retain them; the moſt ancient fathers quote them, and comment upon them: and certainly it is eaſier for words to be omitted in a copy ſo as that the omiſſion ſhould not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for

(2) Proinde ſuſpicor hoc a nonnullis ſubtractum, ne Arianis eſſet anſa confirmandi Filium eſſe Patre minorem, &c. Eraſm. in locum.

(3) Ambroſ.

for words to be inſerted in a copy ſo as that the inſertion ſhould generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words therefore as the genuin words of St. Mark we muſt, and we may without any prejudice to our Saviour's divinity. For Chriſt may be conſidered in two reſpects, in his human and in his divine nature; and what is ſaid with regard only to the former, doth not at all affect the latter. As he was the great teacher and revealer of his Father's will, he might know more than the angels, and yet he might not know all things. It is ſaid in St. Luke (II. 52.) that "Jeſus increaſed in wiſdom and ſtature, and in favor with God and "man." He "increaſed in wiſdom," and conſequently in his human nature he was not omniſcient. In his human nature he was the "ſon" of David; in his divine nature he was the "Lord" of David. In his human nature he was upon earth; in his divine nature he was "in heaven" (John III. 13.) even while upon earth. In like manner it may be ſaid, that though as God he might know all things, yet he might be ignorant of ſome things as man. And of this particular the Meſſiah might be ignorant, becauſe it was no part of his office or commiſſion to reveal it. "It is not for you to know the times or the ſeaſons, which the Father "hath put in his own power," as our Saviour ſaid (Acts I. 7.) when a like queſtion was propoſed to him. It might be proper for the diſciples, and for the Jews too by their means, to know the ſigns and circumſtances of our Saviour's coming and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; but upon many accounts it might be unfit for them both, to know the preciſe time.

Hitherto we have explained this 24th chapter of St. Matthew as relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and without doubt as relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem it is primarily to be underſtood. But though it is to be underſtood of this primarily, yet it is not to be underſtood of this only: for there is no queſtion that our Saviour had a farther view and meaning in it. It is uſual with the prophets to frame and expreſs their prophecies ſo, as that they ſhall comprehend more than one event, and have their ſeveral periods of completion. This every one muſt have obſerved, who hath been ever ſo little converſant in the

(3) Ambroſ. de Fide. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Veteres Græci codices non habent, *Quod nec filius ſcit*; ſed non mirum eſt, ſi et hoc falsârunt, qui ſcripturas interpolavêre divinas.

(4) Amor

writings of the ancient prophets: and this I conceive to be the caſe here, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem to be typical of the end of the world. The deſtruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world; and we may obſerve that our Saviour no ſooner begins to ſpeak of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, than his figures are raiſed, his language is ſwelled, and he expreſſeth himſelf in ſuch terms, as in a lower ſenſe indeed are applicable to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but deſcribe ſomething higher in their proper and genuin ſignification. "The ſun ſhall be darkened, the moon ſhall not give her light, the "ſtars ſhall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens ſhall be ſhaken, "the Son of man ſhall come in the clouds of heaven with power and "great glory, and he ſhall ſend his angels with a great ſound of a "trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his elect from the four winds, "from one end of heaven to the other:" Theſe paſſages in a figurative ſenſe as we have ſeen may be underſtood of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but in their litteral ſenſe can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, "Of that day and ſeaſon knoweth no man, "no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only;" the conſiſtence and connection of the diſcourſe oblige us to underſtand it as ſpoken of the time of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but in a higher ſenſe it may be true alſo of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the ſubſequent diſcourſe too, we may obſerve, doth not relate ſo properly to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our Saviour loſeth ſight as it were of his former ſubject, and adapts his diſcourſe more to the latter. And the end of the Jewiſh ſtate was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

The remaining part of the chapter is ſo clear and eaſy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with ſome uſeful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impoſſible, that any man ſhould duly conſider theſe prophecies, and the exact completion of them; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can any ſtronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the ſpirit of prophecy; and can any ſtronger proof be given of the ſpirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which ſo many contingencies,

cies, and I might ſay improbabilities, which human wiſdom or prudence could never foreſee, are ſo particularly foretold, and ſo punctually accompliſhed! At the time when Chriſt pronounced theſe prophecies, the Roman governor reſided at Jeruſalem, and had a force ſufficient to keep the people in obedience: and could human prudence foreſee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel againſt the Romans? Could human prudence foreſee *famins*, and, *peſtilences*, and *earthquakes* in divers places? Could human prudence foreſee the ſpeedy propagation of the goſpel ſo contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foreſee ſuch an utter deſtruction of Jeruſalem with all the circumſtances preceding and following it? It was never the cuſtom of the Romans abſolutely to ruin any of their provinces. It was improbable therefore that ſuch a thing ſhould happen at all, and ſtill more improbable that it ſhould happen under the humane and generous Titus, who was indeed, as he was (4) called, *the love and delight of mankind.*

What is uſually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretence be objected to theſe prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obſcure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer ſimpler terms, except where he affected ſome obſcurity, as it hath been ſhown, for particular reaſons. It is allowed indeed that ſome of theſe prophecies are taken from Moſes and Daniel. Our Saviour propheſying of the ſame events hath borrowed and applied ſome of the ſame images and expreſſions. But this is a commendation rather than any diſcredit to his predictions. He hath built upon the foundations of the inſpired writers before him; but what a ſuperſtructure hath he raiſed? He hath acted in this caſe as in every other, like one who came not to deſtroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. He hath manifeſted himſelf to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is alſo much more particular and circumſtantial than either Moſes or Daniel. In ſeveral inſtances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own: and beſides he uſes greater preciſion in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For

(4) Amor ac deliciæ humani generis. Suet. in Tito. Sect. 1.

(5) ταχα

For the completion of theſe prophecies the perſons ſeem to have been wonderfully raiſed up and preſerved by divine providence. Veſpaſian was promoted from obſcurity; and tho' feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and ſingled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to ſuch a war; God perhaps, as (5) Joſephus intimates, ſo diſpoſing and ordering affairs. He had ſubdued the greateſt part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the ſtate, or otherwiſe he would hardly have been at leiſure to proſecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preſerved in the moſt critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and nothing leſs was expected than that he ſhould be ſlain, or made priſoner: but he reſolutely broke thro' the midſt of them, and though unarmed yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which (6) Joſephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to underſtand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Joſephus himſelf was alſo no leſs wonderfully preſerved than Titus, the one to deſtroy the city, and the other to record its deſtruction. He marvelouſly eſcaped from the ſnares which were laid for him (7) by John of Giſchala, and (8) by Jeſus the chief of the robbers: and when (9) his companions were determined to kill him and themſelves rather than ſurrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who ſhould be killed, the one after the other; and at laſt he was left with only one other, whom he perſuaded to ſubmit with him to the Romans. Thus was he ſaved from the moſt imminent deſtruction; and he himſelf eſteemed it, as it certainly was, a ſingular inſtance of divine providence.

As Veſpaſian and Titus ſeem to have been raiſed up and preſerved for the completion of theſe prophecies, ſo might Joſephus for the illuſtration

(5) ταχα τι και περι των ὁλων ηδη τῳ Θεῳ προοικονομημενων. forſan et Deo aliquid de univerſis præordinante. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Sect. 3. p. 1118. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) ειθα δη μαλιστα παρεστι νοειν, ὁτι και πολεμων ῥοπαι και βασιλεων κινδυνοι μελονται τῳ Θεῳ. hinc ſane maxime licet intelligere, Deo curæ eſſe et belli momenta et regum pericula. Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 1216.

(7) Joſephi Vita Sect. 17, &c.

(8) Ibid. Sect. 22.

(9) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

(1) Joſephi

tration of their completion. For the particular paſſages and tranſactions, by which we prove the completion of theſe prophecies, we derive not ſo much from Chriſtian writers, who might be ſuſpected of a deſign to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Joſephus the Jewiſh hiſtorian, who tho' very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion. He doth not ſo much as once mention the name of "falſe Chriſts," though he hath frequent occaſion to ſpeak largely of "falſe prophets;" ſo cautious was he of touching upon any thing, that might lead him to the acknowlegement of the true Chriſt. His ſilence here is as remarkable, as his copiouſneſs upon other ſubjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular detail, a more exact hiſtory is preſerved of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and of all the circumſtances relating to it, than of any other matter whatſoever tranſacted ſo long ago: and it is an additional advantage to our cauſe, that theſe accounts are tranſmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himſelf an eye-witneſs to moſt of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he muſt have had an exact knowlege of all tranſactions, and as a Jewiſh prieſt he would not relate them with any favor or partiality to the Chriſtian cauſe. His hiſtory (1) was approved by Veſpaſian and Titus (who ordered it to be publiſhed) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were preſent in thoſe wars. He had likewiſe many enemies, who would readily have convicted him of any falſification, if he had been guilty of any. He deſigned nothing leſs, and yet as if he had deſigned nothing more, his hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars may ſerve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words with that writer's hiſtory of the whole war, as (2) Euſebius very well obſerves, he could not but admire and acknowlege our Saviour's preſcience and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The

(1) Joſephi Vita. Sect. 65. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 9.

(2) συγκρινας δε τις τας τȣ σωτηρος ἡμων λεξεις ταις λοιπαις τȣ συγγραφεως ἱστοριαις ταις περι τȣ παντος πολεμȣ, πως ȣκ αν αποθαυμασειεν, θειαν ὡς ἀληθως και ὑπερφυως παραδοξον την προγνωσιν τε και προρρησιν τȣ σωτηρος ἡμων ὁμολογησας. Quod ſi quis ſervatoris noſtri verba cum iis comparet, quæ ab eodem ſcriptore de univerſo bello commemorata ſunt, fieri non poteſt quin admiretur præſcientiam ac prædictionem ſervatoris noſtri, eamque verè divinam et ſupra modum ſtupendam eſſe fateatur. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

(3) Joſeph.

The predictions are the cleareſt, as the calamities were the greateſt which the world ever ſaw: and what hainous ſin was it, that could bring down ſuch heavy judgments on the Jewiſh church and nation? Can any other with half ſo much probability be aſſigned, as what the ſcripture aſſigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St. Paul expreſſeth it, (1 Theſ. II. 15, 16.) " They both killed the Lord Jeſus, and " their own prophets, and perſecuted the apoſtles", and ſo " filled up " their ſins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermoſt." This is always objected as the moſt capital ſin of the nation: and upon reflection, we ſhall find really ſome correſpondence between their crime and their puniſhment. They put Jeſus to death, when the nation was aſſembled to celebrate the paſſover; and when the (3) nation was aſſembled too to celebrate the paſſover, Titus ſhut them up within the walls of Jeruſalem. The rejection of the true Meſſiah was their crime; and the following of falſe Meſſiahs to their deſtruction was their puniſhment. They ſold and bought Jeſus as a ſlave; and they themſelves were afterwards ſold and bought as ſlaves at the loweſt prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jeſus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themſelves (4) were afterwards infeſted with bands of thieves and robbers. They put Jeſus to death, leſt the Romans ſhould come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They crucified Jeſus before the walls of Jeruſalem; and before the walls of Jeruſalem they themſelves were crucified in ſuch numbers, that it is (5) ſaid room was wanting for the croſſes, and croſſes for the bodies. I ſhould think it hardly poſſible for any man to lay theſe things together, and not conclude the Jews own imprecation to be remarkably fulfilled upon them, (Mat. XXVII. 25.) " His blood be on us and on our children."

We Chriſtians cannot indeed be guilty of the very ſame offenſe in crucifying the Lord of glory: but it behoves us to conſider, whether we may not be guilty in the ſame kind, and by our ſins and iniquities (Hebr. VI. 6.) " crucify the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open " ſhame;"

(3) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3 et 4. Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

(4) Joſeph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 4, et 13. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Lib. 7. Cap. 8, &c.

(5) και δια το πληθος χωρα τε ενελειπετο τοις σταυροις, και σταυροι τοις σωμασιν. et propter multitudinem ſpatium crucibus

" ſhame;" and therefore whether being like them in their crime, we may not alſo reſemble them in their puniſhment. They rejected the Meſſiah, and we indeed have received him: but have our lives been at all agreeable to our holy profeſſion, or rather as we have had opportunities of knowing Chriſt more, have we not obeyed him leſs than other Chriſtians, and (Hebr. X. 29.) " troden under foot the Son of God, and " counted the blood of the covenant wherewith we are ſanctified an " unholy thing, and done deſpite unto the ſpirit of grace?" The flagrant crimes of the Jews, and the principal ſources of their calamities, in the opinion of (6) Joſephus, were their trampling upon all human laws, deriding divine things, and making a jeſt of the oracles of the prophets as ſo many dreams and fables: and how hath the ſame ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and infidelity prevailed likewiſe among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been inſulted with equal inſolence and impunity? How have the holy ſcriptures, thoſe treaſures of divine wiſdom, not only been neglected, but deſpiſed, derided, and abuſed to the worſt purpoſes? How have the principal articles of our faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moſes and the prophets of Chriſt and his apoſtles been ridiculed, and impiety and blaſphemy not only been whiſpered in the ear, but proclaimed from the preſs? How hath all public worſhip and religion, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments been ſlighted and contemned, and the ſabbath profaned by thoſe chiefly who ought to ſet a better example, to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? And if for their ſins and provocations (Rom. XI. 21, 20.) " God ſpared not the natural branches, " take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee. Becauſe of unbelief they were " broken off, and thou ſtandeſt by faith. Be not high-minded, but " fear." God bore long with the Jews; and hath he not bore long with us too? But he cut them off, when the meaſure of their iniquities was full; and let us beware leſt our meaſure be not alſo well-nigh full, and

cibus deerat, et corporibus cruces. Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 1247.

(6) κατεπατειτο μεν υν πας αυτοις θεσμος ανθρωπων, εγελατο δε τα θεια, και τυς των προφητων θεσμυς [Al. χρησμυς] ὡσπερ αγυρτικας λογοποιϊας εχλευαζον. et ab illis quidem omne jus humanum conculcabatur, divina autem quæque deridebantur, et prophetarum oracula ut præſtigiatorum commenta ſubſannabant. Ibid Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. p. 1188. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) So

we be not growing ripe for exciſion. What was ſaid to the church of Epheſus, is very applicable to us and our own caſe, (Rev. II. 5.) " Re-
" member therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do
" the firſt works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will re-
" move thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent."

XXII.

St. PAUL's *prophecy of the Man of Sin.*

AS our bleſſed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, ſo likewiſe have his apoſtles drawn from the ſame fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with ſome improvements and additions. The ſame times, the ſame perſons, and the ſame events are deſcribed by St. Paul and St. John as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reaſon be expected, that there ſhould be ſome ſimilitude and reſemblance in the principal features and characters.

St. Paul hath left in writing, beſides others, two moſt memorable prophecies, both relating to the ſame ſubject, the one concerning " the
" man of ſin," the other concerning " the apoſtaſy of the latter
" times," the former contained in the ſecond Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, and the latter in the firſt Epiſtle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning " the man of ſin," having been delivered firſt in time, may fitly be conſidered firſt in order: and for the fuller manifeſtation of the truth and exactneſs of this prediction, it may be proper 1ſt to inveſtigate the genuin ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage; 2dly to ſhow how

(1) So it is rendered Rom. IX. 27. Ησαϊας δε κραζει ὑπερ τȣ Ισραηλ, *Eſaias alſo crieth* concerning *Iſrael.* See likewiſe 2 Cor. I. 7. VIII. 23, 24. &c. Galen, Lib. I. ad Glauc. ὑπερ πασων γραψαι ἐκ ἐγχωρει, de omnibus ſcribere non datur. Virgil Æn. I. 750. Multa *ſuper* Priamo rogitans, *ſuper* Hectore multa.

(2) At

how it hath been miſtaken and miſapplied by ſome famous commentators; and 3dly to vindicate and eſtabliſh what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

I. In the firſt place it is proper to inveſtigate the genuin ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage; for a prophecy muſt be rightly underſtood, before it can be rightly applied. The apoſtle introduces the ſubject thus, (2 Theſ. II. 1, 2.) "Now we beſeech you, brethren, by the com-"ing of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by our gathering together unto "him, That ye be not ſoon ſhaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by "ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of "Chriſt is at hand." The prepoſition, which is tranſlated *by*, ought rather to have been tranſlated *concerning*, as it ſignifies (1) in other places of ſcripture, and in other authors both Greek and Latin. "Now we beſeech you, brethren, *concerning* the coming of our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, and our gathering together unto him." For he doth not beſeech them by the coming of Chriſt, but the coming of Chriſt is the ſubject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this ſubject, that he deſires them not to be diſturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by meſſage, nor by letter, as from him, as if the day of Chriſt's coming was at hand. The phraſes of "the coming of Chriſt" and "the day of Chriſt" may be underſtood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or litterally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are uſed in the former ſenſe, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Teſtament: and the latter is the proper ſignification in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St. Paul himſelf had planted the church in Theſſalonica; and it conſiſted principally of converts from among the gentile idolaters, becauſe it is ſaid (1 Theſ. I. 9.) that they "turned to God from idols, to ſerve the living "and true God." What occaſion was there therefore to admoniſh them particularly of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem? Or (2) why ſhould they be under ſuch agitations and terrors upon that account? What connection had Macedonia with Judea, or Theſſalonica with Jeruſalem?

(2) At quis huic terrori locus, ſi de Judæorum excidio agebatur? Quid Macedoniæ cum Judæa, Theſſal. cum Hieroſ.? quid commune Chriſtianis cum periculo rebellium Judæorum? &c. Simplicius in Poli Synopſ.

(3) Præterea,

What ſhare were the Chriſtian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why ſhould they not rather have been comforted than troubled at the puniſhment of their inveterate enemies? Beſides (3) how could the apoſtle deny that the deſtruction of the Jews was at hand, when it was at hand, as he ſaith himſelf, (1 Theſ. II. 16.) and "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermoſt?" He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the deſtruction of Jeruſalem would come to paſs "in that generation:" and what a ridiculous comfort muſt it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accompliſhed within leſs than twenty years? The phraſes therefore of "the coming of Chriſt" and "the "day of Chriſt" cannot in this place relate to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but muſt neceſſarily be taken in the more general acceptation of his coming to judge the world. So the phraſe is conſtantly uſed in the former Epiſtle. In one place the apoſtle ſaith (II. 19.) "What is our "hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the pre-"ſence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt at his coming?" In another place he wiſheth, (III. 13.) that "the Lord may eſtabliſh their hearts unblame-"able in holineſs before God, even our Father, at the coming of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt with all his ſaints:" And in a third place he prayeth, (V. 23.) that "their whole ſpirit, and ſoul, and body be preſerved "blameleſs unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." Theſe texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phraſe be conſtantly ſo employed in the former Epiſtle, why ſhould it not be taken after the ſame manner in this Epiſtle? In the former Epiſtle the apoſtle had exhorted the Theſſalonians to moderate ſorrow for the dead by the conſideration of the reſurrection and the general judgment. (IV. 13, &c.) "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them "which are aſleep, that ye ſorrow not, even as others which have no "hope. For if we believe that Jeſus died, and roſe again, even ſo "them alſo which ſleep in Jeſus, will God bring with him. For this "we ſay unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, "and remain unto the coming of the Lord, ſhall not prevent them "which are aſleep. For the Lord himſelf ſhall deſcend from heaven "with

(3) Præterea, quo jure poteſt apoſtolus inficiari, Judæorum excidium imminere, cum reipſa jam adeſſet;

" with a ſhout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump " of God: and the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt. Then we which are " alive, and remain, ſhall be caught up together with them in the " clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and ſo ſhall we ever be with the " Lord. But of the times and the ſeaſons" of theſe things, as he proceeds, " (V. 1, 2.) brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourſelves " know perfectly that the day of the Lord ſo cometh as a thief in the " night." Some perſons having miſtaken the apoſtle's meaning, and having inferred from ſome of theſe expreſſions, that the end of the world was now approaching, and the day of Chriſt was now at hand, the apoſtle ſets himſelf in this place to rectify that miſtaken notion: and it is with reference to " this coming of Chriſt," to " this day of the " Lord," to " this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to " meet the Lord in the air," that he beſeeches the Theſſalonians not to be ſhaken from their ſtedfaſtneſs, nor to be troubled and terrified, as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than that the coming of Chriſt here intended is his ſecond coming in glory to judge the world: and of this his ſecond coming the apoſtle had ſpoken before, in this ſame Epiſtle, and in the chapter before this. (ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) " It is a righteous thing with God to recompenſe tribu- " lation to them that trouble you; And to you who are troubled, reſt " with us, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven with his " mighty angels, In flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know " not God, and that obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: " Who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction from the preſence " of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; When he ſhall come " to be glorified in his ſaints, and to be admired in all them that believe " in that day."

It was a point of great importance for the Theſſalonians not to be miſtaken in this particular; becauſe if they were taught to believe that the coming of Chriſt was at hand, and he ſhould not come according to their expectation, they might be ſtaggered in their faith, and finding

ſet; uti liquet ex prioris epiſtolæ Cap. 2. ver. 16. Bocharti Examen libelli de Antichriſto. Tom. 2. Col. 1049.

(4) a articulus

finding part of their creed to be falſe, might be haſty enough to conclude that the whole was ſo. Where by the way we may obſerve Mr. Gibbon's want of judgment, in aſſigning the notion of Chriſt's coming ſpeedily as one of the great cauſes of the growth and increaſe of the Chriſtian church, when it appears from this paſſage that it had a contrary effect, and tended to *ſhake* and unſettle their minds, and to diſturb and *trouble* inſtead of inviting and engaging them. The apoſtle therefore cautions them in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt this deluſion; and aſſures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord. (ver. 3 and 4.) "Let no man deceive you by any "means: for that day ſhall not come, except there come a falling "away firſt, and that man of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdition; "Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, "or that is worſhipped; ſo that he as God ſitteth in the temple of "God, ſhowing himſelf that he is God." The day of Chriſt ſhall not come, εαν μη ελθη ἡ αποϛασια πρωτον, "except there come the apoſtaſy "firſt." The apoſtaſy here deſcribed is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worſhip, "a departing from the faith," (1 Tim. IV. 1.) "a departing from the living God, (Hebr. III. 12.) as the word is uſed by the apoſtle in other places. In the original it is "the apoſtaſy" with an article to give it an emphaſis. The article being added, as Eraſmus (4) remarks, ſignifies that famous and before predicted apoſtaſy. So likewiſe it is ὁ ανθρωπος της αμαρτιας "the man of ſin" with the like article and the like emphaſis: and St. (5) Ambroſe, that he might expreſs the force of the article, hath rendered it "that man," as have likewiſe our Engliſh tranſlators. If then the notion of "the "man of ſin" be derived from any ancient prophet, it muſt be derived from Daniel, who hath deſcribed the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (VII. 25.) "He ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, "and ſhall wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change "times and laws:" and again (XI. 36.) "The king ſhall do according "to his will and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above "every God, and ſhall ſpeak marvelous things againſt the God of "Gods."

(4) ἡ articulus additus ſignificat inſignem illam et ante prædictam defectionem. Eraſm. in locum.

(5) D.

" Gods." Any man may be ſatisfied, that St. Paul alluded to this deſcription by Daniel, becauſe he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted ſome of the phraſes and expreſſions. " The man of " ſin" may ſignify either a ſingle man, or a ſucceſſion of men. A ſucceſſion of men being meant in Daniel, it is probable, that the ſame was intended here alſo. It is the more probable, becauſe a ſingle man appears hardly ſufficient for the work here aſſigned: and it is agreeable to the phraſeology of ſcripture, and eſpecially to that of the prophets, to ſpeak of a body or number of men under the character of one. Thus " a king" (Dan. VII. VIII. Rev. XVII.) is often uſed for a ſucceſſion of kings, and " the high prieſt" (Heb. IX. 7, 25.) for the ſeries and order of high prieſts. A ſingle beaſt (Dan. VII. VIII. Rev. XIII.) often repreſents a whole empire or kingdom in all its changes and revolutions from the beginning to the end. The " woman cloathed with the " ſun" (Rev. XII. 1.) is deſigned as an emblem of the true church; as the " woman arrayed in purple and ſcarlet" (Rev. XVII. 4.) is the portrait of a corrupt communion. No commentator ever conceived " the whore of Babylon" to be meant of a ſingle woman: and why then ſhould " the man of ſin" be taken for a ſingle man? " The man " of ſin" ſeemeth to be expreſſed from Daniel (VII. 24.) according to the Greek tranſlation, ὃς ὑπεροισει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν, he " ſhall exceed in " evil all who went before him:" and he may fulfil the character either by promoting wickedneſs in general, or by advancing idolatry in particular, as the word " ſin" frequently ſignifies in ſcripture. " The ſon " of perdition" is alſo the denomination of the traitor Judas, (John XVII. 12.) which implies that " the man of ſin" ſhould be, like Judas, a falſe apoſtle, like him betray Chriſt, and like him be devoted to deſtruction. " Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is " called God, or that is worſhipped:" this is manifeſtly copied from Daniel, " He ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every God, " and ſpeak marvelous things againſt the God of Gods." The features, you ſee, exactly reſemble each other. He " oppoſeth and exalteth him- " ſelf above all, επι παντα above every one, " that is called God or that " is

(5) D. Ambroſius, ut explicaret vim articuli, legit *homo ille*, &c. Eraſm. ibid.

(6) Verùm

" is worſhipped," ἡ σεβασμὰ, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, σεβαστος; *auguſt* or venerable. He ſhall oppoſe, for the prophets ſpeak of things future as preſent; he ſhall oppoſe, and exalt himſelf not only above inferior magiſtrates, who are ſometimes called " Gods" in holy writ, but even above the greateſt emperors, and ſhall arrogate to himſelf divine honors. " So that he as God ſitteth in the temple of God, ſhow-" ing himſelf that he is God:" By " the temple of God" the apoſtle could not well mean the temple at Jeruſalem, becauſe that he knew very well would be totally deſtroyed within a few years. It is an obſervation of the learned Bochart, that (6) after the death of Chriſt the temple at Jeruſalem is never called by the apoſtles the temple of God; and if at any time they make mention of " the houſe" or " temple of " God," they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, " the temple" or " houſe of God" is the Chriſtian church in the uſual ſtile of the apoſtles. St. Paul thus addreſſeth the Corinthians in his firſt Epiſtle, (III. 16, 17.) " Know ye not that ye are the " temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any " man defile the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy: for the temple " of God is holy, which temple ye are:" and thus again in his ſecond Epiſtle, (VI. 16.) " What agreement hath the temple of God with " idols? for ye are the temple of the living God." He adviſeth Timothy (1 Tim. III. 15.) " how he ought to behave himſelf in the houſe of " God, which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground " of the truth." St. John alſo writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, (Rev. III. 12.) " Him that overcometh will I make a " pillar in the temple of my God." Theſe few examples out of many are ſufficient to prove, that under the goſpel diſpenſation " the temple " of God" is the church of Chriſt: and the man of ſin's " ſitting" implies his ruling and preſiding there, and " ſitting there as God" implies his claiming divine authority in things ſpiritual as well as temporal, and " ſhowing himſelf that he is God" implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and oſtentation.

Theſe

(6) Verùm a Chriſti obitu templum Hieroſolymitanum nunquam ab apoſtolis templum Dei vocatur; et ſi quando de Dei æde vel templo ſermonem habeant, tum vel eccleſiam in genere, vel ſingularem quemque

Theſe things were not aſſerted now merely to ſerve the preſent occaſion. The apoſtle had inſiſted upon theſe topics, while he was at Theſſalonica; ſo that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrin, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apoſtaſy that would infeſt the church. (ver. 5, 6, 7.) "Remember "ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you theſe things? And "now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his "time. For the myſtery of iniquity doth already work: only he who "now letteth, will lett, until he be taken out of the way." The man of ſin therefore was not then "revealed. His time" was not yet come, or the ſeaſon for his manifeſtation. "The myſtery of iniquity" was indeed "already working:" for there is a "myſtery of iniquity" as well as a "myſtery of godlineſs," (1 Tim. III. 16.) the one in direct oppoſition to the other. The ſeeds of corruption were ſown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in ſome parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole maſs. "The man of ſin" was yet hardly conceived in the womb; it muſt be ſome time before he could be brought forth. There was ſome obſtacle that hindered his appearance, the apoſtle ſpeaketh doubtfully whether thing or perſon; and this obſtacle would continue to hinder, till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determin with abſolute certainty at ſo great a diſtance of time; but if we may rely upon the concurrent teſtimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Moſt probably it was ſomewhat relating to the higher powers, becauſe the apoſtle obſerves ſuch caution. He mentioned it in diſcourſe, but would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Theſſalonians, (ver. 15.) "Brethren, ſtand faſt, and hold the traditions which ye have "been taught, whether by word, or our epiſtle." This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epiſtle.

When this obſtacle ſhall be removed, "then," as the apoſtle proceeds, (ver. 8.) "ſhall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord ſhall "conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the

quemque fidelem, iis vocibus intellecta volunt. Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichriſto. Tom. 2. Col. 1047.

(7) Denudet

" brightneſs of his coming." Nothing can be plainer than that ὁ ἄνομος, " the lawleſs, the wicked one" here mentioned and " the man of ſin" muſt be one and the ſame perſon. The apoſtle was ſpeaking before of what hindered that he ſhould be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way; " And then ſhall *the wicked one* be " revealed, whom the Lord ſhall conſume, &c." Not that he ſhould be conſumed immediately after he was revealed; but the apoſtle, to comfort the Theſſalonians, no ſooner mentions his revelation, than he foretels alſo his deſtruction, even before he deſcribes his other qualifications. His other qualifications ſhould have been deſcribed firſt in order of time, but the apoſtle haſtens to what was firſt and warmeſt in his thoughts and wiſhes. " Whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the " ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightneſs of his " coming." If theſe two clauſes refer to two diſtinct and different events, the meaning manifeſtly is, that the Lord Jeſus ſhall gradually conſume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and ſhall utterly deſtroy him at his ſecond coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If theſe two clauſes relate to one and the ſame event, it is a pleonaſm that is very uſual in the ſacred as well as in all oriental writings; and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jeſus ſhall deſtroy him with the greateſt facility, " when he ſhall be revealed from " heaven" (as the apoſtle hath expreſſed it in the preceding chapter) " with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them " that know not God, and that obey not the goſpel of our Lord Je- " ſus Chriſt."

The apoſtle was eager to foretel the deſtruction of the man of ſin; and for this purpoſe having broken in upon his ſubject, he now returns to it again, and deſcribes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one ſhould advance and eſtabliſh himſelf in the world. He ſhould riſe to credit and authority by the moſt diabolical methods, ſhould pretend to ſupernatural powers, and boaſt of revelations, viſions, and miracles, falſe

(7) Denudet ingenium ſuum Caius—Sic et Caius omnibus ſe Diis gentium prætulit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius *ſemet poſuiſſe in templo Dei*, quia ſimulacrum ſuum ibi collocari juſſit. —L. Vitellius, cum Paulus iſta diceret, et hæc ſcriberet, Syriam et Judæam tenebat, vir apud Judæos gratioſus, et magnis exercitibus imperans, cui propterea facile fuiſſet, ſi tam graviter Judæorum animos exaſperaſſet Caius, eorum tutelam ſuſcipere et provinciam ſui facere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propoſitum

falſe in themſelves, and applied to promote falſe doctrins. (ver. 9.) "Whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders." He ſhould likewiſe practiſe all other wicked arts of deceit, ſhould be guilty of the moſt impious frauds and impoſitions upon mankind; but ſhould prevail only among thoſe who are deſtitute of a ſincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal ſalvation. (ver. 10.) "And with all deceivableneſs of unrighte-" ouſneſs, in them that periſh; becauſe they received not the love of " the truth, that they might be ſaved." And indeed it is a juſt and righteous judgment of God, to give *them* over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falſehood and wickedneſs. (ver. 11. and 12.) " And for this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that " they ſhould believe a lie: That they all might be damned, who be-" lieved not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs."

II. Upon this ſurvey there appears little room to doubt of the genuin ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage; but it hath ſtrangely been miſtaken and miſapplied by ſome famous commentators, though more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

1. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a conſummate ſcholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor ſon of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, ſcarcely have more miſtakes been committed by any of the worſt and weakeſt commentators, than by him who is uſually one of the beſt and ableſt. He underſtands this prophecy of the times preceding the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. " The man of ſin" (7) was the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at firſt diſcover his wicked diſpoſition. He vainly preferred himſelf before all the gods of the nations, even before Jupiter Olympius and Capitolinus; and ordered his ſtatue to be ſet up in the temple at Jeruſalem. He was hindered from diſcloſing and exerciſing his intended malice againſt the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time gover-

poſitum exſequeretur, tempus exſpectabat quo L. Vitellius e provincia decederet.—Recte autem *impius* dicitur Simon Magus, qui paulo poſt initja Claudiani principatûs Romam venit—Bene autem dicitur Chriſtus feciſſe quod fecit per Petrum—Oſtenta iſta et prodigia Simonis magica, &c.—Decipiuntur ab eo homines malè perituri. Intelligit Samaritas primum, deinde et Romanos. Vide Grot. in locum et de Antichriſto.

(8) Pearſonii

nor of Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in thoſe provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore ſubſtitutes another, and ſuppoſes that "the "wicked one" was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome ſoon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and diſgraced by St. Peter; but Chriſt may well be ſaid to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended alſo to work great miracles, and by his magical illuſions deceived many, the Samaritans firſt, and afterwards the Romans. But in anſwer it may be obſerved, that this Epiſtle of St. Paul, as (8) all other good critics and chronologers agree, and as is evident indeed from hiſtory, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was ſucceſſor to Caligula: and if ſo, the apoſtle according to this interpretation is here propheſying of things which were paſt already. "The coming of Chriſt," as it hath been before proved undeniably, relates to a more diſtant period than the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Beſides, how could Caligula with any tolerable ſenſe and meaning be called "an apoſtate" from either the Jewiſh or the Chriſtian religion? He never "ſat in the temple of God;" he commanded indeed his ſtatue to be placed there; but was diſſuaded from his purpoſe, as (9) Philo teſtifies, by the intreaties of king Agrippa, and ſent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was ſo far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a moſt ſordid adulator, as both (1) Tacitus and Suetonius expreſly affirm; and inſtead of reſtraining Caligula from affecting divine honors, he was the firſt who incited him to it. Moreover it is doing the greateſt violence to the context, to make "the man of ſin" and "the wicked one" two diſtinct perſons, when they are ſo manifeſtly one and the ſame. The conteſt between St. Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but moſt probably there was never any ſuch tranſaction; the whole ſtory is palpably a fabulous legend, and conſequently can be no foundation for a true expoſition of any prophecy. Where too is the conſiſtency and propriety in

(8) Pearſonii Annales Paulini p. 13. Sam. Baſnagii Annales. A. D. 51. Sect. 74. A. D. 52. Sect. 12. Whitby Pref. Calmet. Pref. &c. &c.

(9) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. μηδεν επι τω ιερω των Ιουδαιων ετι νεωτερον κινειν. nequid in Judæorum templo novaret. p. 1038. Edit. Paris, 1640.

(1) Exemplar.

in interpreting "the coming of Chriſt" in ver. 1. of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and in ver. 8. of the deſtruction of Simon Magus, tho' Simon Magus was not deſtroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall? Theſe are ſome of the abſurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may ſee more largely expoſed and refuted by (2) Bochart among the foreign, and by Dr. Henry More among our Engliſh writers.

2. Dr. Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnoſtics, ſo that it is the leſs to be wondered that he ſhould introduce them upon this occaſion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more conſiſtent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. "The apoſtaſy," (3) according to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the hereſy of the Gnoſtics. "The man of ſin" and "the wicked one" was Simon Magus, that wicked impoſtor, together with his followers the Gnoſtics. What hindered their ſhowing themſelves and making open profeſſion of their hoſtility againſt the orthodox Chriſtians, was the apoſtles not having yet given over preaching to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This ſame magician oppoſed himſelf againſt Chriſt, ſetting himſelf up for the chief or firſt God, ſuperior to all other Gods; and accordingly was publicly worſhipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a ſtatue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Chriſt deſtroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter; and all the apoſtatizing Gnoſtics who adhered to him, were involved in the deſtruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined againſt the Chriſtians. But the principal objection to this expoſition is the ſame as to that of Grotius, that the apoſtle is here made to foretel things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, (Acts VIII. 9, 10.) "and had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that "himſelf was ſome great one: To whom they all gave heed from the "leaſt to the greateſt, ſaying, This man is the great power of God." Dr. Hammond himſelf contends, that Simon came to Rome and was there

(1) Exemplar apud poſteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. p. 71. Edit. Lipſii. Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæſarem adorari ut Deum inſtituit. Suet. in Vitellio. Sect. 2.

(2) Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichriſto. Op. Tom. 2. Col. 1044—1051. More's Myſtery of Iniquity Part 2. Book 2. Chap. 20.

(3) See Hammond's Paraphraſe and Annotations.

(4) See

there honored as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epiſtle was written in the latter part of the ſame reign, and even the Doctor in (4) another place confeſſeth it. The apoſtles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Piſidia, (Acts XIII. 46.) "It was neceſſary "that the word of God ſhould firſt have been ſpoken to you; but "ſeeing ye put it from you, and judge yourſelves unworthy of ever-"laſting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:" but this tranſaction was before this Epiſtle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Theſſalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already paſt, ſo the other part are manifeſtly falſe, or of uncertain credit at beſt. The ſtatue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter in the preſence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papiſts doubt the truth of theſe things, and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Chriſtians apoſtatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worſhipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worſhipped in the temple of God at Jeruſalem, or in any houſe of God belonging to the Chriſtians. He died by all accounts ſome years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnoſtics were involved in the deſtruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were ſo far from being *all* involved in the ſame deſtruction as Dr. Hammond aſſerts, that that ſect floriſhed moſt after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the ſecond century after Chriſt is ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the title of Seculum Gnoſticum or the age of the Gnoſtics. Beſides when it is ſaid "Whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall "deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming," it is evident that the ſame perſon who was to be conſumed with the ſpirit of his mouth, was alſo to be deſtroyed with the brightneſs of his coming: but according to this expoſition, Simon Magus was conſumed by the ſpirit of his mouth, that

(4) See his Pref. to the 1ſt Epiſt. to the Theſſalonians.

(5) Clericus in locum. Whitby's Pref. to the 2d Epiſt. to the Theſſalonians.

(6) Nihil vetat in medium ſuſpicionem proferre, quæ haud paulo veriſimilior videtur, et Grotiana et Hammondiana conjectura. Ἀποστασιαν ergo ſuſpicor Paulum vocare *defectionem* illam magnam Judæorum, qua imperii Romani jugum excutere fruſtra conaturi ſunt.—ſequitur *hominem peccati* eſſe rebelles Judæos, et præſertim eximium eorum ducem Simonem, non Magum, ſed Gioræ filium.—Seditioſi Judæi auctoritatem

that is by the prayer and preaching of St. Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnoſtics were deſtroyed together by the brightneſs of his coming, that is by the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. They who deſire to ſee a farther refutation of this expoſition, may find it in (5) Le Clerc among the foreign, and in Whitby among our Engliſh commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whoſe comment on the New Teſtament is a tranſlation and ſupplement of Hammond's, hath not demoliſhed his hypotheſis without erecting (6) another of his own, which he eſteems much more probable than the conjecture both of Grotius and Hammond. He ſuppoſeth that "the apoſtaſy" was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. "The man of ſin" was the rebellious Jews, and eſpecially their famous leader Simon, not Magus, but the ſon of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They ſeiſed and profaned the temple of God. *What hindered* was what reſtrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewiſh magiſtrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. "The "myſtery of iniquity" was the ſpirit of rebellion then working under the maſk of liberty. The ſeditious Jews were alſo "the wicked one;" and they had among them falſe prophets and impoſtors, who pretended to ſhow great "ſigns and wonders." But to this hypotheſis it may be replied, that the "apoſtaſy" is plainly a defection from the true religion, and it is uſed in no other ſenſe by the apoſtle. It was not likely that he ſhould entertain his new Gentile converts with diſcourſes about the Jewiſh ſtate and government, wherewith they had little concern or connexion. It was alſo ſcarce worthy of the ſpirit of prophecy to ſay, that the deſtruction of Jeruſalem ſhould not happen, unleſs there was firſt a rebellion of the Jews. No good reaſon is aſſigned, why Simon the ſon of Gioras ſhould be reputed "the man of ſin," rather than the other factious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alleged, that he

tatem omnem legitimam, cum exterorum, tum popularium, tantum abeſt ut coluerint, ut contrà ſeſe eâ ſuperiores exiſtimarint.—Scelerati illi Zelotæ et Idumæi, qui templum Jeroſolymitanum invaſerant, &c. —Το κατεχον eſt quod coercebat Judæos, ne in apertam rebellionem erumperent; hoc eſt, partim reverentia procerum Judææ gentis,—partim metus exercituum Romanorum, &c. Μυστηριον ανομιας, quod fieri incipiebat hoc tempore, erat in eo ſitum, ut ſpecie libertatis, &c.—Verè quidem noſter ανομον vocari animadvertit ſceleſtos homines, qui antea deſignati fuerunt voce ὁ αντικειμενος; ſed intelligendi ſeditioſi Judæi, &c.—Fuere et alii impoſtores, quorum non uno loco meminit Joſephus, &c. Cleric. in locum.

(7) Joſephus

he was ever worſhipped " in the temple of God as God." He was not " exalted above every God or emperor;" for he was vanquiſhed and made the emperor's priſoner. His coming was not " with all ſigns and " lying wonders;" for he never pretended to any ſuch power. He was not deſtroyed in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; but was preſerved alive, and (7) was afterwards led in triumph at Rome, and then was dragged thro' the ſtreets with a rope about his neck, and was ſeverely ſcourged, and at laſt put to death in the common priſon. Beſides it is not very conſiſtent in this learned critic, by " the coming of Chriſt" in ver. 8 to underſtand the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and in his note upon ver. 1 to ſay that (8) " the coming of Chriſt" both in the firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, and in this is the coming of Chriſt to judge the quick and dead.

4. Dr. Whitby's (9) ſcheme is ſomewhat perplexed and confuſed, as if he was not ſatisfied himſelf with his own explication. " *The apoſtaſy* " is the revolt of the Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith." If the former, it is the ſame miſtaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apoſtatize from the faith, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was ſo very great, as to deſerve to be called by way of eminence and diſtinction *the apoſtaſy*. " *The* " *man of ſin* is the Jewiſh nation with their high-prieſt and ſanhedrim." But the Jewiſh nation with their high-prieſt and ſanhedrim could not be ſaid *to apoſtatize* from the faith which they never received: and thoſe Chriſtian Jews, who did apoſtatize, were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of *the man of ſin*. The Jewiſh nation too with their high-prieſt and ſanhedrim were already revealed; and moſt of the inſtances which this author allegeth, of their oppoſing the Chriſtian religion, and exalting themſelves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epiſtle. He was himſelf aware of this objection, and endevors to prevent it by ſaying, " that theſe are the deſcriptions of *the man of ſin*, " by which the Theſſalonians might then know him, and they run all " in the preſent tenſe, ſhowing what he already did." But it is the known

(7) Joſephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) παρεσια

known and uſual ſtile of prophecy to ſpeak of things future as preſent, intimating that tho' future they are ſure and certain as if they were even now preſent. " *He who now letteth* is the Roman emperor Clau-
" dius, and he *will lett until he be taken out of the way*, that is, he
" will hinder the Jews from breaking out into an open rebellion in his
" time, they being ſo ſignally and particularly obliged by him." But how utterly improbable is it, that the apoſtle ſhould talk and write of Jewiſh politics to Gentile converts? If Claudius withheld the Jews from revolting from the Roman government, did he withhold them alſo from apoſtatizing from the Chriſtian faith? or what was it that withheld them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? " When Clau-
" dius ſhall be taken out of the way, as he was by poiſon, then they
" *ſhall be revealed*, either by actual apoſtaſy from the Roman govern-
" ment, or by the great apoſtaſy of the believers of that nation." But the apoſtaſy of believers was not near ſo *great* nor univerſal as the apoſtaſy from the Roman government. Here too is the ſame ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one ſort of apoſtaſy, and this learned commentator propoſeth two, and inclines ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other, as may beſt ſuit his hypotheſis. He is guilty too of the ſame inconſiſtency as Le Clerc, in interpreting " the coming of Chriſt" in the former Epiſtle, and in this Epiſtle, and in the firſt verſe of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verſe the eighth, of his coming to deſtroy Jeruſalem. But if the deſtruction of Jeruſalem only was meant, what need had the Theſſalonians to be under ſuch conſternation, to be " ſhaken in mind" and to be " troubled," that " the wrath is come
" upon them to the uttermoſt," as the apoſtle ſaith, (1 Theſ. II. 15, 16.)
" who both killed the Lord Jeſus, and their own prophets, and have
" perſecuted us; and they pleaſe not God, and are contrary to all men,
" forbidding us to ſpeak to the Gentiles, that they might be ſaved."
It was matter of conſolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Theſſalonians; and as ſuch the apoſtle mentions it in his former Epiſtle.

(8) παρουσια Chriſti et in 1 Ep. ad Theſſalonicenſes, et in hac eſt adventus Chriſti, ad judicandum de vivis et mortuis. Cleric ibid.

(9) See Whitby's Paraphraſe and Commentary.

(1) Intelligo

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late profeſſor Wetſtein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Teſtament with the various readings and copious annotations. " By" " the man of ſin" and " the wicked one" he (1) (underſtands Titus or the Flavian family. " The myſtery of iniquity" was then " working," becauſe at that time Veſpaſian had borne the office of conſul, had received the honors of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained ſome hopes of the empire. " He who letteth" was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor." One is really aſhamed and grieved to ſee a ſcholar and critic fall into ſuch abſurdities. What! was Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian an " apoſtate?" Was he, who was one of the beſt emperors, " the love and delight of man-" kind," to be branded with the odious appellations of " the man of " ſin" and " the wicked one?" Even Domitian was not worſe than ſeveral other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family " oppoſe and exalt themſelves above every God or em-" peror?" How did they " as God ſit in the temple of God, ſhowing " themſelves that they were Gods?" Why was Veſpaſian's hoping for the empire " the myſtery of iniquity," more than Galba's, or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the ſame? When Nero was " taken out of the " way," were not theſe three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all " revealed" before the Flavian family? How was " the coming" of Titus and the Flavian family " with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders, " and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs?" How were their adherents and followers ſuch eminently as " received not the love of " the truth that they might be ſaved, but believed a lie that they might " be damned, and had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs? How were Titus and the Flavian family deſtroyed in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, when they were themſelves the deſtroyers of it, and reigned ſeveral years afterwards? Was there an illuſtrious coming of Chriſt, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be ſaid to " conſume " them with the ſpirit of his mouth, and to deſtroy them with the bright-" neſs

(1) Intelligo Titum ſive domum Flaviam——— μυστηριον της ανομιας, Eo tempore Veſpaſianus conſulatum jam geſſerat, triumphalia acceperat, et jam ſub Caio in ſpem imperii venerat.— ὁ κατεχων, Nero jam adoptatus erat, &c. Wetſtenius in locum.

(2) —cui

" ncſs of his coming?" It ſurpaſſeth all comprehenſion, how this learned profeſſor could think of ſuch an application, without aſking himſelf ſome ſuch queſtions; or how he could aſk himſelf any ſuch queſtions, without clearly perceiving the impoſſibility of anſwering them. We cannot ſuppoſe that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his underſtanding, to Cardinal Quirini, in this inſtance as well as in his comment upon the Revelation, which, (2) as he humbly hopeth, will not diſpleaſe his eminency, and then he ſhall be tranſcendently happy.

It is a farther objection to Wetſtein, as alſo to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are ſo ſingular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they diſſent from all who went before them, ſo they are followed by none who come after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as theſe critics conceive, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, it is ſurpriſing that none of the fathers ſhould agree with any of them in the ſame application, and that the diſcovery ſhould firſt be made ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be miſtaken in the circumſtances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy ſhould be remarkably accompliſhed before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and ſpeak of the accompliſhment as ſtill future, is not very credible, and will always be a ſtrong preſumptive argument againſt any ſuch interpretation. The foundation of all the miſtakes of theſe learned men is their interpreting " the coming of Chriſt," of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; whereas the context, as it hath been ſhown, plainly evinces, and they themſelves at other times acknowlege, that it is to be underſtood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply this prophecy to events after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

6. Of thoſe who apply this prophecy to events after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ſome papiſts, and ſome perſons who think like papiſts, contend that the character of " the man of ſin" was drawn for the

(2) —cui ſi, uti ſpero, vel interpretationem Apocalypſeos, vel conatum ſaltem meum non diſplicuiſſe intellexero *ſublimi feriam ſidera vertice*. Idem de Interpret. Apoc. Tom. 2. p. 894.

(3) See

great impoſtor Mohammed: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the portrait reſembles him in many reſpects. He was indeed a "man of ſin" both in life and in doctrin. He might be ſaid to "ſit in the temple of God," when he converted the churches into moſques. He likewiſe roſe upon the ruins of the Roman empire; and the Roman empire is generally thought to be "what withholdeth." But though ſome features are alike, yet others are very much unlike, and demonſtrate a manifeſt difference. He was not properly an "apoſtate," for he and his countrymen the Arabians were not Chriſtians but Heathens, though he made many Chriſtians afterwards apoſtatize from the faith. "The myſtery of "iniquity," as we have ſeen, was "working" in the days of the apoſtles: but there were not then any indications of the riſe and increaſe of Mohammediſm; it ſprung up of a ſudden like a muſhroom, whoſe ſeeds the winds ſcattered over the face of the earth. "The apoſtaſy" was to precede and introduce "the man of ſin," but this man of ſin was the firſt author of this apoſtaſy. And what is the moſt material, he never pretended to confirm his miſſion, or authorize his doctrin by miracles. "His coming was not with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders:" On the contrary he (3) declared, that "God had ſent Moſes and Jeſus "with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word; "and therefore he had now ſent him in the laſt place without miracles, "to force them by the power of the ſword to do his will." Some of his followers have aſcribed miracles to him: but as Dr. Prideaux obſerves, "thoſe who relate them are only ſuch who are reckoned among their "fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned doctors renounce them "all, as doth Mohammed himſelf, who in ſeveral places in his Koran "owns that he wrought no miracles."

7. Others of the papiſts affirm, that "the apoſtaſy" is the falling away from the church of Rome by the doctrins of the reformation. But who then is "the man of ſin," Luther and his followers, or Calvin and his followers, or who? for the proteſtants are far from being united under any one head. Which of the proteſtant churches exalts herſelf above every God and magiſtrate? Which of them arrogates to herſelf divine

(3) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 26 and 28. 8th Edit. 1723.

(4) Les Peres, et les meilleurs interprétes entendent unanimement ceci de l'Ante-Chriſt, qui doit paroître

divine honors and titles? Which of them pretends to eſtabliſh her doctrin and diſciplin by miracles? Theſe things would be ridiculouſly and abſurdly objected to the proteſtant churches, and more ridiculouſly and abſurdly ſtill by the members of the church of Rome.

8. The greater part of the Romiſh doctors, it muſt be confeſſed, give another interpretation, and acknowlege that (4) the fathers and the beſt interpreters underſtand this unanimouſly of Antichriſt, who will appear in the world before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the ſaints. But then they conceive that Antichriſt is not yet revealed, that he is only one man, and that he will continue only three years and a half. But we have ſhown before, that "the man of ſin" is not a ſingle man, any more than "the whore of Babylon" is a ſingle woman. The one as well as the other is to be underſtood of a whole order and ſucceſſion of perſons. "The myſtery of iniquity" was working, and preparing the way for "the man of ſin" even in the apoſtles days: and is it not very extraordinary, that 1700 years ſhould elapſe, and that he ſhould not be yet revealed? "What withholdeth," they ſay, was the Roman empire; and the Roman empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this while? As this evil began in the apoſtles days, and was to continue in the world till the ſecond coming of Chriſt in power and great glory; it neceſſarily follows that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a ſucceſſion of men in ſeveral ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet floriſh under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not ſurely ſo much preparation for ſo little effect. Neither are three years and a half a period ſufficient for Antichriſt to act the parts and to fulfil the characters which are aſſigned him; unleſs he hath alſo this property of divinity, that "one day is with him as a thouſand "years, and a thouſand years as one day."

III. The detection of falſehood is the next ſtep towards the diſcovery of truth: and having ſeen how this paſſage hath been miſtaken and miſapplied by ſome famous commentators, we may be the better enabled

paroître dans le monde avant le grand jour du jugement, pour combattre la religion et les ſaints. Calmet Comment et Diſſertation ſur l' Ante-Chriſt.

(5) See

led to vindicate and eſtabliſh what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Theſſalonians, from ſome expreſſions in the former Epiſtle, were alarmed as if the end of the world was at hand, and Chriſt was coming to judgment. The apoſtle, to correct their miſtakes and diſſipate their fears, aſſures them, that the coming of Chriſt will not be yet awhile; there will be firſt a great apoſtaſy or defection of Chriſtians from the true faith and worſhip. This apoſtaſy all the concurrent marks and characters will juſtify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apoſtle mentions this apoſtaſy in another place, (1 Tim. IV. 1, &c.) and ſpecifies ſome articles, as "doctrins of "demons, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from "meats," which will warrant the ſame concluſion. The true Chriſtian worſhip is the worſhip of "the one only God" thro' "the one "only mediator between God and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus:" and from this worſhip the church of Rome hath notoriouſly departed by ſubſtituting other mediators, and invocating and adoring ſaints and angels. Nothing is apoſtaſy, if idolatry be not; and the ſame kind of idolatry is practiſed in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inſpired writers arraign and condemn as apoſtaſy and rebellion in the Jewiſh church. The Jews never totally rejected the true God, but only worſhipped him thro' the medium of ſome image, or in conjunction with ſome other beings: and are not the members of the church of Rome (5) guilty of the ſame idolatry and apoſtaſy in the worſhip of images, in the adoration of the hoſt, in the invocation of angels and ſaints, and in the oblation of prayers and praiſes to the virgin Mary, as much or more than to God bleſſed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Chriſtian church, this is "the apoſtaſy" as it is emphatically called, and deſerves to be called, "the apoſtaſy" that the apoſtle had warned the Theſſalonians of before, "the apoſtaſy" that had alſo been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apoſtaſy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of conſequence that "the man of ſin" is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and ſupporter of this apoſtaſy. The apoſtaſy produces him, and he again

(5) See Stillingfleet's Diſcourſe concerning the Idolatry of the church of Rome. Chap. 1 and 2. Vol. 5. of his works.

(6) As

again promotes the apoſtaſy. He is properly "the man of ſin," not only on account of the ſcandalous lives of many popes, but by reaſon of their more ſcandalous doctrins and principles, diſpenſing with the moſt neceſſary duties, and granting or rather ſelling pardons and indulgences to the moſt abominable crimes. Or if by "ſin" be meant idolatry particularly as in the Old Teſtament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worſhip of God, and perverted it from "ſpirit and truth" to ſuperſtition and idolatry of the groſſeſt kind. He alſo, like the falſe apoſtle Judas, is "the ſon of perdition," whether actively as being the cauſe and occaſion of deſtruction to others, or paſſively as being deſtined and devoted to deſtruction himſelf. "He oppoſeth;" he is the great adverſary to God and man, excommunicating and anathematizing, perſecuting and deſtroying by croiſadoes and inquiſitions, by maſſacres and horrid executions, thoſe ſincere Chriſtians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The Heathen emperor of Rome may have ſlain his thouſands of innocent Chriſtians, but the Chriſtian biſhop of Rome hath ſlain his ten thouſands. There is ſcarce any country, that hath not at one time or other been made the ſtage of theſe bloody tragedies: ſcarce any age, that hath not in one place or other ſeen them acted. "He exalteth himſelf above all that is called God or "that is worſhipped;" not only above inferior magiſtrates, but likewiſe above biſhops and primates, exerting an abſolute juriſdiction and uncontrolled ſupremacy over all; nor only above biſhops and primates, but likewiſe above kings and emperors, depoſing ſome, and advancing others, obliging them to proſtrate themſelves before him, to kiſs his toe, to hold his ſtirrup, to (6) wait bare-footed at his gate, treading (7) even upon the neck, and (8) kicking off the imperial crown with his foot; nor only above kings and emperors, but likewiſe above Chriſt and God himſelf, "making the word of God of none effect by his tradi-"tions, forbidding" what God hath commanded, as "marriage" communion in both kinds, the uſe of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like, and alſo commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden, as idolatry, perſecution, works of ſupererogation, and various other

(6) As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV.

(7) As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.

(8) As Celeſtin did to Henry VI.

(9) Dominus

other inſtances. " So that he as God ſitteth in the temple of God, " ſhowing himſelf that he is God." He is therefore in profeſſion a Chriſtian, and a Chriſtian biſhop. His " ſitting in the temple of God" plainly implies his having his ſeat or cathedral in the Chriſtian church: and he ſitteth there " as God," eſpecially at his inauguration, when he ſitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footſtool, and in that poſition receiveth adoration. At all times he exerciſeth divine authority in the church, " ſhowing him- " ſelf that he is God," affecting divine titles and attributes as holineſs and infallibility, aſſuming divine powers and prerogatives in condemning and abſolving men, in retaining and forgiving ſins, in aſſerting his decrees to be of the ſame or greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the ſame or greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus he is proud to imitate the ſtate and thunder of the Almighty; and is ſtiled, and pleaſed to be (9) ſtiled, ' Our Lord God the pope; another God upon earth; king ' of kings, and lord of lords. The ſame is the dominion of God and ' the pope. To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree, ' as he decreed, it were a matter of hereſy. The power of the pope ' is greater than all created power, and extends itſelf to things ce- ' leſtial, terreſtrial, and infernal. The pope doeth whatſoever he liſteth, ' even things unlawful, and is more than God.' Such blaſphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, rewarded in the writers of the church of Rome; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth: at leaſt there is no one like him, who " exalteth himſelf above every God," no one like him, " who ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhow- " ing himſelf that he is God."

But if the biſhop of Rome be " the man of ſin," it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that the apoſtle ſhould mention theſe things in an epiſtle

(9) Dominus Deus noſter papa. Alter Deus in terra. Rex regum, dominus dominorum. Idem eſt dominium Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum noſtrum papam non potuiſſe ſtatuere, prout ſtatuit, hæreticum cenſeretur. Papæ poteſtas eſt major omni poteſtate creata, extenditque ſe ad cœleſtia, terreſtria,

Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, and not rather in his Epiſtle to the Romans. But this Epiſtle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occaſion to mention the ſame things again in another epiſtle. What was written to the Theſſalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the epiſtles being deſigned for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the congregations of the faithful. When St. Paul wrote his Epiſtle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and conſequently could not allude to any former diſcourſe with them, as with the Theſſalonians: and theſe things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and eſpecially in a letter addreſſed to the Chriſtian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apoſtles with all their prudence were repreſented as enemies to government, and were charged with "turning the world "upſide down;" (Acts XVII. 6.) but the accuſation would have been founded higher, if St. Paul had denounced openly, and to Romans too, the deſtruction of the Roman empire. However he admoniſheth them to beware of apoſtaſy, (Rom. XI. 20, 22.) and to "continue in God's "goodneſs, or otherwiſe they ſhall be cut off:" and afterwards when he viſited Rome, and dwelt there "two whole years," (Acts XXVIII. 30.) he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of theſe things. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that he diſcourſed of theſe things only to the Theſſalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Chriſtians to be forewarned of the great corruption of Chriſtianity, that they might be neither ſurpriſed into it, nor offended at it; and the caution was the more neceſſary, as "the myſtery of iniquity was al-"ready working." The ſeeds of popery were ſown in the apoſtle's time; for even then "idolatry" was ſtealing into the church, (1 Cor. X. 14.) and "a voluntary humility and worſhipping of angels," (Col. II. 18.) "ſtrife and diviſions," (1 Cor. III. 3.) an "adulterating and hand-"ling of the word of God deceitfully," (2 Cor. II. 17. IV. 2.) "a gain "of godlineſs, and teaching of things for filthy lucre's ſake," (1 Tim. VI. 5. Tit. I. 11.) a vain obſervation of feſtivals, (Gal. IV. 10.) a vain

tria, et infernalia. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et eſt plus quam Deus. See theſe and the like inſtances quoted in Biſhop Jewel's Apology and Defenſe, in Downham's treatiſe de Antichriſto, and Poole's Engliſh Annotations. See likewiſe Barrow's treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy in the Introduction.

(1) Machiavel's

diſtinction of meats, (1 Cor. VIII. 8.) a " neglecting of the body," (Col. II. 23.) " traditions, and commandments, and doctrins of men," (Col. II. 8, 22.) with other corruptions and innovations. All heretics were in a manner the forerunners of " the man of ſin ;" and Simon Magus in particular was ſo lively a type and figure of " the wicked one," that he hath been miſtaken, as we ſee, for " the wicked one" himſelf.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apoſtle's days, but the ſuperſtructure was raiſed by degrees, and ſeveral ages paſſed before the building was completed, and " the man of ſin" was " revealed" in full perfection. St. Paul having communicated to the Theſſalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Chriſtians alſo who read this Epiſtle, to inquire " what withholdeth that " he might be revealed in his time ;" and the apoſtle without doubt would impart it to other Chriſtians as freely as to the Theſſalonians; and the Theſſalonians and other Chriſtians might deliver it to their ſucceſſors, and ſo the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was that what hindered was the Roman empire : and therefore the primitive Chriſtians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire ſhould be diſſolved and broken into pieces, the empire of " the man of ſin" would be raiſed on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than (1) Machiavel. " The " emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his reſidence at Conſtanti- " nople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome " augmented as faſt. Nevertheleſs, until the coming in of the Lom- " bards, all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors or " kings, the biſhops aſſumed no more power than what was due to " their doctrin and manners ; in civil affairs, they were ſubject to the " civil power.—But Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his ſeat at Ra- " venna, was that which advanced their intereſt, and made them more " conſiderable in Italy ; for there being no other prince left in Rome, " the Romans were forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to the " pope. And yet their authority advanced no farther at that time, than to

(1) Machiavel's Hiſt. of Florence Book 1. p. 6, &c. of the Engliſh tranſlation.

(2) See

" to obtain the preference before the church of Ravenna. But the " Lombards having invaded, and reduced Italy into ſeveral cantons, " the pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head. For " being as it were governor and principal at Rome, the emperor of " Conſtantinople and the Lombards bare him a reſpect, ſo that the " Romans (by mediation of their pope) began to treat and confederate " with Longinus [the emperor's lieutenant] and the Lombards, not as " ſubjects, but as equals and companions; which ſaid cuſtom continu- " ing, and the popes entring into alliance ſometimes with the Lom- " bards, and ſometimes with the Greeks, contracted great reputation " to their dignity. But the deſtruction of the eaſtern empire follow- " ing ſo cloſe under the reign of the emperor Heracleus,—the pope " loſt the convenience of the emperor's protection in time of adverſity, " and the power of the Lombards increaſing too faſt on the other ſide, " he thought it but neceſſary to addreſs himſelf to the king of France " for aſſiſtance.—Gregory the third being created pope, and Aiſtolfus " king of the Lombards, Aiſtolfus contrary to league and agreement " ſeiſed upon Ravenna, and made war upon the pope. Gregory not " daring (for the reaſons aboveſaid) to depend upon the weakneſs of " the empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards, (whom he had already " found falſe) applied himſelf to Pepin—for relief againſt the Lombards. " Pepin returned anſwer, that he would be ready to aſſiſt him, but he " deſired firſt to have the honor to ſee him, and pay his perſonal " reſpects. Upon which invitation pope Gregory went into France, " paſſing thorough the Lombards quarters without any interruption, ſo " great reverence they bare to religion in thoſe days. Being arrived and " honorably received in France, he was after ſome time diſmiſſed with " an army into Italy; which having beſieged Pavia, and reduced the " Lombards to diſtreſs, Aiſtolfus was conſtrained to certain terms of " agreement with the French, which were obtained by the interceſſion " of the pope.—Among the reſt of the articles of that treaty it was " agreed, that Aiſtolfus ſhould reſtore all the lands he had uſurped " from the church. But when the French army was returned into " France, Aiſtolfus forgot his engagement, which put the pope upon " a ſecond application to king Pepin, who ſupplied him again, ſent a " new army into Italy, overcame the Lombards, and poſſeſſed himſelf

" of Ravenna, and (contrary to the deſire of the Grecian emperor)
" gave it to the pope, with all the lands under that exarchate.—In the
" interim Aiſtolfus died, and Deſiderio a Lombard, and duke of Tuſ-
" cany, taking up arms to ſucceed him, begged aſſiſtance of the pope,
" with promiſe of perpetual amity for the future.—At firſt Deſiderio
" was very punctual,—delivered up the towns as he took them to the
" pope, according to his engagement to king Pepin; nor was there
" any exarch ſent afterwards from Conſtantinople to Ravenna, but all
" was arbitrary, and managed according to the pleaſure of the pope.
" Not long after Pepin died, and Charles his ſon ſucceeded in the
" government, who was called the great from the greatneſs of his ex-
" ploits. About the ſame time Theodore the firſt was advanced to the
" papacy, and falling out with Deſiderio was beſieged by him in
" Rome. In his exigence the pope had recourſe to the king of
" France, (as his predeceſſor had done before him) and Charles not only
" ſupplied him with an army, but marching over the Alps at the head
" of it himſelf, he beſieged Deſiderio in Pavia, took him and his ſon
" in it, ſent them both priſoners into France, and went in perſon to
" Rome to viſit the pope, where he adjudged and determined, *that his*
" *Holineſs being God's vicar, could not be ſubject to the judgment of*
" *man.* For which the pope and people together declared him em-
" peror, and Rome began again to have an emperor of the weſt: and
" whereas formerly the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the
" emperor now in his election was to be beholden to the pope; by
" which means the power and dignity of the empire declined, and the
" church began to advance, and by theſe ſteps to uſurp upon the au-
" thority of temporal princes."

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or " he who letteth," was " taken out of the way," and the biſhop of Rome was advanced in his ſtead. In the ſame proportion as the power of the empire decreaſed, the authority of the church increaſed, the latter at the expenſe and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and ὁ ἀνομος " the wicked one" was fully manifeſted and " revealed," or " the lawleſs one" as he may be called; for the pope (2) is declared again

(2) See Biſhop Jewel's Apology and Defenſe, p. 313, 314, 430, &c.

(3) Undecima

again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. " His " coming is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and " lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs :" and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not too generally known, that the pretenſions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all ſupported and authorized by feigned viſions and miracles, by pious frauds and impoſtures of every kind? Bellarmin reckons (3) the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church: but the apoſtle aſſigns them as a diſtinguiſhing mark and character of " the man of ſin." The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed diſclaims them; and this is one very good reaſon, why " the man of ſin" is the Pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London, ſo lately as in the year 1756, a book intitled *The miraculous power of the church of Chriſt aſſerted through each ſucceſſive century from the apoſtles down to the preſent time:* and from thence the author draweth the concluſion, that the catholic church is the true church of Chriſt. They muſt certainly " not receive " the love of the truth, but have pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs," who can believe ſuch fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal ſin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exerciſe of private judgment, who take away the free uſe of the holy ſcriptures, and ſo " ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men, neither going in themſelves, neither ſuffering them, who were entring, " to go in." If they will ſtill maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are the miracles here predicted, and if they were really wrought, were wrought in favor of falſehood: and indeed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his juſt judgments " ſhould ſend men ſtrong deluſion that they " ſhould believe a lie, who received not the love of the truth that they " might be ſaved;" a proper retaliation; that he ſhould ſuffer ſome real miracles to be wrought to deceive thoſe, who have counterfeited ſo many miracles to deceive others.

But how much ſoever " the man of ſin" may be exalted, and how long ſoever he may reign, yet at laſt " the Lord ſhall conſume him " with

(3) Undecima nota eſt gloria miraculorum. Bellar de Notis eccleſiæ. Lib. 4. Cap. 14.

(4) Lightfoot's

" with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him with the brightneſs " of his coming." This is partly taken from the prophet Iſaiah, (XI. 4.) " and with the breath of his lips ſhall he ſlay the wicked " one:" where the Jews, as Lightfoot (4) obſerves, " put an emphaſis " upon that word in the prophet *the wicked one*, as it appeareth by the " Chaldee paraphraſt, who hath uttered it *He ſhall deſtroy the wicked* " *Roman*." If the two clauſes, as it was ſaid before, relate to two different events, the meaning manifeſtly is, that the Lord Jeſus ſhall gradually conſume him with the free preaching of his goſpel, and ſhall utterly deſtroy him at his ſecond coming in the glory of his Father. The former began to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be accompliſhed in God's appointed time. " The man of ſin" is now upon the decline, and he will be totally aboliſhed, when Chriſt ſhall come in judgment. The kingdom of falſehood and ſin ſhall end, and the reign of truth and virtue ſhall ſucceed. " Great is the truth, and " will" at laſt " prevail."

" The man of ſin" then is the ſame arbitrary and wicked power that is deſcribed by Daniel under the characters of " the little horn" and " the " mighty king." In St. Paul he is " revealed," when the Roman empire is " taken out of the way;" and in Daniel the Roman empire is firſt broken into ſeveral kingdoms, and he " cometh up among them." In St. Paul " he oppoſeth;" and in Daniel " he doeth according to " his will, and weareth out the ſaints of the moſt High." In St. Paul " he exalteth himſelf above all that is called God or that is worſhip- " ped, ſhowing himſelf that he is God:" and in Daniel " he exalteth " himſelf and magnifieth himſelf above every God, and ſpeaketh " marvelous things againſt the God of Gods." In St. Paul he is " the " lawleſs one;" and in Daniel " he changeth times and laws." In St. Paul " his coming is with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs;" and in Daniel " he practiſeth and proſpereth, and through his policy cauſeth " craft to proſper in his hand." According to St. Paul " the Lord " ſhall conſume him with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him " with the brightneſs of his coming;" and according to Daniel " a " fiery

(4) Lightfoot's Works. Vol. 1. p. 296.

(5) Αντι ſignifies *pro*, *vice*, *loco*, as well as *contra*, *e regione*, *ex adverſo*; *and* αντιβασιλευς is prorex, ανθυπατος proconſul.

(6) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 250. Edit. Paris, p. 201. Edit.

" fiery ſtream ſhall iſſue and come forth" from the judge, and " his " body ſhall be given to the burning flame, and they ſhall take away " his dominion, to conſume, and to deſtroy it unto the end." The characters and circumſtances are ſo much the ſame, that they muſt belong to one and the ſame perſon.

The tyrannical power thus deſcribed by Daniel and St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients and moderns generally denominated " Antichriſt :" and the name is proper and expreſſive enough, as it may ſignify (5) both *the enemy of Chriſt*, and *the vicar of Chriſt :* and no one is more the enemy of Chriſt than he who arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly oppoſes the king than he who aſſumes his title and authority. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For he addreſſeth himſelf to the Chriſtians as having heard of the coming of Antichriſt, and calleth the heretics of his time by the ſame common name : (1 Ep. II. 18, 22.) " As ye have heard that the " Antichriſt ſhall come, even now are there many Antichriſts : Who is " a lier but he that denieth that Jeſus is the Chriſt ? he is the Anti- " chriſt that denieth the Father and the Son." As St. Paul hath ſaid, " The myſtery of iniquity doth already work :" ſo St. John ſpeaketh of the ſpirit of Antichriſt as then in the world ; (IV. 3.) " This is that " ſpirit of Antichriſt, whereof you have heard that it ſhould come, " and even now already is it in the world." Afterwards (2 Ep. 7, 8.) he ſtileth him emphatically " the deceiver and the Antichriſt," and warneth the Chriſtians to " look to themſelves." The fathers too ſpeak of " Antichriſt" and of " the man of ſin" as one and the ſame perſon ; and give much the ſame interpretation that hath here been given of the whole paſſage : only it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they who wrote before the events, could be ſo very exact in the application of each particular, as thoſe who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and completion together.

Juſtin Martyr, who floriſhed before the middle of the ſecond century, (6) conſiders " the man of ſin" or as he elſewhere calleth him " the man of blaſphemy", as altogether the ſame with " the little " horn" in Daniel ; and affirms that he, who ſhall ſpeak blaſphemous words

Edit. Thirlbii. και τω βλασφημα και τολμηρα εις τον ὑψιστον μελλοντος λαλειν ηδη επι θυραις οντος. eoque qui impie et temerarie maledicta in Altiſſimum prolocuturus eſt, jam pro foribus aſſiſtente. Vide etiam p. 336. Edit. Paris. p. 371. Edit. Thirlbii.

(7) Adverſus

words againſt the moſt High, is now at the doors. Irenæus, who lived in the ſame century, hath written (7) a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichriſt, as they are deſcribed by Daniel and St. Paul in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. Tertullian, who became famous at the latter end of the ſame century, expounding thoſe words "only he who now letteth will lett, until he be taken "out of the way," (8) ſays, 'Who can this be but the Roman ſtate, 'the diviſion of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichriſt, and 'then the wicked one ſhall be revealed.' And in his apology he (9) aſſigns it as a particular reaſon why the Chriſtians prayed for the Roman empire, becauſe they knew that the greateſt calamity hanging over the world was retarded by the continuance of it.

Origen, the moſt learned father and ableſt writer of the third century, (1) recites this paſſage at large as ſpoken of him who is called Antichriſt. To the ſame purpoſe he likewiſe alleges the words of Daniel as truly divine and prophetic. Daniel and St. Paul, according to him, both propheſied of the ſame perſon.

Lactantius, who floriſhed in the beginning of the fourth century, deſcribes Antichriſt in the ſame manner, and almoſt in the ſame terms as St. Paul; and (2) concludes 'This is he, who is called Antichriſt, but 'ſhall feign himſelf to be Chriſt, and ſhall fight againſt the truth.' A ſhorter and fuller character of the vicar of Chriſt could not be drawn even by a proteſtant. Cyril of Jeruſalem in the ſame century alleges this paſſage of St. Paul together with other prophecies concerning Antichriſt, and (3) ſays that 'this the predicted Antichriſt will come, when 'the times of the Roman empire ſhall be fulfilled, and the conſummation of the world ſhall approach. Ten kings of the Romans ſhall 'ariſe

(7) Adverſus Hæreſes Lib. 5. Cap. 25. Antichriſti fraus, ſuperbia, et tyrannicum regnum, prout a Daniele et Paulo deſcripta ſunt. p. 437. Edit. Grabe.

(8) Quis, niſi Romanus ſtatus? cujus abſceſſio in decem reges diſperſa Antichriſtum ſuperducet, et tunc revelabitur iniquus. De Reſurrect. Carnis. Cap. 24. p. 340. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(9) Eſt et alia major neceſſitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni ſtatu imperii, rebuſque Romanis, qui vim maximam univerſo orbi imminentem—Romani imperii commeatu ſcimus retardari. Apol. Cap. 32. p. 27. Ibid.

(1) Contra Celſum Lib. 6. p. 668. Opera Tom. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Hic eſt autem, qui appellatur Antichriſtus; ſed ſe ipſe Chriſtum mentietur, et contra verum dimicabit. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 19.

(3), ερχεται δε ὁ προειρημενος Αντιχριστος ὅτος, ὁταν πληρωθωσιν οἱ καιροι της Ρωμαιων βασιλειας, και πλησιαζει λοιπον τα της τε κοσμε συντελειας. δεκα μεν ὁμε Ρωμαιων εγειρονται βασιλεις. εν διαφοροις μεν ισως τοποις, κατα δε τον αυτον βασιλευσι καιρον. μετα δε τετες ἑνδεκατος ὁ Αντιχριστος, εκ της μαγικης κακοτεχνιας την Ρωμαϊκην ἐξεσιαν ἁρπασας. Veniet autem hic prædictus Antichriſtus, cum impleta fuerint tempora

'ariſe together, in different places indeed but they ſhall reign at the 'ſame time. Among theſe the eleventh is Antichriſt, who by magical 'and wicked artifice ſhall ſeiſe the Roman power.' Ambroſe archbiſhop of Milan in the ſame century, or Hilary the deacon, or the author (whoever he was) of the comment upon St. Paul's epiſtles, which paſſeth under the name of St. Ambroſe, propoſes much the ſame interpretation, and (4) affirms that after the failing or decay of the Roman empire, Antichriſt ſhall appear.

Jerome, Auſtin, and Chryſoſtome floriſhed in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. St. Jerome in his explanation of this paſſage (5) ſays, that 'Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the temple of God, either 'at Jeruſalem (as ſome imagin) or in the church (as we more truly judge) 'ſhowing himſelf that he is Chriſt and the Son of God: and unleſs the 'Roman empire be firſt deſolated, and Antichriſt precede, Chriſt ſhall not 'come—"And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be re-"vealed in his time," that is, ye know very well, what is the reaſon, 'why Antichriſt doth not come at preſent. He is not willing to ſay 'openly, that the Roman empire ſhould be deſtroyed, which they who 'command think to be eternal.—For if he had ſaid openly and boldly, 'that Antichriſt ſhall not come, unleſs the Roman empire be firſt de-'ſtroyed, it might probably have proved the occaſion of a perſecution 'againſt the then riſing church.' Jerome was himſelf a witneſs to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occaſion (6) exclaims 'He who hindered is taken out of

pora imperii Romani, et mundi conſummatio appropinquabit. Decem ſimul reges Romanorum excitabuntur in diverſis quidem locis, eodem tamen tempore regnantes. Poſt iſtos autem undecimus Antichriſtus, per magicum maleficium Romanorum poteſtatem rapiens. Catch. 15. Cap. 5. p. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon. 1703.

(4) Poſt defectum regni Romani appariturum Antichriſtum, &c. Ambroſ. in locum.

(5) Et in templo Dei, vel Jeroſolymis (ut quidam putant) vel in eccleſia (ut verius arbitramur) ſederit, oſtendens ſe tanquam ipſe ſit Chriſtus et Filius Dei: Niſi, inquit, fuerit Romanum imperium ante deſolatum, et Antichriſtus præceſſerit, Chriſtus non veniet.—*Et nunc quid detineat, ſcitis, ut reveletur in ſuo tempore*; hoc eſt, quæ cauſa ſit, ut Antichriſtus in præſentiarum non veniat, optime noſtis. Nec vult apertè dicere Romanum imperium deſtruendum, quod ipſi qui imperant, æternum putant.—Si enim apertè audacterque dixiſſet, non veniet Antichriſtus, niſi prius Romanum deleatur imperium, juſta cauſa perſecutionis in orientem tunc eccleſiam conſurgere videbatur. Algaſiæ Queſt. 11. Col. 209. Prior. Pars. Tom. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Qui tenebat, de medio fit, et non intelligimus Antichriſtum appropinquare, quem Dominus Jeſus

'the way, and we do not conſider that Antichriſt approaches, whom 'the Lord Jeſus ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth.' St. Auſtin having cited this paſſage (7) affirms, that 'No one queſtions that 'the apoſtle ſpoke theſe things concerning Antichriſt: and the day of 'judgment (for this he calleth the day of the Lord) ſhould not come, 'unleſs Antichriſt come firſt.—"And now ye know what withholdeth." '—Some think this was ſpoken of the Roman empire; and therefore 'the apoſtle was not willing to write it openly, leſt he ſhould incur a 'præmunire, and be falſely accuſed of wiſhing ill to the Roman em-'pire, which was hoped to be eternal.' St. Chryſoſtome, in one of his homilies upon this paſſage, ſpeaking of what hindered the revelation of Antichriſt, (8) aſſerts that 'when the Roman empire ſhall be taken 'out of the way, then he ſhall come: and it is very likely: for as 'long as the dread of this empire ſhall remain, no one ſhall quickly 'be ſubſtituted; but when this ſhall be diſſolved, he ſhall ſeiſe on the 'vacant empire, and ſhall endevor to aſſume the power both of God 'and men.' And who hath ſeiſed on the vacant empire in Rome, and aſſumed the power both of God and man, let the world judge.

In this manner theſe ancient and venerable fathers expound this paſſage; and in all probability they had learned by tradition from the apoſtle, or from the church of the Theſſalonians, that what retarded the revelation of Antichriſt was the Roman empire, but when the Roman empire ſhould be broken in pieces, and be no longer able to withhold him, then he ſhould appear in the Chriſtian church, and domineer principally in the church of Rome. Even in the opinion of a biſhop of Rome, Gregory the great, who ſat in the chair at the end of the ſixth

Jeſus Chriſtus interficiet ſpiritu oris ſui. Ad Agerucchiam de Monogamia Col. 748. Secund. Pars. Tom. 4.

(7) Nulli dubium eſt, eum de Antichriſto iſta dixiſſe; diemque judicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non eſſe venturum, niſi ille prior venerit—*Et nunc quid detineat ſcitis*—Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuiſſe Romano; et propterea Paulum apoſtolum non id apertè ſcribere voluiſſe, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quòd Romano imperio male optaverit, cùm ſperaretur æternum. De Civitat. Dei. Lib. 20. Cap. 19. Col. 451. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

(8) ἡ αρχη ἡ Ρωμαϊκη ὁταν αρθη εκ μεσου, τοτε εκεινος ηξει. και εικοτως. ἑως γαρ αν ὁ ταυτης ἡ της αρχης φοβος, ὑδεις ταχεως ὑποδαγησεται. ὁταν δε αυτη καταλυθη, επιθησεται τη αναρχια, και την των ανθρωπων, και την του θεου επιχειρησει ἁρπασαι αρχην. quando Romanorum imperium de medio fuerit ſublatum, tunc ille veniet. Et merito. Quamdiu enim fuerit metus hujus imperii, nemo cito ſubjicietur. Quando autem hoc fuerit everſum, vacans invadet imperium, hominumque et Dei imperium aggredietur rapere.

ſixth century, whoſoever affected the title of univerſal biſhop, he was Antichriſt, or the forerunner of Antichriſt. 'I ſpeak it confidently, 'ſays (9) he, that whoſoever calleth himſelf univerſal biſhop, or de-'ſireth ſo to be called, in the pride of his heart he doth forerun Anti-'chriſt.' When John, then biſhop of Conſtantinople, firſt uſurped this title, Gregory made anſwer, 'By this pride of his, what thing 'elſe is ſignified, but that the time of Antichriſt is now at hand?' Again he ſays upon the ſame occaſion, 'The king of pride (that is An-'tichriſt) approacheth; and what is wicked to be ſpoken, an army of 'prieſts is prepared.' When the papal doctrins and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichriſt would be ſtifled, and that the doctors of the church would endevor to give another turn and interpretation to this paſſage. That night of ignorance was ſo thick and dark, that there was hardly here and there a ſingle ſtar to be ſeen in the whole hemiſphere. But no ſooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichriſt, which had been ſo long ſuppreſſed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatiſe was publiſhed concerning Antichriſt, wherein (1) the faithful are admoniſhed, that 'the great 'Antichriſt was long ago come, in vain was he ſtill expected, he was 'now by the permiſſion of God advanced in years:' and the author, having deſcribed the corrupt ſtate of the church at that time, ſays afterwards, 'This ſtate of men (not a ſingle man) is Antichriſt, the whore 'of Babylon, the fourth beaſt of Daniel, (to wit in his laſt ſtate as it is 'ſaid) that man of ſin and ſon of perdition, who is exalted above every 'God, ſo that he ſitteth in the temple of God, that is, the church, 'ſhowing himſelf that he is God; who is now come with all kind of

rapere. In locum p. 530. Tom. 11. Edit. Benedict.

(9) Ego fidenter dico, quod quiſquis ſe univerſalem ſacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit. Lib. 6. Epiſt. 30. Ex hac ejus ſuperbia quid aliud, niſi propinqua jam eſſe Antichriſti tempora deſignatur. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 34. Rex ſuperbiæ prope eſt; et, quod dici nefas eſt, ſacerdotum eſt præparatus exercitus. Lib. 4. Ibid. See Jewel's Defenſe of the Apology. Part 4. Cap. 16. p. 413. Barrow's Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy, Suppoſ. 5. p. 123. Edit. 1683.

(1) Anno Domini 1120—emiſſus eſt tractatus de Antichriſto,—In hoc libro admonentur fideles "Antichriſtum illum magnum jamdudum veniſſe, "fruſtra adhuc exſpectari, eſſe jam Dei permiſſione "ætate provectum:—Hunc hominum ſtatum (non "ſingularem hominem) eſſe Antichriſtum, meretricem Babylonicam, quartam beſtiam Danielis, (nempe in ſtatu ejus noviſſimo, ut dictum eſt) hominem "illum peccati, et filium perditionis, qui extollitur "ſuper omnem Deum, ita ut in templo Dei, id eſt, "eccleſia, ſedeat, oſtendens ſe tanquam ſit Deus; qui "jam venit in omni genere ſeductionis et mendacii in "iis qui pereunt." Mede's Works B. 3. De numeris Danielis, p. 721, 722.

(2) Dialogorum

'ſeduction and lies in thoſe who periſh.' The Waldenſes and Albigenſes propagated the ſame opinions in the ſame century. That the pope was antichriſt was indeed the general doctrin of the firſt reformers every where. Here in England it was (2) advanced by Wickliff, and was learnedly eſtabliſhed by that great and able champion of the Reformation, Biſhop Jewel, in his Apology and Defenſe, and more largely in his Expoſition upon the two Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Theſſalonians. This doctrin contributed not a little to promote the Reformation; and whereſoever the one prevailed, the other prevailed alſo.

Such doctrin as this muſt neceſſarily give great offenſe to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome: and no wonder therefore that (3) in the laſt Lateran council the pope gave ſtrait commandment to all preachers, that no man ſhould preſume once to ſpeak of the coming of Antichriſt. The king of France alſo (4) with the advice of his council interdicted, that any one ſhould call the pope Antichriſt: and Grotius, who was embaſſador in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the diſputes and differences between papiſts and proteſtants, compoſed his treatiſe concerning Antichriſt, not wickedly, but weakly; with an honeſt intention it may be preſumed, but it is certain with pernicious effect; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the ſame time in England, though James the firſt had written a treatiſe to prove the pope Antichriſt, yet this doctrin was growing unfaſhionable during his reign, and more ſo in that of his ſon who married a bigotted popiſh princeſs; even while Mr. Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and ſagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichriſt, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reaſon he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the diſgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, though he was eminently deſerving of the beſt and greateſt. He ſays himſelf in one of his Letters (Epiſt. 56.) that his notions about genuflexion towards the altar "would have made another man a dean, or a prebend, or ſome-

"thing

(2) Dialogorum libri 4. quorum—quartus Romanæ eccleſiæ ſacramenta, Antichriſti regnum, &c. perſtringit. Cave Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 2. Appendix p. 63.

(3) Conc. Lateran. ſub Julio et Leone. Seſſ. 11. Jewel's Defenſe. ibid.

(4) —Prudentiſſimorum virorum uſus conſilio interdixit ne quis papam Antichriſtum vocet. Grot. de Antichriſto

" thing elſe ere this: but the point of the pope's being Antichriſt, as " a dead fly, marred the ſavor of that ointment." The abuſe alſo that ſome fanatics made of this doctrin greatly prejudiced the world againſt it. It was eſteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain obſtacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichriſt: and Dr. Montague, a famous court-chaplain at that time, who endevored to prove that the power of the king was abſolute, (5) endevored alſo to prove that the notes and characters of Antichriſt belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by ſeveral divines, and by no leſs a man than Biſhop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver (as he is commonly ſaid to have been) of (6) the Paraphraſe and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epiſtles. There are faſhions in divinity as well as in every thing elſe; and therefore the true doctrin of Antichriſt was for ſome time ſuſpended, and falſe hypotheſes were invented; and it may ſurpriſe any one, that ſo little was ſaid upon this ſubject in the long controverſies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the ſecond. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable (7) attempts have lately been made to revive and reſtore it: and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains, and proved nothing.

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuin ſenſe and meaning of the apoſtle, that this only is entirely conſiſtent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be ſaid of any other interpretation whatſoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illuſtrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poiſon of popery. It is like a two-edged ſword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deiſt with one ſide, and the papiſt with the other. The papiſts are in ſome reſpect like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Chriſt is come according to the prophecies, but ſtill live in

Antichriſto in principio.

(5) See his book intitled Appello Cæſarem. Part 2. Chap. 5.

(6) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford 1684, and ſaid to be publiſhed under the direction of Biſhop Fell.

(7) Mr. Langford's Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin. Printed in 1746. Dr. Benſon's Diſſertation concerning the Man of Sin, &c. &c.

(1) See

in expectation of him; ſo neither do the papiſts perceive that Antichriſt is come according to the prophecies, but ſtill maintain that he will ariſe hereafter. The apoſtle not only foretels this blindneſs and infatuation, but likewiſe aſſigns the reaſon, "becauſe they received not "the love of the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs." But to the proteſtants, who believe and profeſs that both the Chriſt and Antichriſt are come, we may ſay with the apoſtle (ver. 13, 14.) "We are "bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the "Lord, becauſe God hath choſen you to ſalvation, thro' ſanctification "of the ſpirit, and belief of the truth: Whereunto he called you by "the goſpel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." The apoſtle proceeds (ver. 15.) "Therefore, brethren, ſtand faſt, and "hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, "or our epiſtle:" and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juſter claim to be thought apoſtolical, than this of "the man of "ſin's" ſucceeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himſelf over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apoſtle concludes the ſubject, (ver. 16, 17.) "Now our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, "and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us "everlaſting conſolation, and good hope, through grace, Comfort "your hearts, and ſtabliſh you in every good word and work."

XXIII.

St. PAUL's *prophecy of the Apoſtaſy of the latter times.*

ST. Paul was a man of lively thought and ſtrong imagination. None of the apoſtles had a warmer zeal for Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion. He was, as he ſaith himſelf, (2 Cor. XI. 23, 28, 29.) "in labors more abundant;" he had "the care of all the churches; "Who is weak," ſaith he, "and I am not weak? who is offended, "and I burn not?" It was natural for ſuch a mind to be deeply affected with

with the foreſight of the great apoſtaſy of Chriſtians from the true Chriſtian faith and worſhip, and to lament it, and to forewarn his diſciples of it, as often as there was occaſion. He made this apoſtaſy one topic of his diſcourſe to the Theſſalonians, while he was yet with them: and afterwards in his ſecond Epiſtle to them, he gave them to underſtand that "the day of Chriſt was not at hand," as they apprehended; "for there ſhould come the apoſtaſy firſt;" implying that it ſhould be both extenſive and of long duration. He mentions this apoſtaſy again in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, and deſcribes more particularly wherein it ſhould conſiſt, and at what time, and by what means it ſhould be propagated and advanced in the world. (1 Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3.) "Now "the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart "from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrins of devils, "Speaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with a "hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from "meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving "of them which believe and know the truth." The paſſage perhaps may better be tranſlated thus, "But the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly;" He had been ſpeaking before of "the myſtery of godlineſs," and now he proceeds to ſpeak of "the myſtery of iniquity" in oppoſition to it, "But the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall "apoſtatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous ſpirits and doc-"trins concerning demons, Though the hypocriſy of liers, having their "conſcience ſeared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and com-"manding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be re-"ceived with thankſgiving by the believers and them who know the "truth." This tranſlation will be juſtified by the following conſiderations, wherein it is propoſed to ſhow the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this ſubject hath been ſo fully and learnedly diſcuſſed by the excellent (1) Mr. Mede, that we muſt be greatly obliged to him in the courſe of this diſſertation. The dreſs and cloathing may be ſomewhat different, but the body and ſubſtance muſt be much the ſame: and they muſt be referred to his works, who are

(1) See Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 623—693. See likewiſe Monſ. Jurieu's Accompliſhment of the Prophecies. Part 1. Chap. 18, 19, 20, 21.

(2) See

are deſirous of obtaining farther ſatisfaction. Not that we would make a tranſcript only of any writer; we ſhould hope to enforce and improve the ſubject by ſome new arguments and new illuſtrations; as "every ſcribe inſtructed unto the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. XIII. 52.) "is like unto a man that is an houſholder, who bringeth forth out of "his treaſure things new" as well as "old."

I. The firſt thing to be conſidered is the apoſtaſy here predicted, "Some ſhall depart" or rather "ſhall apoſtatize from the faith." The apoſtle had predicted the ſame thing before to the Theſſalonians, "The day of Chriſt ſhall not come, except there come a falling away" or rather "the apoſtaſy firſt." In the original the words are of the ſame import and derivation, αποστασια and αποστησονται; and they ſhould have been tranſlated both alike, as the ſame thing was intended in both places. An "apoſtaſy from the faith" may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny ſome principal and eſſential article of it. The writers of the New Teſtament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old: and by conſidering what was accounted apoſtaſy under the Moſaical œconomy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Chriſtian diſpenſation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Iſraelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God; he never ceaſed altogether to be their God, or they to be his people: but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worſhipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the ſin and apoſtaſy of Jeroboam; and when they worſhipped other gods beſides him, as Baalim and the hoſt of heaven, which was the ſin and apoſtaſy of Ahab and Manaſſeh: and for the ſame reaſon the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called (2 Chron. XXIX. 19.) αποστασια αυτου "his apoſtaſy," and it is ſaid of him (XXVIII. 19.) that απεστη αποστασει απο του Κυριου "he apoſtatized greatly from the "Lord." Apoſtaſy therefore was idolatry in the Jewiſh church, and it is the ſame in the Chriſtian. This argument may receive ſome illuſtration from a (2) ſimilar paſſage in St. Peter; (2 Pet. II. 1.) "There "were falſe prophets alſo among the people, even as there ſhall be "falſe teachers among you, who privily ſhall bring in damnable here-"ſies,

(2) See Mede's Diſcourſe XLIII. upon this text, p. 238, &c.

(3) טעותא

" ſies, even denying the Lord that bought them." As there were falſe prophets among the children of Iſrael, who ſeduced them to idolatry and the worſhipping of other Gods beſides the true God; ſo there ſhall be falſe teachers among Chriſtians, who by plauſible pretences and imperceptible degrees ſhall bring in the like damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them, profeſſing themſelves to be his ſervants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their lord and maſter by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not any error, or every hereſy, that is apoſtaſy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and eſſential article, when we worſhip God by any image or repreſentation, or when we worſhip other beings beſides God, and pray unto other mediators beſides " the one mediator between God and men, the man " Chriſt Jeſus." This is the very eſſence of Chriſtian worſhip, to worſhip the one true God thro' the one true Chriſt; and to worſhip any other God or any other mediator, is apoſtaſy and rebellion againſt God and againſt Chriſt. It is, as St. Paul ſaith, (Col. II. 19.) " not " holding the head," but depending upon other heads: It is, as St. Peter expreſſeth it, " denying the Lord that bought us," and ſerving other lords: and the denial of ſuch an eſſential part may as properly be called " apoſtaſy," as if we were to renounce the whole Chriſtian faith and worſhip. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Chriſt as Chriſt.

Such is the nature of " apoſtaſy from the faith;" and it is implied that this apoſtaſy ſhould be general, and infect great numbers. For though it be ſaid only " Some ſhall apoſtatize," yet by " ſome" in this place *many* are underſtood. The word " ſome" may uſually denote *few* in Engliſh; but in the learned languages it frequently ſignifies a multitude, and there are abundant inſtances in ſcripture. In St. John's Goſpel it is ſaid (VI. 60.) that " Many of Jeſus his diſciples, when they " had heard this, ſaid, This is an hard ſaying, who can hear it?" and again a little afterwards (ver. 66.) " Many of his diſciples went " back, and walked no more with him:" but Jeſus himſelf ſpeaking of theſe " many" ſaith (ver. 64.) " There are ſome of you that believe " not;" ſo that " ſome" are plainly the ſame as " many." St. Paul ſpeaking of the infidelity and rejection of the Jews ſaith, (Rom. XI. 17.) that " ſome of the branches are broken off:" but thoſe " ſome," it

was evident, were the main body of the nation. The ſame apoſtle informs the Corinthians, (1 Cor. X. 5, 6.) that "With many of the Iſ-"raelites God was not well pleaſed; for they were overthrown in the "wilderneſs:" and their puniſhments were intended for examples to Chriſtians. Wherefore he concludes (ver. 7.) "Neither be ye idola-"ters, as were ſome of them; as it is written, The people ſat down to "eat and drink, and roſe up to play:" where "ſome" are manifeſtly the ſame as "the people." Again (ver. 8.) "Neither let us commit for-"nication, as ſome of them committed, and fell in one day three and "twenty thouſand:" where "ſome" are equivalent to "many thou-"ſands." Again (ver. 9.) "Neither let us tempt Chriſt, as ſome of "them alſo tempted, and were deſtroyed of ſerpents:" where "ſome" are the ſame with "much people;" for we read (Num. XXI. 6.) that "the Lord ſent fiery ſerpents among the people; and they bit the peo-"ple, and much people of Iſrael died." And again (ver. 10.) "Nei-"ther murmur ye, as ſome of them alſo murmured, and were deſtroyed "of the deſtroyer:" where "ſome" are the ſame with "all the con-"gregation" except Joſhua and Caleb; for we read (Num. XIV. 1, 2.) that "All the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the "people wept that night: And all the children of Iſrael murmured "againſt Moſes, and againſt Aaron; and the whole congregation ſaid "unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or "would God we had died in this wilderneſs:" and they had their wiſh, for except Joſhua and Caleb, they all died in the wilderneſs. "Some" therefore may ſignify "many," but "not all;" as the apoſtle ſpeaketh elſewhere, (Heb. III. 16.) "For ſome when they had heard, "did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moſes." The apoſtle might have the ſame meaning in this place; and this apoſtaſy may be general and extenſive, and include "many" but "not all." If only ſome few perſons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was ſcarcely an object worthy of prophecy: nor could that properly be pointed out as a peculiarity of "the latter times," which is common to all times, for in all times there are ſome apoſtates or other. It muſt neceſſarily be a great apoſtaſy; and it is called, as it hath been ſhown, "the apoſtaſy" by way of eminence and diſtinction; but it would hardly have been diſtinguiſhed in this emphatical manner, if only an inconſiderable

conſiderable number were to profeſs and embrace it. Other propheciès likewiſe intimate, that there ſhould be a great and general corruption and apoſtaſy in the Chriſtian church; and the event will alſo confirm us in our opinion. For we have ſeen and ſtill ſee a great part of Chriſtendom guilty of the ſame ſort of apoſtaſy and defection as the Iſraelites were in former times. As the Iſraelites worſhipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for (Exod. XXXII. 5.) they proclaimed "a feaſt "to the Lord," and ſaid (ver. 4. and 1 Kings XII. 28.) "Behold thy "Gods, O Iſrael, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt:" ſo there are Chriſtians who worſhip their creator and redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the ſacramental bread. As the Iſraelites worſhipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Pſalmiſt ſaith (Pſal. CVI. 28.) "ate the ſacrifices of the dead:" ſo there are Chriſtians who worſhip departed ſaints, and inſtitute faſts and feſtivals, and offer up prayers and praiſes unto them. And as this apoſtaſy overſpread the church of Iſrael for many ages, ſo hath it for many ages too overſpread the church of Chriſt. The apoſtaſy therefore is the very ſame in both churches. The apoſtle foreſaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Iſrael's provocation, very properly admoniſhed the Chriſtians to beware of the like infidelity and apoſtaſy, (Heb. III. 12.) "Take heed, "Brethren, leſt there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in de-"parting," εν τω αποστηναι, "in apoſtatizing from the living God."

II. It is more particularly ſhown, wherein this apoſtaſy ſhould conſiſt, in the following words, "giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrins "of devils," or rather "giving heed, to erroneous ſpirits and doctrins "concerning demons." For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apoſtaſy ſhould proceed from the ſuggeſtion of evil ſpirits and inſtigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of diſtinction; that might be ſaid of any wickedneſs in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apoſtaſy ſhould be propagated, and the perſons who ſhould propagate it, are deſcribed afterwards; ſo that this part is to be underſtood rather of things than of perſons, rather of the matter wherein this apoſtaſy ſhould conſiſt, than of the firſt teachers and authors of it. "Spirits" ſeem to be much the ſame in ſenſe as "doctrins," as Mr. Mede and other divines have obſerved the ſame word to be uſed alſo by St. John. (1 John IV. 1.) "Beloved, believe

" not every ſpirit," that is every doctrin, " but try the ſpirits," that is the doctrins, " whether they are of God; becauſe many falſe pro-" phets are gone out into the world." " Spirits" and " doctrins" therefore may be conſidered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and " error" ſometimes ſignifying (3) " idolatry, erroneous doctrins" may comprehend " idolatrous," as well as " falſe" doctrins. But it is ſtill farther added for explanation, that theſe doctrins ſhould be " doc-" trins of devils" or " of demons;" where the genitive caſe is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of theſe doctrins, but paſſively, as if demons were the ſubject of theſe doctrins. Thus " a doctrin " of vanities" (δ. δασκαλια ματαιων Jer. X. 8.) is a doctrin concerning vanities or idols. " The doctrin of the Lord" (διδαχη τȣ Κυρȣ Acts XIII. 12) is the doctrin concerning him: " Then the deputy when he ſaw what " was done, believed, being aſtoniſhed at the doctrin of the Lord. " The doctrins of baptiſms" (διδαχαι βαπτισμων Heb. VI. 2.) " and of " laying on of hands, and of reſurrection of the dead, and of eternal " judgment," are doctrins relating to all theſe particulars. And by the ſame conſtruction, διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων, " doctrins of demons" are doctrins about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons profeſſed by the Gentiles ſhould be revived among Chriſtians. Chriſtians ſhould in proceſs of time degenerate, and reſemble the Gentiles as well as the apoſtate Jews. They ſhould not only " apoſtatize" after the manner of the Jews, but ſhould alſo " worſhip demons" after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the ſovran Gods and mortal men. So ſaith Plato, the moſt

(3) טעותא et טעות i. e. πλανη, Chaldæis et Targumiſtis eſt *idolum:* et טעא πλανασθαι eſt *idola colere* et *ſcortari*. Rom. I. 27. 2 Theſſ. II. 11. 2 Pet. II. 18. Mede p. 626.

(4) Και γαρ παν το δαιμονιον μεταξυ εϛι θεȣ τε και θνητȣ. Omnis enim dæmonum natura inter deum et mortale eſt intermedia. Platonis Sympoſ. p. 202. Tom. 3. Edit. Serrani.

(5) Θεος δε ανθρωπῳ ȣ μιγνυται, αλλα δια τȣτȣ πασα εϛιν ἡ ὁμιλια και ἡ διαλεκτος θεοις προς ανθρωπȣς. Deus autem cum homine non miſcetur, ſed par hanc dæmonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos homineſque conficitur. Ἑρμηνευον και διαπορθμευον θεοις τα παρ' ανθρωπων, και ανθρωποις τα παρα θεων, των μεν τας δεησεις και θυσιας, των δε τας επιταξεις τε και αμοιβας των θυσιων. Interpretis et portitoris quaſi munere fungitur, ut res humanas ad deos, divinas ad homines tranſmittat: horum quidem preces et ſacrificia, illorum vero præcepta et ſacrificiorum remunerationes. Ibid. p. 202, 203.

(6) Mediæ poteſtates, per quas et deſideria noſtra et merita ad deos commeant, inter terricolas cœlicolaſque vectores, hinc precum, inde donorum, qui ultro citroque portant hinc petitiones, inde ſuppetias, ſeu

moſt competent judge and the moſt conſummate writer in theſe ſubjects; (4) 'Every demon is a middle being between God and mortal man.' Theſe demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the Gods and men. So ſaith Plato again, (5) 'God is not approached by man, 'but all the commerce and intercourſe between Gods and men is by the 'mediation of demons. The demons, ſaith he, are interpreters and 'conveyers from men to the Gods, and from the Gods to men, of the 'ſupplications and ſacrifices on the one part, and of the commands and 'rewards of ſacrifices on the other.' Apuleius, a later philoſopher, giveth (6) the like deſcription. 'Demons are middle powers, by whom 'both our deſires and deſerts paſs unto the Gods; they are carriers be-'tween men on earth and the Gods in heaven; hence of prayers, thence 'of gifts; they convey to and fro, hence petitions, thence ſupplies; 'or they are interpreters on both ſides, and bearers of ſalutations; for 'it would not be, ſaith he, for the majeſty of the celeſtial Gods to 'take care of theſe things.' The whole is ſummed up by the ſaid Apuleius (7) in few words, 'All things are done by the will, power, 'and authority of the celeſtial Gods, but by the obedience, ſervice, and 'miniſtery of the demons.' Of theſe demons there were accounted two kinds. One kind of demons were the ſouls of men deified or canonized after death. So Heſiod, one of the moſt ancient heathen writers, if not the moſt ancient, deſcribing that happy race of men, who lived in the firſt and golden age of the world, (8) ſaith that 'after this generation were dead, they were by the will of great Jupiter 'promoted to be demons, keepers of mortal men, obſervers of their 'good and evil works, givers of riches, &c; and this, ſaith he, is 'the

ſeu quidem utrinque interpretes et ſalutigeri.—Neque enim pro majeſtate deûm cœleſtium fuerit, hæc curare. Apuleius de Deo Socratis. p. 674, 677. Edit. Delph.

(7) Cuncta cœleſtium voluntate, numine, et authoritate, ſed dæmonum obſequio, et opera, et miniſterio fieri arbitrandum eſt. Ibid. p. 675.

(8) Αυταρ επει μεν τυτο γενος κατα γαια καλυψε,
Τοι μεν δαιμονες εισι, Διος μεγαλυ δια βυλας,
Εσθλοι, επιχθονιοι, [αλεξικακοι] φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων·
Οι ρα φυλασσυσι τε δικας και σχετλια εργα,
Ηερα εσσαμενοι, παντη φοιτωντες επ' αιαν,
Πλυτοδοται· και τυτο γερας βασιληϊον εσχον.
Verum poſtquam hoc genus terra abſcondit,
Ii quidem divi facti ſunt, Jovis magni conſilio,
Boni, in terris verſantes, cuſtodes mortalium hominum:
Qui quidem obſervant judicia et prava opera,
Caligine amicti, paſſim euntes per terram,
Opum datores: atque hoc munus regale conſecuti ſunt.
Heſiod Op. et Dier. Lib. I. 120.

(9) λεγει

'the royal honor that they enjoy.' Plato concurs with Heſiod, and (9) aſſerts that 'he and many other poets ſpeak excellently, who affirm that 'when good men die, they attain great honor and dignity, and be-'come demons.' The ſame Plato in another place (1) maintains, that 'all thoſe who die valiantly in war are of Heſiod's golden generation, 'and are made demons; and we ought for ever afterwards to ſerve and 'adore their ſepulchres, as the ſepulchres of demons. The ſame alſo 'we decree, whenever any of thoſe, who were judged excellently 'good in life, die either of old age, or in any other manner.' The other kind of demons were ſuch as had never been the ſouls of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies. Thus Apuleius (2) informs us, 'There is another and higher kind of demons, who were always free 'from the incumbrances of the body; and out of this higher order 'Plato ſuppoſeth that guardians were appointed unto men.' Ammonius likewiſe in Plutarch (3) reckons two kinds of demons, 'ſouls ſe-'parated from bodies, or ſuch as had never inhabited bodies at all.' Theſe latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized ſaints: and as we Chriſtians believe that there are good and evil angels, ſo did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. According to Plutarch, (4) 'it was a very ancient opinion, that 'there are certain wicked and malignant demons, who envy good men, 'and endevor to hinder them in the purſuit of virtue, leſt they ſhould 'be partakers at laſt of greater happineſs than they enjoy.' This was undeniably the opinion of all the later philoſophers, and Plutarch affirms it of the very ancient ones.

But

(9) λεγει ων καλως και ετος και αλλοι ποιηται πολλοι, οσοι λεγουσιν, ως επειδαν τις αγαθος ων τελευτηση, μεγαλην μοιραν και τιμην εχει, και γινεται δαιμων. Præclare igitur et hic et alii poetæ, quicunque affirmant eum qui bonus ſit, ubi mortuus fuerit, magnæ cujuſdam ſortis conſequi dignitatem, et δαιμονα eſſe. Platonis Cratylus, p. 398. Tom. 1. Edit. Serrani.

(1) Των δε δη αποθανοντων επι γρατειας, ος αν ευδοκιμησας τελευτηση, αρ' ου πρωτον μεν φησομεν τε χρυσε γενους ειναι; Παντων γε μαλιστα. Αλλ' ου πεισομεθα Ησιοδῳ; επειδαν τινες τε τοιυτε γενους τελευτησωσιν, ως αρα

Οι μεν δαιμονες———

και τον λοιπον δη χρονον, ως δαιμονων, υτω θεραπευσεμεν τε και προσκυνησομεν αυτων τας θηκας. ταυτα δε ταυτη νομιθμεν οταν τις γηρᾳ η τινι αλλῳ τροπῳ τελευτηση των οσοι αν διαφεροντως τε τῳ βιῳ αγαθοι κριθωσι. Eum vero qui re præclarè geſta in bello occubuerit, nonne dicemus ad genus aureum pertinere? Maxime omnium. Nonne Heſiodi ſententiam ſequemur? quod videlicet illi homines, qui ex aureo illo fuerint genere, ubi primùm fato conceſſerint,

Dæmones exiſtunt,——

Reliquum autem tempus eorum ſepulcra veluti dæmonum colemus, et divinis honoribus proſequemur. Eadem quoque ſanciemus atque exhibebimus iis, qui quum ſingularis cujuſdam probitatis dignitate excelluerint, vel ſenio vel alio quopiam modo e vita exceſſerint. Plato de Repub. Lib. 5. p. 468. Tom. 2. Edit. Serrani.

(2) Superius

But here it is objected, that tho' this might be the notion of the Gentiles concerning demons, yet the ſcripture-account of them is very different: for in the ſcriptures, as St. Auſtin (5) obſerves, we never read of good demons; but whereſoever in thoſe writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil ſpirits are meant: and it muſt be confeſſed and allowed, that this is the moſt uſual ſignification of the word; but ſome inſtances may be alleged to the contrary. When St. Paul was at Athens, and preached the goſpel in that city, "certain philoſophers of the Epi-"cureans and of the Stoics encountred him" (Acts XVII. 18.) and charged him with being "a ſetter forth of ſtrange gods" ξενων δαιμονιων "of ſtrange demons, becauſe he preached unto them Jeſus and the "reſurrection." Here "demons" cannot poſſibly ſignify "devils," but muſt neceſſarily refer to Jeſus, who according to Paul's preaching (ver. 31.) was "raiſed from the dead," and appointed to be the lord and judge of the world. At the ſame time the apoſtle retorts the charge upon the Athenians, (ver. 22.) "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in "all things ye are too ſuperſtitious," δεισιδαιμονεστερους, "too much addicted "to the worſhip of demons;" and they worſhipped demons or dead men deified in abundance: but he declared unto them (ver. 24.) "God "who made the world, and all things therein." St. Paul in his firſt Epiſtle thus exhorts the Corinthians (1 Cor. X. 14, 20, 21.) "Flee "from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they "ſacrifice to devils," δαιμονιοις, "to demons, and not to God: and I "would not that ye ſhould have fellowſhip with devils," δαιμονιων, "demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of "devils,"

(2) Superius aliud auguſtiuſque dæmonum genus, qui ſemper a corporis compedibus et nexibus liberi—Ex hac ſublimiori dæmonum copia autumat Plato ſingulis hominibus in vita agenda teſtes et cuſtodes ſingulos additos. Apuleius de Deo Socratis. p. 690.

(3) αἱ διακριθεισαι σωματος η μη μετασχεσαι το παραπαν ψυχαι. animi ſecreti a corporibus, aut omnino quibus nullum eſt cum corporibus commercium. Plut. de Defect. Orac. p. 431. Tom. 2. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(4) των παυ παλαιων—λογον, ὡς τα φαυλα δαιμονια και βασκανα, προσφθονουντα τοις αγαθοις ανδρασιν, και ταις πραξεσιν ενιαμενα, ταρχχας και φοβους επαγει, σειοντα και σφαλλοντα την αξιτην. ὡς μη διαμειναντες απλωτες εν τω καλω και ακεραιοι, βελτιονος εκεινων μοιρας μετα την τελευτην τυχωσιν. ex veteribus opinionibus—mala dæmonia et invida eſſe bonis viris æmulantia, quæ, quo obſtrepant illorum actionibus, commotiones iis et pavores invehant, hiſque concutiant et impellant virtutem, ne erecti et integri in virtute permanentes, potiorem quam ipſi conſequantur a fatis ſortem. Plut. Dion in initio. p. 958. Tom. 1. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(5) —nunquam vero bonos dæmones legimus: ſed ubicunque illarum litterarum hoc nomen poſitum rep eritur, ſive dæmones, ſive dæmonia dicantur, non niſi maligni ſignificantur ſpiritus. Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei. Lib. 6. Cap. 19. Col. 178. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

(6) Strabo.

" devils," δαιμονιων, " of demons; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's " table, and of the table of devils," δαιμονιων, " of demons." The apoſtle is here ſhowing the great inconſiſtency of the Chriſtian worſhip with the idolatrous worſhip performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worſhipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberleſs other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceaſed men and women deified. Corinth in particular (6) was much devoted to the worſhip of Venus; there ſhe had a moſt magnificent temple and ſervice; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apoſtle therefore declares that all ſuch worſhip is utterly inconſiſtent with the true worſhip of Chriſt. For that would be acknowleging him for their only lord, and at the ſame time acknowleging other lords. And (ver. 22.) " do we provoke " the Lord to jealouſy; are we ſtronger than he?" Theſe paſſages, together with the text that we are conſidering, are, I think, all the places in St. Paul's diſcourſes or epiſtles, where the word " demon" occurs: and as he was of all the apoſtles the moſt learned in the philoſophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was ſpeaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reaſon of his adopting the ſame notion of demons. He had plainly alluded to this notion a little before in the ſame Epiſtle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. VIII. 4, 5, 6.) and the paſſage cannot be ſo well underſtood without it. " There is none other God but one. " For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in " earth;" whether *Dii cæleſtes*, *celeſtial Gods*, as they are uſually denominated, or δαιμονες επιχθονιοι, *earthly demons*, as they are named by Heſiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth: " as there be " gods many and lords many;" as the Gentiles acknowlege a plurality of ſuch ſuperior and inferior deities; " But to us *Chriſtians* there is " but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him," εις αυτον, " we to him" are to direct all our ſervices; " and one Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him," δι' αυτου, " we " by *or* through him" alone have acceſs unto the Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each ſort. It is the

(6) Strabo. Lib. 8. et. et Euripides apud Strabonem. p. 378, 379. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 581, 582. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(7) πληρυται γαρ και επι τουτοις το, αποστησονται τινες της υγιους διδασκαλιας, προσεχοντες μυθοις και διδασκαλιαις δαιμονιων. εσονται γαρ, φησι νεκροις λατρευοντες, ως και εν τω Ισραηλ εσεβασθησαι.

the ſame doctrin that he inculcates likewiſe in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, (II. 5.) " For there is one God, and one mediator between God " and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus." As St. Paul here foretels that Chriſtians in the latter times ſhould attend to " doctrins concerning " demons," ſo St. John alſo foretels (Rev. IX. 20.) that notwithſtanding the plagues of the Arabian locuſts and of the Euphratéan horſemen, " yet they ſhould not repent of the works of their hands, that " they ſhould not worſhip devils," δαιμονια, " demons;" where the word is plainly uſed in the ſame ſenſe as by St. Paul: for Chriſtians never actually worſhipped " devils," but they worſhipped " demons," deceaſed men and women and angels, " and idols of gold and ſilver, and " braſs, and ſtone, and of wood, which neither can ſee, nor hear, " nor walk;" and they ſtill continue to worſhip them, notwithſtanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Chriſtian church by the Saracens firſt, and by the Turks afterwards, as we ſhall ſee in the proper place.

There is a paſſage in Epiphanius, which will very much illuſtrate and confirm our explanation of St. Paul. That father, who was very zealous againſt the worſhip of ſaints and images, which was then ſpringing up in the church, loudly complains of ſome Arabian Chriſtians, who made a goddeſs of the bleſſed virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven. He condemns their hereſy as impious and abominable, and (7) declares that ' upon theſe alſo is fulfilled that of ' the apoſtle, " Some ſhall apoſtatize from the ſound doctrin, giving " heed to fables and doctrins of demons; for they ſhall be," ſaith the ' apoſtle, " worſhippers of the dead, as in Iſrael alſo they were wor- " ſhipped," meaning the Baalim and Aſhtaroth who were worſhipped by the children of Iſrael. It is obſervable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apoſtle. He expounds " the faith" by *the ſound doctrin*, " erroneous ſpirits" by *fables*, and " doctrins of de- " mons" by *worſhipping of the dead:* and to ſhow more particularly what he meant, he ſubjoins two examples more of ſuch worſhip; one

νοσεσθησαι. Hoc enim in ipſis impletur; Deficient quidam a ſana doctrina, intendentes fabulis, et doctrinis dæmoniorum: erunt enim, inquit, mortuos colentes, quemadmodum apud Iſraelitas honore ſunt affecti. Epiphan. adverſ. Hær. 78. p. 1055. Tom. I. Edit. Petav.

(8) Beza

of the Sichemites, who had a goddeſs under the title of Jephthah's daughter; and the other of the Egyptians, who worſhipped Thermutis, that daughter of Pharaoh, who was at the charge of educating Moſes. Now whether this latter clauſe, "For they ſhall be worſhip-"pers of the dead, as in Iſrael alſo they were worſhipped," be genuin or not, it may ſerve our purpoſe in ſome meaſure either way. If it was the original text of St. Paul, as (8) Beza and more particularly Mr. Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is eſtabliſhed beyond all poſſible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explication, as (9) Mr. Mede and Dr. Mill ſuppoſe, it ſtill evinces that Epiphanius, and ſome before his time, underſtood the paſſage in the ſame manner that we have explained it. The apoſtle delivers the prophecy as a *plain* and *expreſs* one; and it cannot be denied, that the paſſage is much improved, and the ſenſe is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apoſtle; and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging ſuch a teſtimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers, nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worſhip very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction and confuſion; and it is poſſible that when this worſhip prevailed almoſt univerſally, a text which ſo plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted; as in later times, for the ſame reaſon, we have ſeen (1) in ſome catechiſms and manuals of devotion, the ſecond left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the ſecond century, hath (2) cited this paſſage of St. Paul, juſt as it appears in our preſent copies, which is a conſiderable argument in ſupport of the common reading. But poſſibly the ſame perſons who left the words in queſtion

(8) Beza in locum. Mr. Mann's Critical notes on ſome paſſages of Scripture. p. 92.—103.

(9) Mede's Works. p. 637. Mill. in locum.

(1) Biſhop Stillingfleet in his *Doctrins and Practices of the Church of Rome*, in anſwer to the author of *A Papiſt miſrepreſented and repreſented*, treating of the ſecond commandment, ſays, "The diſpute "about this is not Whether the ſecond command-"ment may be found in any of their books, but by "what authority it comes to be left out in any; as "he confeſſes it is in their ſhort catechiſms and ma-"nuals: but not only in theſe, for I have now be-"fore me the Reformed Office of the Bleſſed Virgin "printed at Salamanca, A. D. 1588. publiſhed by "order of Pius V, where it is ſo left out; and ſo in "the Engliſh Office at Antwerp A. D. 1658. I wiſh "he

ſtion out of St. Paul, might alſo leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and they might have ſtruck them out of Epiphanius too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have ſuffered it without the moſt palpable diſcovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this paſſage in Epiphanius, that if it does not exhibit the genuin reading, yet at leaſt it eſtabliſheth the genuin ſenſe and meaning of the text of St. Paul.

It appears then that "the doctrins of demons," which prevailed ſo long in the Heathen world, ſhould be revived and eſtabliſhed in the Chriſtian church: and is not the worſhip of ſaints and angels now in all reſpects the ſame that the worſhip of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the ſame. The Heathens, as we ſee, looked upon their demons as mediators and interceſſors between God and men: and are not the ſaints and angels regarded in the ſame light by many profeſſed Chriſtians? Some tendency to the worſhipping of angels was obſerved even in the apoſtle's time, inſomuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Coloſſians, (II. 18.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and "worſhipping of angels:" and this admonition, we may ſuppoſe, checked and ſuppreſſed this worſhip for ſome generations. The worſhipping of the dead was not introduced ſo early into the church; it was advanced by ſlower degrees; and what was at firſt nothing more than a pious and decent reſpect to the memory of ſaints and martyrs, degenerated at laſt into an impious and idolatrous adoration. At firſt (3) annual feſtivals were inſtituted to their honor; the next ſtep was praying in the cœmeteries at their ſepulchres; then their bodies were tranſlated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and diſtributed

"he had told us in what public office of their church "it is to be found." Stillingfleet's Works. Vol. 6. p. 572. See alſo Adrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, p. 212 and 300. where the ten commandments are thus ranged and divided; 1. Se Deum unum colant, idolis rejectis. 2. Suum nomen in vanum ne aſſumant. 3. Sabbata ſignificent. 4. Parentes honorent. 5. Non occidant. 6. Non mœchentur. 7. Non furentur. 8. Falsè ne teſtentur. 9. Non concupiſcant proximi uxorem. 10. Non rem ejus quamcunque.

(2) Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 550. Edit. Potter.

(3) See theſe particulars hiſtorically deduced in Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations on Daniel, Chap. 14. p. 203—231.

(4) Καὶ

among the other churches; then they were invocated and adored for performing ſuch miracles, for aſſiſting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God; and not only the churches, but even the fields and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as in the time of Conſtantine, the firſt Chriſtian emperor, we find Euſebius, one of the beſt and moſt learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Heſiod's and Plato's notions before-mentioned concerning demons, and then (4) adding 'Theſe things are befitting upon the 'deceaſe of the favorites of God, whom you may properly call the 'champions of the true religion: Whence it is our cuſtom to aſſemble 'at their ſepulchres, and to make our prayers at them, and to honor 'their bleſſed ſouls.' Here Euſebius compares the ſaints and martyrs with the demons of the Gentiles, and eſteems them worthy of the ſame honor. The famous Antony, who was one of the great founders of monkery, gave it in charge (5) to the monks with his dying breath, 'To take care and adhere to Chriſt in the firſt place, and then to the 'ſaints, that after death they may receive you as friends and acquaint-'ance into the everlaſting tabernacles.' His advice was but too well followed; and the emperor Julian (6) reproacheth the Chriſtians for adding many new dead men to that ancient dead man, Jeſus. All the fathers almoſt of the fourth and fifth centuries contributed too much to the ſupport and propagation of this ſuperſtition: and Theodoret in particular, having cited the ſame paſſages of Heſiod and Plato, (7) reaſons

(4) Και ταυτα δε αρμοζει επι τη των θεοφιλων τελευτη, ὡς τραπεζας της αληθους ευσεβειας εκ αν αμαρτοις ειπων, παραλαμβανεσθαι. ὁθεν και επι τας θηκας αυτων εθος ἡμιν παρειναι, και τας ευχας παρα ταυταις ποιεισθαι, τιμαιτε τας μακαριας αυτων ψυχας. Quæ quidem in hominum Deo cariſſimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos veræ pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum ſepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi votaque nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari conſuevimus. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 13. Cap. 11. p. 663. Edit. Vigeri.

(5) Σπευδασατε δε μαλλον και ὑμεις αει συναπτειν εαυτους, προηγουμενως μεν τω κυριω, επειτα δε τοις αγιοις· ἱνα μετα θανατον ὑμας εις τας αιωνιους σκηνας, ὡς φιλους και γνωριμους, δεξωνται και αυτοι. Id curate ut in primis vos Domino, dehinc Sanctis adjungatis: ut poſt mortem vos in æterna tabernacula, quaſi amicos notoſque ſibi recipiant. Vita Antonii. Cap. 91. p. 863. Athanaſii Oper. Tom. I. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(6) —πολλους επεισαγοντες τω παλαι νεκρω τους προσφατους νεκρους—additis ad priſcum illum mortuum novis mortuis—Julian. apud Cyril. Lib. 10. p. 335. Edit. Spanhemii.

(7) Ει τοινυν και ὁ ποιητης και εσθλους και αλεξικακους και φυλακας θνητων ανθρωπων, τους αριστα βεβιωκοτας, ειτα τελευτησαντας, προσηγορευσεν· εκραινε δε τουδε του λογου των φιλοσοφων ὁ αριστος, και χρηναι εφη και θεραπευειν τουτων και προσκυνειν τας θηκας· τι δητα μεμφεσθε τοις παρ' ἡμων γιγνομενοις, ὡ βελτιστοι; τους γαρ εν ευσεβεια λαμψαντας, και ὑπερ ταυτης την ζωην δεξαμενους, αλεξικακους ἡμεις και σωτηρας ονομαζομεν· ου δαιμονας καλουντες. μη ὁπω λυτησαιμεν. αλλα θεους φιλους και ευνους θεραποντας. Quod ſi poeta, et bonos, et malorum depulſores, et cuſtodes mortalium vocavit eos, qui optime vixerunt, deinde mortui ſunt: ejuſque ſententiam philoſophorum præſtantiſſimus confirmavit, atque horum ſepulcra colenda et adoranda cenſuit; quæ a nobis fiunt, optimi viri, cur damnatis? Nos enim pari modo, eos qui pietate

ſons thus, 'If then the poet hath called good men, after their deceaſe, 'the deliverers and guardians of mortal men; and the beſt of philo-'ſophers hath confirmed the poet's ſaying, and aſſerted that we ought 'to ſerve and adore their ſepulchres; why I beſeech you Sirs (ſpeaking 'to the Greeks) do you blame the things which are done by us? for 'ſuch as were illuſtrious for piety, and for the ſake thereof received 'martyrdom, we alſo name deliverers and phyſicians, not calling them 'demons, (let us not be ſo deſperately mad) but the friends and ſincere 'ſervants of God.' Here Theodoret plainly allows the thing, and only diſapproves the name. Again he (8) ſaith in the ſame exalted ſtrain concerning the martyrs, 'They who are well pray for the con-'tinuance of health, and they who have been long ſick pray for reco-'very; the barren alſo pray for children; and they who are to make 'a long journey deſire them to be their companions and guides in the 'way; not going to them as Gods, but applying to them as to divine 'men, and beſeeching them to become interceſſors for them with God.' Nay he ſaith (9) 'that the martyrs have blotted out of the minds of 'men the memory of thoſe who were called Gods. For our Lord hath 'brought his dead into the place of your Gods, whom he hath utterly 'aboliſhed, and hath given their honor to the martyrs: for inſtead of 'the feaſts of Jupiter and of Bacchus are now celebrated the feſtivals of 'Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and the other martyrs. Wherefore 'ſeeing the advantage of honoring the martyrs, fly, O friends, from the 'error

pietate claruerunt, proque ea cæſi ſunt, malorum depulſores, et medicos nominamus, dæmonas non appellamus, (abſit a nobis hic furor) ſed Dei amicos ſervoſque benevolos. Theod. Serm. 8. De Martyribus. p. 602. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris 1642.

(8) εἰ μεν ὑγιαινοντες, αἰτυσι της ὑγιειας την φυλακην· οἱ δε τινι νοσῳ παλαιοντες, την των παθηματων απαλλαγην· αἰτυσι δε και αὐτοι παιδας—και οἱ μεν εις τινα αποδημιαν ϛελλομενοι λιπαρυσι τυὐς ξυνοδοιπορους γενεσθαι, και της ὁδου ἡγεμονας·—ουκ ὡς θεοις αὐτοις προσιοῦσι, αλλ' ὡς θειους ανθρωπους αὐτιϛολουντες, και γενεσθαι πρεσϐευας ὑπερ ϹΦων παρακαλουντες. Qui integra ſunt valetudine, hanc ſibi conſervari, qui autem morbo quopiam conflictantur, hunc depelli petunt. Petunt et liberos qui his carent—Qui peregrinationem aliquam auſpicantur, ab his petunt, ut viæ ſibi comites ſint, duceſque itineris—non illos adeuntes ut deos, ſed tanquam divinos homines eos orantes, interceſſoreſque ſibi ut eſſe velint poſtulantes. Ibid. p. 605, 606.

(9) και γαρ αὐτων των καλουμενων θεων την μνημην εκ της των ανθρωπων εξηλειψαν διανοιας.——τους γαρ οικειους νεκρους ὁ δεσποτης αὐτεισηξε τοις ὑμετερους θεοις. και τους μενφρουδους απεφηνε, τουὐοις δε τα εκεινων απενειμε γερα. αντι γαρ δη των Πανδιων, και Διονυσιων—Πετρου, και Παυλου, και Θωμα,—και των αλλων μαρτυρων, επιτελευνται δημοθοινιαι.——ὁρωὐες τοινυν της των μαρτυρων τιμης το ωφελιμον, φευγετε, ὠ φιλοι, των δαιμονων τον πλανον, και τυὐοις φωτηρσι και ποδηγοις κεχρημενοι, την προ θεον αγουσαν πορειαν ὁδευσαὐε.——cum eorum quoque qui paſſim dii ferebantur, memoriam e mente hominum aboleverint—ſuos enim mortuos dominus deus noſter in templa pro diis veſtris induxit: ac illos quidem caſſos vanoſque reddidit, his autem honorem illorum attribuit. Pro Pandiis enim ac Dionyſiis—Petri, et Pauli, et Thomæ—aliorumque martyrum ſolemnitates peraguntur.—Cum igitur ex honore martyribus delato quid utilitatis proveniat cernatis, fugite, amici, dæmonum errorem, prævaque illorum face atque ductu, viam capeſſite, quæ ad deum perducit. Ibid. p. 606, 607.

(1) The

'error of the demons; and uſing the martyrs as lights and guides, 'purſue the way which leadeth directly to God.' Here are "the "doctrins of demons" evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the ſaints are ſubſtituted for the demons, the Divi or deified men of the Chriſtians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens.

The promoters of this worſhip were ſenſible that it was the ſame, and that the one ſucceeded to the other; and as the worſhip is the ſame, ſo likewiſe is it performed with the ſame ceremonies, whether theſe ceremonies were derived from the ſame ſource of ſuperſtition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The (1) burning of incenſe or perfumes on ſeveral altars at one and the ſame time; the ſprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of ſalt and common water, at going into and coming out of places of public worſhip; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax-candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and ſtatues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich preſents as atteſtations of ſo many miraculous cures and deliverances from diſeaſes and dangers; the canonization or deification of deceaſed worthies; the aſſigning of diſtinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and ſaints; the worſhipping and adoring of the dead in their ſepulchres, ſhrines, and relics; the conſecrating and bowing down to images; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols; the ſetting up of little oratories, altars and ſtatues, in the ſtreets and highways, and on the tops of mountains; the carrying of images and relics in pompous proceſſions with numerous lights, and with muſic and ſinging; flagellations at ſolemn ſeaſons, under the notion of penance; the making a ſanctuary of temples and churches; a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of prieſts; the ſhaving of prieſts, or the tonſure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads; the impoſing of celibacy and vows of chaſtity on the religious of both ſexes; all theſe and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popiſh ſuperſtition. Nay the very ſame temples, the very ſame altars, the very ſame images, which once were conſecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now reconſecrated

(1) The reader may ſee this conformity between Popery and Paganiſm proved at large by Dr. Henry More in his Second Part of the Myſtery of Iniquity, B. I. Chap. 17. by Dr. Middleton in his Letter from Rome,

ſecrated to the virgin Mary and the other ſaints. The very ſame titles and inſcriptions are aſcribed to both; the very ſame prodigies and miracles are related of theſe as of thoſe. In ſhort the whole almoſt of Paganiſm is converted and applied to Popery; the one is manifeſtly formed upon the ſame plan and principles as the other; ſo that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worſhip of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Chriſtian Rome.

III. Such an apoſtaſy as this of reviving "the doctrins of demons" and worſhipping the dead, was not likely to ſucceed and take place immediately; it ſhould prevail and proſper "in the latter times." The phraſe of "the latter times *or* days, *or* the laſt times *or* days", as it hath been obſerved upon (2) a former occaſion, ſignifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Chriſtianity. So we find it uſed by ſome of the ancient prophets, as for example Iſaiah, Micah, and Joel. Iſaiah ſaith (II. 2.) "And it ſhall come to paſs in "the laſt days, that the mountain of the Lord's houſe ſhall be eſta-"bliſhed in the top of the mountains, and ſhall be exalted above the "hills; and all nations ſhall flow unto it." Micah to the ſame purpoſe, and almoſt in the ſame words, (IV. 1.) "But in the laſt days it "ſhall come to paſs, that the mountain of the houſe of the Lord ſhall "be eſtabliſhed in the top of the mountains, and it ſhall be exalted "above the hills, and people ſhall flow unto it." And Joel, as he is quoted by St. Peter, (Acts II. 16, 17.) "But this is that which was "ſpoken by the prophet Joel; And it ſhall come to paſs in the laſt "days (ſaith God) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all fleſh." The times of Chriſtianity may properly be called "the latter times *or* days, "*or* the laſt times *or* days," becauſe it is the laſt of all God's revelations to mankind. Daniel alſo having meaſured all future time by the ſucceſſion of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be ſet up during the laſt of the four kingdoms, the phraſe of "the latter times *or* days, *or of* the laſt times *or* "days," may ſtill more properly ſignify the times of the Chriſtian diſpenſation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews,

Rome, by Mr. Seward in his Diſſertation on the Conformity between Popery and Paganiſm, and other learned and ingenious auth.

(2) In Diſſertation IV.

(3) In

brews, (Heb. I. 1, 2.) " God, who, at ſundry times, and in divers " manners, ſpake in time paſt unto the fathers by the prophets, Hath " in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son." Thus alſo St. Peter, (1 Pet. I. 20.) Chriſt " verily was fore-ordained before the foundation " of the world, but was manifeſt in theſe laſt times for you."

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the laſt times taken ſingly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may ſay after Mr. Mede) of the laſt times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichriſt, (Dan. VII.) who ſhould ariſe during the latter part of the laſt of the four kingdoms, and ſhould be deſtroyed together with it, after having continued. " a time, and times, and half " a time." What theſe times ſignify, and how they are to be computed, hath been ſhown in a (3) former diſſertation: and it is in reference to theſe times eſpecially, that many things under the goſpel-diſpenſation are predicted to fall out " in the latter times *or* days, *or in* the laſt " times *or* days." So St. Peter ſpeaketh (2 Pet. III. 3.) " There ſhall " come in the laſt days ſcoffers walking after their own luſts." So too St. Jude, (ver. 17, 18.) " Beloved, remember ye the words which were " ſpoken before of the apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; How that " they told you, there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, who ſhould " walk after their own ungodly luſts." So likewiſe St. Paul, (2 Tim. III. 1.) " This know alſo that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come." Theſe alſo are " the latter times" ſpoken of in the text. In theſe times the worſhip of the dead ſhould principally prevail; and that it hath ſo prevailed, all mankind can teſtify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorized and eſtabliſhed it by law. The popiſh worſhip is more the worſhip of demons than of God or Chriſt.

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the ſolemn and emphatic manner, in which it is delivered, " The Spirit ſpeaketh " expreſly." Every one will readily apprehend, that by " the Spirit" is meant the holy Spirit of God, which inſpired the prophets and apoſtles. So " the Spirit" (Acts VIII. 29.) " ſaid unto Philip, Go " near, and join thyſelf to this chariot." So " the Spirit" (Acts X. 19.) " ſaid unto Peter, Behold three men ſeek thee." So " the Spirit" (Rev.

(3) In Diſſertation XIV.

(4) Πάλιν præſcriptè ſive præcisè, non obſcurè et involutè, quemadmodum

(Rev. XIV. 13.) " ſaith Bleſſed are the dead who die in the Lord, " that they may reſt from their labors." But theſe things the Spirit only " ſaid;" it is not affirmed, that he ſaid them " expreſly." The Spirit's " ſpeaking expreſly," as (4) Eraſmus and others expound it, is his ſpeaking preciſely and certainly, not obſcurely and involvedly, as he is wont to ſpeak in the prophets: and Whitby argues farther, that in thoſe times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and ſpake ſtill in the public aſſemblies, it might reaſonably be ſaid, " The ſpirit ſpeaketh expreſly," what they taught expreſly in the church. St. Paul had indeed before predicted this *apoſtaſy* both in diſcourſe and in a letter to the Theſſalonians, and he is by ſome ſuppoſed to refer to that epiſtle in this place. But tho' the predictions are alike, yet they are not *expreſly* the ſame; the general ſubject is the ſame in both, but the particular circumſtances are different, ſo that the one cannot be ſaid to be copied from the other. There the apoſtaſy is predicted, here it is ſpecified wherein it is to conſiſt. I would therefore prefer Mr. Mede's interpretation, that " the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly" what he ſpeaketh in expreſs words in ſome place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath ſpoken the ſame things in expreſs words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel hath foretold in expreſs words the worſhip of new demons or demi gods: (Dan. XI. 38.) " And with " God, or inſtead of God Mahuzzim in his eſtate ſhall he honor; " even with God, or inſtead of God, thoſe whom his fathers knew not " ſhall he honor with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and " deſireable things." The *Mahuzzim* of Daniel are the ſame as the *Demons* of St. Paul, Gods-protectors or Saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel alſo hath foretold in expreſs words, that this worſhip ſhould be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: (ver. 37.) " Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the " deſire of women;" that is he ſhall neglect and diſcourage " the de- " ſire of wives," and all conjugal affection. Daniel likewiſe hath intimated that this worſhip ſhould take place " in the latter times;" for he hath deſcribed it in the latter part of his prophecy, and theſe times he hath expreſly named " a time and times and half a time." If the

modum loqui ſolet in prophetis. Eraſm. in locum. Whitby ibid.

(5) *Per*

reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

V. Having shown wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists, namely in reviving the doctrins concerning demons and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot "iron," or rather "Through the hypocrisy of liers, having their con- "science seared with a hot iron." For the preposition εν *in* often signifies as well *by* or *through:* as in St. Mark's Gospel, (IX. 29.) "This "kind can come forth by nothing but" εν προσευχη και νηστεια "by prayer "and fasting:" and again in the Acts of the Apostles, (XVII. 31.) "God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in "righteousness" εν ανδρι "by that man whom he hath ordained:" and again in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (XII. 21.) "Be not over- "come of evil, but overcome evil εν αγαθω "by or with good:" and again in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, (I. 9.) "That he may be able" εν διδασκαλια υγιαινουση "by sound doctrin both to exhort and to convince the "gainsayers:" and so likewise in the text, εν υποκρισει "by or through "hypocrisy." "Liers" too or "speaking lies" ψευδολογων cannot possibly be joined in construction with τινες "some" and προσεχοντες "giving heed," because they are in the nominative case, and this is in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in construction with δαιμονιων "demons or "devils;" for how can "demons or devils" be said to "speak lies in "hypocrisy," and to "have their conscience seared with a hot iron?" Besides if δαιμονιων "demons" be taken for *devils*, and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanius, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists.

(5) *Per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum*] *Hominum* addidi, ne *falsiloquorum* et sequentia referrentur ad *dæmonia*. Castal. in locum.

(6) τον

conſiſts. The " forbidding to marry and commanding to abſtain from " meats" are circumſtances only and appendages of the great apoſtaſy, and not the great apoſtaſy itſelf, which is always repreſented in ſcripture as " ſpiritual fornication or idolatry" of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apoſtle ſhould ſpecify the circumſtantial errors, and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apoſtaſy that he is deſcribing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Caſtalio therefore very properly (5) tranſlates εν ὑποκρισει ψευδολογων " through the diſſimulation of men ſpeaking " lies:" I have added " men," ſays he, leſt " ſpeaking lies" and what follows ſhould be referred to " demons" or devils. It is plain then that the great apoſtaſy of the latter times was to prevail " through the " hypocriſy of liers having their conſcience ſeared with a hot iron:" and hath not the great idolatry of Chriſtians, and the worſhip of the dead particularly, been diffuſed and advanced in the world by ſuch inſtruments and agents, who have (Rom. I. 25.) " changed the truth " of God into a lie, and worſhipped and ſerved the creature more " than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever?" It is impoſſible to relate or enumerate all the various falſehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpoſe; the fabulous books forged under the names of apoſtles, ſaints, and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, ſufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles aſcribed to their ſepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, viſions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous ſaints, who never exiſted but in the imagination of their worſhippers: And all theſe ſtories the monks, the prieſts, the biſhops of the church, have impoſed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to ſay, whether with greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence or hypocriſy and pretended ſanctity, a more hardened face or a more hardened conſcience. The hiſtory of the church, ſaith Paſcal, *is the hiſtory of truth*; but as written by bigotted papiſts, it is rather the *hiſtory of lies*. So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that " the coming of the " man of ſin" ſhould be " after the working of Satan with all power, " and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of un- " righteouſneſs."

VI. A farther character of theſe men is given in the following words, "Forbidding to marry." The ſame hypocritical liers, who ſhould promote the worſhip of demons, ſhould alſo prohibit lawful marriage. Saturninus or Saturnilus, who floriſhed in the ſecond century, was, as Theodoret (6) affirms, the firſt Chriſtian, who declared matrimony to be the doctrin of the devil, and exhorted men to abſtain from animal food. But according (7) to Irenæus and Euſebius, Tatian, who had been a diſciple of Juſtin Martyr, was the firſt author of this hereſy; at leaſt he concurred in opinion with Saturninus and Marcion; and their followers were called *the Continents* from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnoſtics likewiſe, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus (8) inform us, aſſerted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both againſt the creature and creator, teaching that men ought not to bring into the world other unhappy perſons, nor ſupply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the ſame doctrins, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrins were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Chriſt 305, was I think the firſt, that by public authority (9) forbad the clergy to marry, and commanded even thoſe who were married to abſtain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocæſarea, in the year 314, only (1) forbad unmarried preſbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the firſt general council of Nice, in the year 325, a motion was (2) made to reſtrain the clergy from all conjugal ſociety with their wives: but it was ſtrongly oppoſed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian biſhop, who yet himſelf was never married; and to him the whole council agreed, and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks ſoon after overſpread the eaſtern church, and the weſtern too: and as the

(6) τον δε γαμον ὑπ' αὐτου πρωτου τε διαβολε διδασκαλιαν ονομασε κωλυθειει δε και εμψυχων απεχεσθαι. Nuptias hic primus omnium diaboli doctrinam appellavit. Jubet autem et ab animatis abſtinere. Theod. Hæret. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 194. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

(7) Iren. apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 29.

(8) Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt eſſe. Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. 22. p. 97. Edit. Grabe. Τοις δε ευφημως δι' εγκρατειας ασεβουσιν, εις τε την κτισιν και τον δημιουργον, τον παντοκρατορα μονον Θεον, και διδασκουσι μη δειν παραδεχεσθαι γαμον και παιδοποιϊαν, μηδε αντεισαγειν τω κοσμω δυσυχησοντας ἑτερους, μηδε επιχορηγειν τω θανατω τροφην.—Adverſus autem alterum genus hæreticorum, qui ſpecioſe per continentiam impie ſe gerunt, tum in creaturam, tum in ſanctum opificem, qui eſt ſolus Deus omnipotens; et dicunt

the monks were the firſt, who brought ſingle life into repute; ſo they were the firſt alſo, who revived and promoted the worſhip of demons. It is a thing univerſally known, that one of the primary and moſt eſſential laws and conſtitutions of all monks, whether ſolitary or aſſociated, whether living in deſerts or in convents, is the profeſſion of ſingle life, to abſtain from marriage themſelves, and to diſcourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal ſhare in promoting and propagating the worſhip of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worſe reaſons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only ſome of the moſt celebrated fathers; read the (3) orations of Baſil on the martyr Mamas, and on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Baſil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praiſes of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanaſius, and on Baſil, and on Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyſſen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius biſhop of Antioch; read the ſixty ſixth, and other homilies of Chryſoſtom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations: and you will be greatly aſtoniſhed to find, how full they are of this ſort of ſuperſtition, what powers and miracles are aſcribed to the ſaints, what prayers and praiſes are offered up to them. All theſe were monks, and moſt of them biſhops too, in the fourth century: and the ſuperſtitious worſhip which theſe monks begun, the ſucceeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worſhipped as much as the dead themſelves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worſhip of the dead in former times: and who are the great patrons and advocates of the ſame worſhip now? Are not, their legitimate ſucceſſors and deſcendents, the monks and prieſts and biſhops of the church of Rome? and do not they alſo profeſs and recommend ſingle life, as well as the worſhip

dicunt non eſſe admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, nec in mundum eſſe inducendos alios infelices futuros, nec ſuppeditandum morti nutrimentum—Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. p. 531. Edit. Potter.

(9) Conc. Elib. C. 33. S. Baſnagii Annales Vol. 2. p. 522, et 600.

(1) Conc. Neoc. Can 1. Preſbyter ſi uxorem duxerit, ab ordine ſuo removeatur. S. Baſnag. ibid. p. 522, et 657.

(2) Socratis Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Sozomen. Lib. 1. Cap. 23. S. Baſnag. ibid. p. 707. Bingham's Antiquities, B. 4. Ch. 5. Sect. 7.

(3) The reader may ſee ſome extracts out of all theſe in Sir Iſaac Newton's obſervations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

(4) Siric.

worſhip of ſaints and angels? As long ago as the year 386, pope (4) Siricius held a council of eighty biſhops of Rome, and forbad the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope (5) Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century: and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by (6) Gregory the ſeventh in the eleventh century; and this hath been the univerſal law and practice of the church ever ſince. Thus hath the worſhip of demons and the prohibition of marriage conſtantly gone hand in hand together: and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other; ſo it is no leſs remarkable, that they who diſclaim the one, diſclaim alſo the other, and aſſert the liberty which nature, or (to ſpeak more properly) the author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

> Our Maker bids increaſe: Who bids abſtain
> But our deſtroyer, foe to God and man?
>
> MILTON.

VII. The laſt note and character of theſe men is "commanding to "abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with "thankſgiving of them which believe and know the truth:" where in the original the word "commanding" is not expreſſed but underſtood, with an elleipſis that commentators (7) have obſerved to be ſometimes uſed by the beſt claſſic authors. The ſame lying hypocrites, who ſhould promote the worſhip of demons, ſhould not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewiſe impoſe unneceſſary abſtinence from meats: and theſe two, as indeed it is fit they ſhould, uſually go together, as conſtituent parts of the ſame hypocriſy. As we learn from (8) Irenæus, the ancient heretics called Continents, who taught that matrimony was not to be contracted, reprobating the primitive work of God, and tacitly accuſing him who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abſtinence alſo from animal food, ſhowing themſelves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and conſtitution of all monks to abſtain from meats as from marriage.

(4) Siric. Decr. C. 7. S. Baſnage ibid. p. 522.
(5) Innocent Decr. C. 12. S. Baſnage ibid. et Vol. 3. p. 106.
(6) S. Baſnage, Vol. 2. p. 523.
(7) Eſt hic ελλειψις contrarii. Deeſt enim κελευοντων, quod addit hunc locum citans Epiphanius, aut ποιουντων quod addit Syrus. Similis ferme ελλειψις 1 Cor. XIV. 34. et hic ſupra. II. 12. Sic Phædrus, *Non veto dimitti, verum cruciari fame*, ſupple *jubeo*. Grot. in locum.

(8) Ο

riage. Some never eat any fleſh, others only of certain kinds and on certain days. Frequent faſts are the rule, the boaſt of their order; and their carnal humility is their ſpiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; ſo live, with leſs ſtrictneſs perhaps but with greater oſtentation, the monks and friers of the church of Rome: and theſe have been the principal propagators and defenders of the worſhip of the dead, both in former and in later times. The worſhip of the dead is indeed ſo monſtrouſly abſurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any poſſibility of its ever ſucceeding and prevailing in the world, but by hypocriſy and lies: but that theſe particular ſorts of hypocriſy, celibacy under pretence of chaſtity, and abſtinence under pretence of devotion, ſhould be employed for this purpoſe, the Spirit of God alone could foreſee and foretel. There is no neceſſary connexion between the worſhip of the dead, and forbidding to marry and commanding to abſtain from meats: and yet it is certain, that the great advocates of this worſhip have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their perſons, and the readier reception to their doctrins. But this idle, popiſh, monkiſh abſtinence is as unworthy of a Chriſtian, as it is unnatural to a man. It is perverting the purpoſe of nature, and "commanding to abſtain from meats, which God "hath created to be received with thankſgiving by the believers and "them who know the truth." The apoſtle therefore approves and ſanctifies the religious cuſtom of bleſſing God at our meals, as our Saviour, when he was to diſtribute the loaves and the fiſhes, (Mat. XIV. 19. XV. 36.) "looked up to heaven, and bleſſed, and brake:" And what then can be ſaid of thoſe, who have their tables ſpread with the moſt plentiful gifts of God, and yet conſtantly ſit down and riſe up again without ſuffering ſo much as one thought of the giver to intrude upon them? It is but a thought, it is but a glimpſe of devotion; and can they, who refuſe even that, be reputed either to "believe, or to "know the truth?" Man is free to partake of all the good creatures of God,

(8) οι καλουμενοι εγκρατεις αγαμιαν εκηρυξαν αθετουντες την αρχαιαν πλασιν του Θεου, και ηρεμα κατηγορουντες του αρρεν και θηλυ εις γενεσιν ανθρωπων πεποιηκοτος· και των λεγομενων παρ' αυτοις εμψυχων αποχην εισηγησαντο, αχαριστουντες τω παντα πεποιηκοτι Θεω. Qui vocantur continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum eſſe matrimonium: reprobantes ſcilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, et tacite accuſantes Deum qui maſculum et fæminam condidit ad propagationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abſtinentiam ab eſu eorum quæ animata appellant, ingratos ſe exhibentes erga eum qui univerſa creavit Deum. Iren. apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 29.

God, but thankſgiving is the neceſſary condition. " For," as the apoſtle ſubjoins in the next verſes, (ver. 4, and 5.) " every creature of " God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be received with thankſ- " giving: For it is ſanctified by the word of God and prayer." The apoſtle proceeds to ſay, that it is the duty of the miniſters of the goſpel to preſs and inculcate theſe things: (ver. 6.) " If thou put the brethren " in remembrance of theſe things, thou ſhalt be a good miniſter of " Jeſus Chriſt, nouriſhed up in the words of faith, and of good doc- " trin, whereunto thou haſt attained." All that is preached up of ſuch abſtinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the ſaints, are no better than " profane and old wives fables:" Godlineſs is the only thing, that will truly avail us here and hereafter. (ver. 7 and 8.) " But " refuſe profane and old wives fables, and exerciſe thyſelf rather unto " godlineſs: For bodily exerciſe profiteth little; but godlineſs is pro- " fitable unto all things, having promiſe of the life that now is, and " of that which is to come."

THE END OF PART II.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the world.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART III.

TO HIS GRACE
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF
YORK:
(DR. GILBERT.)

MY LORD,

THE very favorable opinion that your GRACE was pleaſed to expreſs of the firſt part of this work, encourages me to ſet forth this laſt under your patronage and protection. This laſt is the moſt difficult, but yet it has been to me the moſt entertaining part of all. How it may approve itſelf to your GRACE and others, I cannot pretend to ſay: but having been peruſed by the ſame three eminently learned perſons as the former volumes, it may be preſumed on that account to be leſs unfit for me to offer, and for Your GRACE to receive. At the ſame time it affords me an additional pleaſure in

giving me an opportunity of acknowleging publicly my obligations to your GRACE for favors great in themſelves, but made much greater by your handſome manner of conferring them, unſollicited, unaſked, unexpected. I will not ſay undeſerved, becauſe that would be calling Your GRACE's judgment in queſtion; but I will endevor to deſerve them: and indeed I ſhould think any preferment ill beſtowed upon me, that did not incite and animate me more to proſecute my ſtudies, and thereby to prove myſelf more worthy of Your GRACE's favor and kindneſs to,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's *ever obliged*

and dutiful humble ſervant,

Nov. 3, 1758.

THOMAS NEWTON.

XXIV.

AN ANALYSIS of the

REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is very uſeful, as well as very curious and entertaining, to trace the riſe and progreſs of religions and governments; and in taking a ſurvey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will ſtrike us more with wonder and aſtoniſhment than that of Rome, how ſuch a myſtery of iniquity could ſucceed at firſt and proſper ſo long, and under the name of Chriſt introduce Antichriſt. Other hereſies and ſchiſms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily expoſed and ſuppreſſed. Arianiſm once ſucceeded almoſt univerſally; for a while it grew and floriſhed mightily, but in proceſs of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other ſects, ſtole into ſecret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Chriſtian church, and uſurped the chief ſeat of the weſtern world: have not only engaged in their cauſe private perſons, and "led captive ſilly women", but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themſelves, and the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind ſlaves and vaſſals of the holy ſee. Rome Chriſtian hath carried her conqueſts even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romaniſts themſelves make univerſality and perpetuity the ſpecial marks

marks and characters of their church; and no people more induſtrious than they in "compaſſing ſea and land to make proſelytes."

All ſincere proteſtants cannot but be greatly grieved at the ſucceſs and prevalence of this religion, and the papiſts as much boaſt and glory in it, and for this reaſon proudly denominate theirs *the catholic* religion. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and baniſh all ſcruples on the other; if we conſider that this is nothing more than what was ſignified beforehand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there ſhould be ſuch a power, as that of the Pope of Rome, exerciſed in the Chriſtian church, and that it ſhould prevail for a long ſeaſon, but at laſt ſhould have a fall. Several clear and expreſs prophecies to this purpoſe have been produced out of Daniel and St. Paul in the courſe of theſe diſſertations: but others clearer ſtill, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalyps or Revelation of St. John, who was the greateſt as he was the laſt prophet of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the moſt memorable events and revolutions in the church, from the apoſtles days to the conſummation of the myſtery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalyps or Revelation it is uſually objected, that it is ſo wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is ſo wild and viſionary, is ſo dark and obſcure, that any thing or nothing, at leaſt nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for ſaying (1) that Calvin was wiſe, becauſe he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated (2) wit and divine of our own church hath not ſcrupled to aſſert, that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him ſo. Whitby, though an uſeful commentator on the other books of the New Teſtament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. "I confeſs I do it not (3) "(ſays he,) for want of wiſdom; that is becauſe I neither have ſuffi- "cient reading nor judgment, to diſcern the intendment of the pro- "phecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleaſed to ſay, that Sir

(1) Calvinus ſapit, quod in Apocalypſin non ſcripſit. Vide Scaligerana ſecunda. p. 41. But Scaliger was not very conſiſtent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Biſhop of Rocheſter remarks, he ſays in another place, Hoc poſſum gloriari me nihil ignorare eorum quæ in Apocalypſi, Canonico vere libro, prophetice ſcribuntur, præter illud caput in quo *væ* ſepties repetitur: ignoro enim idne tempus præterierit, an futurum ſit. Scaligeran. 1ma. p. 13.

(2) Dr. South. See Vol. 2. Serm. II. p. 422. 6th Edit.

(3) See Whitby's Pref. to his Treatiſe of the Millennium.

(4) Burnet's

Sir Iſaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to conſole mankind for the great ſuperiority that he had over them in other reſpects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very ſuperficial writer, and often miſtaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more miſtaken, than in affirming that Sir Iſaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the ſame manner with all thoſe who went before him; a moſt evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he muſt have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the moſt learned men have miſcarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age; and probably it will never all be clearly underſtood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Biſhop Burnet (4) relates to this purpoſe of his friend the moſt learned Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter. He ſays that that excellent perſon was employed above twenty years in ſtudying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactneſs, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the Emperor in the year 1698 long before it was made, and that after this he ſaid the time of the Turks hurting the papal Chriſtians was at an end: and he was ſo poſitive in this, that he conſented that all his ſcheme ſhould be laid aſide, if (5) ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war ſince that time, and probably may engage again, ſo that by his own conſent all his ſcheme is to be laid aſide: And if ſo great a maſter of learning, ſo nice a critic in chronology and hiſtory, one who perhaps underſtood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was ſo groſsly miſtaken in the moſt poſitive of his calculations, it may ſerve at leaſt as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with theſe matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and ſhelves about which they ſee ſo many ſhipwracks.

Not

(4) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times. Vol. 2. p. 204.

(5) Upon reflection I think it not impoſſible that Biſhop Burnet might miſtake, and ſo might miſrepreſent Biſhop Lloyd's meaning. If he ſaid indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Chriſtians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath ſhown that he was in the wrong. If he ſaid only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Chriſtians, would no more ſubdue any Chriſtian ſtate or potentate, he was probably in the right, the prophet ſeemeth to intimate the ſame thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

(6) —Magna

Not that this book is therefore to be deſpiſed or neglected. They who cenſure and diſſuade the ſtudy of it, do it for the moſt part becauſe they have not ſtudied it themſelves, and imagin the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is ſtill " the ſure word of pro-" phecy;" and men of learning and leiſure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in ſtudying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord (6) Bacon adviſeth, ' with great wiſdom, ' ſobriety, and reverence.' Lord Bacon adviſeth it with regard to all the prophecies, but ſuch caution and reverence are more eſpecially due to this of St. John. " The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir " Iſaac Newton (7) obſerves, to foretel times and things by this pro-" phecy, as if God deſigned to make them prophets. By this raſhneſs " they have not only expoſed themſelves, but brought the prophecy " alſo into contempt. The deſign of God was much otherwiſe. He " gave this and the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, not to gratify " men's curioſities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that af-" ter they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and " his own providence, not the interpreters, be then manifeſted thereby " to the world." If therefore we would confine ourſelves to the rules of juſt criticiſm, and not indulge lawleſs and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with ſober and genuin interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor preſume to be wiſe above what is written; we ſhould more conſider thoſe paſſages which have already been accompliſhed, than frame conjectures about thoſe which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have ſome clue to guide us thro' the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute reſemblance, yet there are ſome ſtrong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of ſtriking every one, who will but impartially and duly examin them.

We ſhould be wanting to the ſubject, and leave our work unfiniſhed, if we ſhould omit ſo material a part of prophecy. And yet ſuch a diſquiſition is not to be entered upon haſtily, but after a diligent peruſal of the beſt authors, both foreign and domeſtic; and it will be happy, if

(6) —Magna cum ſapientia, ſobrietate, et reverentia—See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

(7) Sir

if out of them all there can be formed one entire ſyſtem, complete and conſiſtent in all its parts. As Sir Iſaac Newton (8) ſays, " Amongſt " the interpreters of the laſt age there is ſcarce one of note who hath " not made ſome diſcovery worth knowing." But our greateſt obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr. Mede, Vitringa, and Daubuz. We ſhall find reaſon generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, ſo we ſhall differ ſometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What ſatisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we ſhall at leaſt have the ſatisfaction ourſelves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of ſtudies to reflect, that two of the moſt learned men of their times, as well as two of the beſt interpreters of this book, Mr. Mede and Mr. Daubuz, the one died a fellow of a college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkſhire. Mr. Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was ſo modeſt, that he wiſhed for nothing more than a donative or ſinecure to be added to his fellowſhip; but even this he could not obtain.

> Alas! what boots it with inceſſant care
> To tend the homely ſlighted ſhepherd's trade,
> And ſtrictly meditate the thankleſs Muſe?
> Were it not better done as others uſe, &c.
>
> MILTON'S LYCIDAS.

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, " Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this pro- " phecy, and keep thoſe things which are written therein."

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations upon the Apocalyps. Chap. 1. p. 251.
(8) Sir Iſaac Newton, ibid. p. 253.

(9) See

CHAP. I.

1 THE Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, which God gave unto him, to ſhow unto his ſervants things which muſt ſhortly come to paſs; and he ſent and ſignified it by his angel unto his ſervant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and of all things that he ſaw.

3 Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

The book opens (ver. 1, 2, 3.) with the title or inſcription of the book itſelf; the ſcope and deſign of it, to foretel things which ſhould ſhortly begin to be fulfilled, and ſucceed in their due ſeaſon and order, till all were accompliſhed; and the bleſſing pronounced on him who ſhall read and explain it, and on them who ſhall hear and attend to it. The diſtinction is remarkable of "him that readeth," and of "them "that hear;" for books being then in manuſcript were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publiſh a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by tranſcribing copies. It was too the cuſtom of that age to read all the apoſtolical writings in the congregations of the faithful; but now only ſome few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain feſtivals.

4 John to the ſeven churches which are in Aſia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the ſeven ſpirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jeſus Chriſt, *who is* the faithful witneſs, *and* the firſt-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own blood,

6 And

6 And hath made us kings and prieſts unto God and his Father; to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye ſhall ſee him, and they *alſo* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth ſhall wail becauſe of him: even ſo, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, ſaith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apoſtle dedicates his book (ver. 4, 5, 6.) to the ſeven churches of the Lydian or proconſular Aſia, wiſhing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver; and from the ſeven ſpirits, the repreſentatives and miniſters of the Holy Ghoſt, as the inſtruments; and from Jeſus Chriſt as the mediator, who is mentioned laſt, becauſe the ſubſequent diſcourſe more immediately relates to him. To the dedication he ſubjoins a ſhort and ſolemn preface (ver. 7, 8.) to ſhow the great authority of the divine perſon, who had commiſſioned him to write the Revelation.

9 I John, who alſo am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jeſus Chriſt, was in the ile that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

10 I was in the ſpirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the firſt and the laſt: and, What thou ſeeſt, write in a book, and ſend *it* unto the ſeven churches which are in Aſia; unto Epheſus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to ſee the voice that ſpake with me, and being turned, I ſaw ſeven golden candleſticks;

13 And in the midſt of the ſeven candleſticks, *one* like unto the Son of man, cloathed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as ſnow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine braſs, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the ſound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand ſeven ſtars: and out of his mouth went a ſharp two-edged ſword: and his countenance *was* as the ſun ſhineth in his ſtrength.

17 And when I ſaw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, ſaying unto me, Fear not; I am the firſt and the laſt:

18 *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19 Write the things which thou haſt ſeen, and the things which are, and the things which ſhall be hereafter.

20 The myſtery of the ſeven ſtars which thou ſaweſt in my right hand, and the ſeven golden candleſticks. The ſeven ſtars are the angels of the ſeven churches: and the ſeven candleſticks which thou ſaweſt, are the ſeven churches.

He then (ver. 9—20.) mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and deſcribes the manner and circumſtances of the firſt viſion. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos a deſolate iland in the Archipelago, whither he was baniſhed for the confeſſion of the goſpel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was baniſhed into this iland; but we may ſuppoſe it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian. It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalyps was written in Domitian's reign; and this opinion is founded upon the (9) teſtimony of Irenæus, who was the diſciple of Polycarp, who had been the diſciple of St. John. This authority is great, and is made ſtill greater, as it is confirmed by (1) Euſebius in his Chronicle and in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. But Euſebius a little afterwards in the (2) ſame hiſtory recites

(9) Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

(1) Euſebii Chron. Lib. 1. Edit. Scalig. p. 80. Gr. p. 44. Lat. Vide etiam p. 164. Libri poſterioris, et Chron. Can. p. 208. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.

(2) Euſeb. Hiſt. ibid. Cap. 23.

(3) Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Galat. Cap. 6. Tom. 4. Part.

recites a memorable ſtory out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St. John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain biſhop; that the biſhop received him into his houſe, educated, inſtructed, and at length baptized him; that the biſhop afterwards remitting of his care and ſtrictneſs, the young man was corrupted by idle and diſſolute companions, reveled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men was made their captain, and became the terror of all the country; that after ſome time St. John coming upon other occaſions to reviſit the ſame biſhop, inquired after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in ſuch a mountain with his fellow robbers; that St. John called for a horſe, and rode immediately to the place; that when the young man ſaw him, he fled away from him; that St. John forgetting his age purſued eagerly after him, recalled him, and reſtored him to the church. Now all theſe tranſactions muſt neceſſarily take up ſome years; and may ſeem credible if St. John was baniſhed by Nero, but are altogether impoſſible if he was baniſhed by Domitian; for he ſurvived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and ſo very weak and infirm, that he (3) was with great difficulty carried to church, and could hardly ſpeak a few words to the people, and much leſs ride briſkly after a young robber. Epiphanius (4) aſſerts, that he was baniſhed into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalyps there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might poſſibly miſtake Claudius for his ſucceſſor Nero, eſpecially as Nero had aſſumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæſar. This date is perhaps near as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus (5) inſcribed their verſion, 'The Revela-'tion made to John the Evangeliſt by God in the iland Patmos, into 'which he was baniſhed by Nero the Cæſar.' The ancient commentators (6) Andreas and Arethas affirm, that it was underſtood to be written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. But if it was written before

Part. Prior. Col. 314. Edit. Benedict.

(4) Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 12. p. 434. Sect. 33. p. 456. Edit. Petav.

(5) Revelatio quæ facta eſt Joanni evangeliſtæ a Deo in Patmo inſula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæſare.

(6) Andreas in Apoc. VI. 16. Arethas in Apoc. XVIII. 19.

(7) διαλεκτον

before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, it might naturally be expected that ſuch a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be ſeen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating ſo frequently in this book, "Behold I come quickly—Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every "eye ſhall ſee him, and they alſo who pierced him, and all kindreds "of the earth ſhall wail becauſe of him"—and the like expreſſions cannot ſurely be ſo well underſtood of any other event as of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which "coming" was alſo ſpoken of in the goſpels, and what other "coming" was there ſo ſpeedy and conſpicuous? So many ſpurious Apocalypſes, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonſtrate evidently that the Apocalyps of St. John, in imitation whereof they were written, was ſtill earlier, and was held in high eſtimation among Chriſtians. But what is to me an unanſwerable argument, the ſtile itſelf, ſo full of Hebraiſms, and as I may ſay ſo full of barbariſms and even ſoleciſms, as ſome (7) even of the ancients have obſerved, manifeſtly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accuſtomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to that greater purity of ſtile, which appears in his Goſpel and Epiſtles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itſelf of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Aſia could not have changed and degenerated ſo much in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, that they had not then been expoſed to perſecution, nor had Antipas ſuffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the perſecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St. John charge the churches of Aſia with having degenerated and "fallen from their firſt love," as well as St. Paul accuſe the church of Corinth, (1 Cor. III. 3.) of being "carnal" and having "envying and ſtrife and diviſions among them;" or complain of the churches of Galatia, (Galat. I. 6.) "I marvel that ye are ſo ſoon re-"moved from them that called you into the grace of Chriſt unto ano-"ther goſpel" (III. 1.) "O fooliſh Galatians, who hath bewitched you "that ye ſhould not obey the truth, before whoſe eyes Jeſus Chriſt "hath

(7) διαλεκτον μεντοι και γλωσσαν εκ ακριβως ελληνιζουσαν αυτου βλεπω, αλλ' ιδιωμασι μεν βαρβαρικοις χρωμενον και που και σολοικιζοντα. Verum dictionem ejus non admodum Græcam animadverto, ſed barbariſmis atque interdum ſolœciſmis inquininatam. Dionyſius Alex. apud. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 7. Cap. 25.

(8) Primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſuppliciis et mortibus affecit; ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione

" hath been evidently ſet forth;" or write to Timothy the firſt Biſhop of Epheſus (2 Tim. I. 15.) " This thou knoweſt that all they which " are in Aſia be turned away from me?" Why might not the churches of Aſia be liable to perſecution, when it is ſaid (2 Tim. III. 12.) that " all who will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution;" when unto the Philippians (I. 29.) " it was given in the behalf of Chriſt, " not only to believe on him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake;" and when the Theſſalonians (1 Theſſ. II. 14.) " ſuffered like things of their " own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews;" and manifeſted (2 Theſ. I. 4.) " their patience and faith in all their per- " ſecutions and tribulations which they endured?" As for Antipas there is no genuin hiſtory or authentic account of him; it is not known, who or what he was, when he ſuffered, or who cauſed him to be put to death, ſo that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the perſecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed moſt there, but were extended likewiſe over all the provinces, as (8) Oroſius teſtifies with others. Sir Iſaac Newton hath farther (1) ſhown, that in the Epiſtles of St. Peter, and in St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Hebrews, there are ſeveral alluſions to this book of the Apocalyps; and St. Peter and St. Paul, all the ancients agree, ſuffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St. John might borrow from St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul from St. John: but if you will conſider and compare the paſſages together, you will find ſufficient reaſon to be convinced, that St. Peter's and St. Paul's are the copies, and St. John's the original. Moreover it is to be obſerved, that this Revelation was given " on the Lord's day," when the apoſtle's heart and affections, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, were ſublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inſpiration. The heavenly viſions were vouchſafed to St. John, as they were before to Daniel, (Dan. IX. X.) after ſupplication and prayer: and there being (9) two kinds of prophetic revelation in a viſion

tione excruciari imperavit. Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

(1) Sir Iſ. Newton's Obſ. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 239.—246.

(9) In iſtis duabus partibus, *ſomnio* et *viſione*, continentur omnes prophetiæ gradus. Maimon. in More Nevoch. Part. 2. Cap. 36. Smith's Diſcourſe of Prophecy, Chap. 2. p. 174, 175.

(1) Tertull.

viſion and a dream, the Jews accounted a viſion ſuperior to a dream, as repreſenting things more perfectly and to the life.

In the firſt viſion Jeſus Chriſt, or his angel, ſpeaking in his name, and acting in his perſon, appears amid "the ſeven golden candleſticks," meaning "the ſeven churches." His cloathing is ſomewhat like the high-prieſt's, and he is deſcribed much in the ſame manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's viſions. (Dan. VII. 9. X. 5, &c.) St. John at the ſight of ſo glorious a perſon fell down ſenſeleſs before him, as Daniel did upon the ſame occaſion: and like Daniel too, he is graciouſly raiſed and encouraged, and commanded to write "the things "which he had ſeen," contained in this chapter, "and the things "which are," the preſent ſtate of the ſeven churches repreſented in the two next chapters, "and the things which ſhall be hereafter," the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there ſaid (ver. 1.) "Come up hither, and I will ſhow thee the things "which muſt be hereafter."

CHAP. II.

1 UNTO the angel of the church of Epheſus, write, Theſe things ſaith he that holdeth the ſeven ſtars in his right hand, who walketh in the midſt of the ſeven golden candleſticks;

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canſt not bear them which are evil: and thou haſt tried them which ſay they are apoſtles, and are not; and haſt found them liers:

3 And haſt borne, and haſt patience, and for my name's ſake haſt laboured, and haſt not fainted.

4 Nevertheleſs, I have *ſomewhat* againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt left thy firſt love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But

6 But this thou haſt, that thou hateſt the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I alſo hate.

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midſt of the paradiſe of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, Theſe things ſaith the firſt and the laſt, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and *I know* the blaſphemy of them which ſay they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the ſynagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer: behold, the devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon, that ye may be tried; and ye ſhall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, He that overcometh, ſhall not be hurt of the ſecond death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamus, write, Theſe things ſaith he, which hath the ſharp ſword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwelleſt, *even* where Satan's ſeat *is*: and thou holdeſt faſt my name, and haſt not denied my faith, even in thoſe days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was ſlain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to caſt a ſtumbling-block before the children of Iſrael, to eat things ſacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

15 So haſt thou alſo them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight againſt them with the ſword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white ſtone, and in the ſtone a new name written, which no man knoweth, ſaving he that receiveth *it*.

viſion and a dream, the Jews accounted a viſion ſuperior to a dream, as repreſenting things more perfectly and to the life.

In the firſt viſion Jeſus Chriſt, or his angel, ſpeaking in his name, and acting in his perſon, appears amid "the ſeven golden candleſticks," meaning "the ſeven churches." His cloathing is ſomewhat like the high-prieſt's, and he is deſcribed much in the ſame manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's viſions. (Dan. VII. 9. X. 5, &c.) St. John at the ſight of ſo glorious a perſon fell down ſenſeleſs before him, as Daniel did upon the ſame occaſion: and like Daniel too, he is graciouſly raiſed and encouraged, and commanded to write "the things "which he had ſeen," contained in this chapter, "and the things "which are," the preſent ſtate of the ſeven churches repreſented in the two next chapters, "and the things which ſhall be hereafter," the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there ſaid (ver. 1.) "Come up hither, and I will ſhow thee the things "which muſt be hereafter."

CHAP. II.

1 UNTO the angel of the church of Epheſus, write, Theſe things ſaith he that holdeth the ſeven ſtars in his right hand, who walketh in the midſt of the ſeven golden candleſticks;

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canſt not bear them which are evil: and thou haſt tried them which ſay they are apoſtles, and are not; and haſt found them liers:

3 And haſt borne, and haſt patience, and for my name's ſake haſt laboured, and haſt not fainted.

4 Nevertheleſs, I have *ſomewhat* againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt left thy firſt love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But

6 But this thou haſt, that thou hateſt the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I alſo hate.

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midſt of the paradiſe of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, Theſe things ſaith the firſt and the laſt, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and *I know* the blaſphemy of them which ſay they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the ſynagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer: behold, the devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon, that ye may be tried; and ye ſhall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, He that overcometh, ſhall not be hurt of the ſecond death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamus, write, Theſe things ſaith he, which hath the ſharp ſword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwelleſt, *even* where Satan's ſeat *is*: and thou holdeſt faſt my name, and haſt not denied my faith, even in thoſe days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was ſlain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to caſt a ſtumbling-block before the children of Iſrael, to eat things ſacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

15 So haſt thou alſo them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight againſt them with the ſword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white ſtone, and in the ſtone a new name written, which no man knoweth, ſaving he that receiveth *it*.

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, Theſe things ſaith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine braſs;

19 I know thy works, and charity, and ſervice, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the laſt to be more than the firſt.

20 Notwithſtanding, I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou ſuffereſt that woman Jezebel, which calleth her ſelf a propheteſs, to teach and to ſeduce my ſervants to commit fornication, and to eat things ſacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her ſpace to repent of her fornication, and ſhe repented not.

22 Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches ſhall know that I am he which ſearcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I ſay, and unto the reſt in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they ſpeak, I will put upon you none other burden.

25 But that which ye have *already*, hold faſt till I come.

26 And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

27 (And he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: as the veſſels of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers) even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning ſtar.

29 He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

1 AND unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, Theſe things ſaith he that hath the ſeven ſpirits of God, and the ſeven ſtars; I know thy works, that thou haſt a name, that thou liveſt, and art dead.

2 Be watchful and ſtrengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou haſt received and heard, and hold faſt, and repent. If therefore thou ſhalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou ſhalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou haſt a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they ſhall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5 He that overcometh, the ſame ſhall be cloathed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confeſs his name before my Father, and before his angels.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, Theſe things ſaith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man ſhutteth; and ſhutteth, and no man openeth:

8 I know thy works: behold, I have ſet before thee an open door, and no man can ſhut it: for thou haſt a little ſtrength, and haſt kept my word, and haſt not denied my name.

9 Behold, I will make them of the ſynagogue of Satan (which ſay they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worſhip before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, I alſo will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which ſhall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that faſt which thou haſt, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jeruſalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name.

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the ſpirit ſaith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, Theſe things ſaith the Amen, the faithful and true witneſs, the beginning of the creation of God;

15 I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then, becauſe thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpue thee out of my mouth:

17 Becauſe thou ſayeſt, I am rich, and increaſed with goods, and have need of nothing: and knoweſt not that thou art wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counſel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayeſt be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayeſt be cloathed, and *that* the ſhame of thy nakedneſs do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-ſalve, that thou mayeſt ſee.

19 As many as I love, I rebuke, and chaſten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20 Behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will ſup with him, and he with me.

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to ſit with me in my throne, even as I alſo overcame, and am ſet down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

The

The ſecond and third chapters contain the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches of Aſia, Epheſus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. Theſe ſeven are addreſſed particularly, becauſe they were under St. John's immediate inſpection; he (1) conſtituted biſhops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and reſided much at Epheſus, which is therefore named the firſt of the ſeven. The main ſubjects too of this book are compriſed of ſevens, ſeven churches, ſeven ſeals, ſeven trumpets, and ſeven vials; as ſeven was alſo a myſtical number throughout the Old Teſtament. Many contend, and among them ſuch learned men as More and Vitringa, that the ſeven epiſtles are prophetical of ſo many ſucceſſive periods and ſtates of the church from the beginning to the concluſion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be ſeven periods of the church, neither more nor leſs; and no two men can agree in aſſigning the ſame periods. There are likewiſe in theſe epiſtles ſeveral innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be ſo well applied to the church of any other age. Beſides other arguments, there is alſo this plain reaſon; the laſt ſtate of the church is deſcribed in this very book as the moſt glorious of all, but in the laſt ſtate in theſe epiſtles, that of Laodicea, the church is repreſented as "wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

But tho' theſe epiſtles have rather a litteral than a myſtical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promiſes and threatnings, which may be of uſe and inſtruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the ſame almoſt in all the epiſtles; firſt a command to write; then ſome character and attributes of the ſpeaker, taken from the viſion in the firſt chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epiſtle; then commendations or reproofs with ſuitable promiſes or threatnings; and then in all the ſame concluſion, "He that hath "an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches." What therefore the Spirit ſaith unto one church, he ſaith in ſome meaſure to all the churches. The church of Epheſus in particular is admoniſhed to

(1) Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 415. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675. Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. p. 20.

(2) Hodie

to repent, and forewarned that if ſhe would not repent, her "candle-"ſtick ſhould be removed out of his place." But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches: and hath not their candleſtick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the goſpel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their hereſies and diviſions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammediſm ſtill prevail and proſper in thoſe countries, which were once the glory of Chriſtendom, their churches turned into moſques, their worſhip into ſuperſtition? Epheſus in particular, (2) which was once ſo magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean ſordid village, with ſcarcely a ſingle family of Chriſtians dwelling in it, as approved authors teſtify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that ſhe ſhould "have tribulation ten days, "or ten years" according to the uſual ſtile of prophecy: and the greateſt perſecution that the primitive church ever endured was the perſecution of Diocletian, which laſted (3) ten years, and grievouſly afflicted all the Aſian, and indeed all the eaſtern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general perſecutions, for none of the others laſted (4) ſo long as ten years. As the commendatory and reproving part of theſe epiſtles exhibits the preſent ſtate of the churches, ſo the promiſſory and threatning part foretels ſomething of their future condition; and in this ſenſe, and in none other, can theſe epiſtles be ſaid to be prophetical.

The firſt epiſtle is addreſſed to the church of Epheſus, as it was the metropolis of the Lydian Aſia, and the place of St. John's principal reſidence. It was, according to (5) Strabo, one of the beſt and moſt glorious cities, and the greateſt emporium of the proper Aſia. It is called by Pliny (6) one of the eyes of Aſia, Smyrna being the other: but now, as eye-witneſſes (7) have related, it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheaters. It is called by the

(2) Hodie enim hæc urbs Aſianæ olim magnificentiæ exemplum, plane ſordet, caſulis et gurguſtiis deformata, non civitas, ſed vicus: et vix ibidem ſupereſt una Chriſtianorum familia, ut ex certis conſtat teſtibus, iiſdemque eruditis viris, qui hodiernam Epheſum deſcripſerunt, Smitho (Notit. Sept. Eccleſ. Aſ. p. 4.) et Ricaultio. (de Stat. Eccl. Græc. p. 50.) Vitring. p. 73, 74.

(3) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 15, et 16. Lactant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 48.

(4) Quæ perſecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior—Nam per decem annos, &c. Oros. Lib. 7. Cap.

the Turks Ajaſaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent ſtructure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St. Paul is wholly deſtroyed. The little which remains of that of St. Mark is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John, which is now converted into a Turkiſh moſque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdſmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, ſheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty maſſes of ruinous walls; the pride and oſtentation of former days, and the emblem in theſe, of the frailty of the world, and the tranſient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty families of Turks, without one chriſtian family among them: ſo ſtrikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that their "candleſtick ſhould be removed "out of his place."

Smyrna was the neareſt city to Epheſus, and for that reaſon probably was addreſſed in the ſecond place. It is ſituated (8) on lower ground than the ancient city, and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Epheſus. It is called Eſmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not ſo much for the ſplendor and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number, and wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen moſques, and the Jews ſeveral ſynagogues. Among theſe enemies of the chriſtian name the chriſtian religion alſo floriſhes in ſome degree. Smyrna ſtill retains the dignity of a metropolis, altho' there are only two churches of the Greeks. But beſides them, here is a great number of Chriſtians of all nations, ſects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monaſtery of Franciſans. The Armenians have one church. But the Engliſh, who are the moſt conſiderable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the conſul's houſe; which is a ſhame, ſays Wheler, conſidering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the reſt: yet they commonly excel them in their paſtor; for I eſteem

Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

(5) Strabo Lib. 14. p. 634. Edit. Paris. p. 941. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Lib. 12. p. 577. Edit. Paris. p. 865. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(6) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 31. p. 280. Edit. Harduin.

(7) Smith Sept. Aſiæ Eccleſ. Notit. Rycaut's Preſent State of the Greek Church. Chap. 2. Wheler and Spon's Voyage, B. 3. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Vol. 1. Chap. 9.

(8) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Chap. 8.

(9) Smith,

eſteem a good Engliſh prieſt, an evangeliſt, if compared with any of the reſt. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Chriſtians are here more conſiderable, and in a far better condition, than in any other of the ſeven churches: as if the promiſe was ſtill in ſome meaſure made good to Smyrna, "Fear none "of thoſe things, which thou ſhalt ſuffer; be thou faithful unto "death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Helleſpontic Myſia, and the ſeat of the Attalic kings, is (9) by the Turks with ſome little variation ſtill called Bergamo, and hath its ſituation about ſixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are ſome good buildings, but more ruins. All the city almoſt is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Chriſtians being left, whoſe ſtate is very ſad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St. Theodorus; and that the name of Chriſt is not wholly loſt and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually ſendeth hither a prieſt to perform the ſacred offices. The cathedral church of St. John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or biſhop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves, and rotten carcaſes of its deſtroyers, the Turks; who are eſteemed about two or three thouſand ſouls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a moſque, and daily profaned with the blaſphemies of the falſe prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miſerable Chriſtians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the moſt abject and ſordid ſervitude. There is the leſs reaſon to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we conſider that it was the very "throne of Satan;" that they "ran greedily after "the error of Balaam, to eat things ſacrificed unto idols, and to com-"mit fornication;" and that "they held the impure doctrins of the "Nicolaitans, which Chriſt deteſted." It was denounced unto them to "repent, or elſe he would come unto them quickly, and fight againſt "them," as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira (1) ſituated at the diſtance of about forty-eight miles to the ſouth-eaſt. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which

(9) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid.
(1) Smith and Rycaut ibid.
(2) Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. Lib. 2. Tom. 1. Cap.

(which may not improperly be interpreted *unreaſonable men)* have (2) affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof, that at the time of St. John's writing there was no Chriſtian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers that St. John muſt have written with a prophetic ſpirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better anſwer than *argumentum ad homines*, and inſtead of allowing the fact and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he ſhould abſolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no juſt reaſon for doubting, that at this time there was a Chriſtian church at Thyatira. This very epiſtle is a ſufficient proof of it. It is ſaid expreſly, (Acts XIX. 10.) that "all they who dwelt in Aſia" (meaning Aſia Minor) "heard the word of the Lord Jeſus, both "Jews and Greeks:" and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is ſaid particularly, (Acts XVI. 14.) that "Lydia," an eminent trader and "ſeller of purple, of the "city of Thyatira, was baptized with her houſhold." At preſent the city is called by the Turks (3) Akhiſar or the white caſtle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left ſtanding. The reſt, even the churches, are ſo deſtroyed, that no veſtiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight moſques, when not ſo much as one Chriſtian church is ſtill remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for "committing fornication, and "eating things ſacrificed unto idols; And I gave her ſpace to repent of "her fornication, and ſhe repented not."

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Crœſus and the rich Lydian kings, (4) is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the ſouth of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the old original name. It is a moſt ſad ſpectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of ſo great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, wi h low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, beſides ſhepherds and herdſmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in

Cap. 33. p. 455. Vol. 2. Edit. Petav.
(3) Smith and Rycaut ibid.
(4) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon, ibid. Van. Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Chap. 10.
(5) Smith,

the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly ſhow, how large and ſplendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themſelves have only one moſque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that uſe from a Chriſtian church. Very few Chriſtians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather ſenſeleſs ſtupidity, ſuſtain a miſerable ſervitude; and what is far more miſerable, are without a church, without a prieſt among them. Such is the deplorable ſtate of once the moſt glorious city: but "her works "were not found perfect," that is they were found blameable, "be-"fore God;" ſhe was "dead," even while ſhe "lived;" and ſhe is puniſhed accordingly.

Philadelphia, ſo called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, (5) is diſtant from Sardis about twenty-ſeven miles to the ſouth-eaſt. It is called by the Turks Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful ſituation, ſtanding on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a moſt pleaſant proſpect on the plains beneath, well furniſhed with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It ſtill retains the form of a city, with ſomething of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Perſian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, beſides the ruins of a church dedicated to St. John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beaſts. Howſoever, God hath been pleaſed to preſerve ſome of this place to make profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, there being above two hundred houſes of Chriſtians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated to Panagia or the holy Virgin; the other to St. George who is of great fame among the oriental Chriſtians; the third to St. Theodore; and the fourth to St. Taxiarchus, as St. Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greateſt number of Chriſtians, and Chriſt hath promiſed a more particular protection to it; "I know thy works: behold, I have ſet before thee an open door, "and none can ſhut it: for thou haſt a little ſtrength, and haſt kept "my word, and haſt not denied my name. Becauſe thou haſt kept "the word of my patience, I alſo will keep thee from the hour of "temptation, which ſhall come upon all the world, to try them that "dwell

(5) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid.

(6) Smith,

" dwell upon the earth." Than which, as Dr. Spon ſaith, what could be ſaid more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Chriſtianity; who ſeem to be ſent on purpoſe for the puniſhment of our crimes, and to diſtinguiſh the faithful from the falſe Chriſtians, who pretend to be ſo, and are not?

Laodicea lay ſouth of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Epheſus: and if you will inſpect the maps of Aſia Minor, you will find the ſeven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, ſo that the natural progreſs was from Epheſus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea round to Epheſus again; which is the method and order that St. John hath obſerved in addreſſing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his viſitation. That there was a floriſhing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Chriſtianity, is evident from St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epiſtle of St. John. But the doom of Laodicea (6) ſeemeth to have been more ſevere and terrible than that of almoſt any other of the ſeven churches. For it is now utterly deſtroyed and forſaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, ſnakes, and vipers. And that becauſe the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at the fierce anger of God againſt impenitent, negligent, and careleſs ſinners. For ſuch was the accuſation of the *lukewarm* Laodiceans, who grew proud and ſelf-conceited, thinking themſelves much better than they really were. Wherefore, becauſe they were " neither hot nor cold," they were loathſome to Chriſt; and he therefore aſſured them, that he " would " ſpit them out of his mouth." The ruins ſhow it to have been a very great city, ſituate upon ſix or ſeven hills, and incompaſſing a large ſpace of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatneſs and glory from three theaters and a circus which are remaining; one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thouſand men, into whoſe area they deſcended by fifty ſteps.

(6) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid.

(7) Wheler's

This city is now called Eſki Hiſar or the old caſtle; and though it was once the mother-church of ſixteen biſhoprics, yet it now lieth deſolate, not ſo much as inhabited by ſhepherds, and ſo far from ſhowing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worſhip, it cannot now boaſt of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praiſed or invoked.

Such is the ſtate and condition of theſe ſeven once glorious and floriſhing churches; and there cannot be a ſtronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Chriſtians. "Theſe "objects, as Wheler (7) juſtly obſerves, ought to make us, who yet "enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earneſtly contend to "find out *from whence we are fallen*, and do daily fall from bad to "worſe; that God is a God *of purer eyes than to behold iniquity*; and "ſeeing *the axe* is thus long ſince *put to the root of the tree*, ſhould "it not make us repent and turn to God, *leſt we likewiſe periſh?*—We "ſee here *what deſtruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth.* "But *it is the Lord's doing:* and thence we may reap no ſmall ad"vantage by conſidering how *juſt* he is in all his *judgments*, and "*faithful* in all his *promiſes*." We may truly ſay (1 Cor. X. 11, 12.) that "all theſe things happened unto them for enſamples: and they "are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world "are come. Wherefore let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed "leſt he fall."

CHAP. IV.

1 AFTER this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the firſt voice which I heard, *was* as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which ſaid, Come up hither, and I will ſhow thee things which muſt be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the ſpirit: and behold, a throne was ſet in heaven, and *one* ſat on the throne.

3 And

(7) Wheler's Voyage. B. 3. p. 259, &c.

(8) Majores

3 And he that ſat was to look upon like a jaſper, and a ſardine ſtone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in ſight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne *were* four and twenty ſeats: and upon the ſeats I ſaw four and twenty elders ſitting cloathed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thundrings, and voices: And *there were* ſeven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God.

6 And before the throne *there was* a ſea of glaſs like unto cryſtal: And in the midſt of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beaſts full of eyes before and behind.

7 And the firſt beaſt was like a lion, and the ſecond beaſt like a calf, and the third beaſt had a face as a man, and the fourth beaſt *was* like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beaſts had each of them ſix wings about him, and *they were* full of eyes within; and they reſt not day and night, ſaying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

9 And when thoſe beaſts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that ſat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that ſat on the throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever and ever, and caſt their crowns before the throne, ſaying,

11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are, and were created.

After this viſion relating to "the things which are," other viſions ſucceed of "the things which muſt be hereafter." (ver. 1.) The ſcene is laid in heaven; and the ſcenery is drawn in alluſion to (Numb. I. II.) the incampment of the children of Iſrael in the wilderneſs. God is repreſented (ver. 2, 3.) ſitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the ſame manner as the prophet Ezekiel (I. 26, 27, 28.) hath deſcribed him. Next to the tabernacle incamped the prieſts and levites; and next to the throne (ver. 4.) "were four and twenty

"elders

" elders ſitting," anſwering to the princes of the four and twenty courſes of the Jewiſh prieſts; " cloathed in white raiment," as emblems of their purity and ſanctity; " and they had on their heads " crowns of gold," Chriſt having made them (1 Pet. II. 9.) " a royal " prieſthood," and (Rev. V. 10.) " kings and prieſts unto God. Out " of the throne proceeded (ver. 5.) lightnings, and thundrings, and " voices," the uſual concomitants and attendents of the divine preſence: " and there were ſeven lamps of fire burning before the throne," anſwering to the golden candleſtick with ſeven lamps, which was before the moſt holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was alſo (ver. 6.) " a ſea of glaſs, like unto cryſtal," anſwering to the great molten ſea or laver in the temple of Solomon: " and in the midſt of " the throne, and round about the throne," that is before and behind the throne, and on each ſide of the throne, " were four beaſts" or rather " four living creatures," (ζωα) repreſenting the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and reſembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Iſaiah's viſions, (Ezek. I. 10. X. 14. Iſ. VI. 2, 3.) or rather reſembling the four ſtandards or enſigns of the four diviſions in the camp of Iſrael, according to the (8) traditionary deſcription of them by Jewiſh writers. " The firſt living " creature was like a lion," (ver. 7.) which was the ſtandard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eaſtern diviſion; " and the ſecond " like a calf or ox," which was the ſtandard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the weſtern diviſion; " and the third had a face as a " man," which was the ſtandard of Reuben with the two other tribes in the ſouthern diviſion; " and the fourth was like a flying eagle," which was the ſtandard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern diviſion: and this traditionary deſcription agrees alſo with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's viſions. Of theſe living creatures and of the elders the conſtant employment (ver. 8—11.) is to celebrate, in hymns of praiſe and thankſgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP.

(8) Majores noſtri dixerunt, &c. See Aben Ezra and others quoted by Mr. Mede. p. 437.

(9) So

CHAP. V.

1 AND I ſaw in the right hand of him that ſat on the throne, a book written within and on the backſide, ſealed with ſeven ſeals.

2 And I ſaw a ſtrong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to looſe the ſeals thereof?

3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much becauſe no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders ſaith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to looſe the ſeven ſeals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and lo, in the midſt of the throne, and of the four beaſts, and in the midſt of the elders ſtood a Lamb, as it had been ſlain, having ſeven horns, and ſeven eyes, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God ſent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that ſat upon the throne.

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beaſts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of ſaints.

9 And they ſung a new ſong, ſaying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the ſeals thereof: for thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10 And haſt made us unto our God kings and prieſts: and we ſhall reign on the earth.

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beaſts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thouſand times ten thouſand, and thouſands of thouſands;

12 Saying

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain, to receive power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and ſuch as are in the ſea, and all that are in them, heard I, ſaying, Bleſſing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beaſts ſaid, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worſhipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are ſuppoſed by St. John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be regiſtered in "a book," for the greater certainty of them. This book (ver. 1.) is "in the right "hand of God," to denote that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, ſo he alone is able to reveal them. This book, thro' the abundance of the matter, was (9) "written within and on the backſide;" as the roll of the book, which was ſpread before Ezekiel, (II. 10.) was "written within and without." It was alſo "ſealed," to ſignify that the decrees of God are inſcrutable, and ſealed "with ſeven ſeals," referring to ſo many ſignal periods of prophecy. In ſhort we ſhould conceive of this book, that it was ſuch an one as the ancients uſed, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume conſiſting of ſeven volumes, ſo that the opening of one ſeal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged (ver. 2.) "to open "the book, and to looſe the ſeals thereof." But (ver. 3.) "no one (οὐδεὶς) "in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth," neither angels, nor men, nor departed ſpirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the ſecret purpoſes of God. St. John "wept "much" (ver. 4.) at the ſad diſappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot underſtand theſe prophecies? However he is comforted (ver. 5.) with an aſſurance, that ſtill there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accompliſh the counſels of

(9) So in Juvenal Sat. I. 5.
—ſummi plena jam margine libri,
Scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus Oreſtes.

(1) Hujus (Vitellii tempore Veſpaſianus *in oriente* principatum

of God. The Son of God, and he alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles; (ver. 6, &c.) and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his ſufferings and death. Whereupon the whole church, (ver. 8, &c.) and all the angels, (ver. 11, &c.) and all creatures (ver. 13, &c.) ſing praiſes to God and to the Lamb for ſuch glorious manifeſtations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to ſhow the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

CHAP. VI.

1 AND I ſaw when the Lamb opened one of the ſeals, and I heard as it were the noiſe of thunder, one of the four beaſts ſaying, Come, and ſee.

2 And I ſaw, and behold, a white horſe; and he that ſat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the ſeals are opened in order, ſo the events follow in order too. The firſt ſeal or period (ver. 1, 2.) is memorable for conqueſt, and was proclaimed by the firſt of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his ſtation in the eaſt. "And I ſaw, and behold, a white "horſe; and he that ſat on him, had a bow, and a crown was given "unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer." This firſt period commenceth with Veſpaſian and Titus, who from commanding (1) in the eaſt were advanced to the empire; and Veſpaſian for this reaſon was regarded, (2) both by Romans and foreigners, as that great prince who was to come out of the eaſt, and obtain dominion over the world. They "went forth to conquer;" for they made an entire conqueſt of Judea, deſtroying Jeruſalem, and carried the Jews captive into all nations. As theſe prophecies were written a few years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, they properly begin with ſome al-

principatum arripuit. Aurel. Victor. Epit. Cap. 8. Sueton. in Veſp. Cap. 4. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib.
(2) Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipſii. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 1283. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) [illegible]

luſion to that memorable event; and a ſhort alluſion was ſufficient, our Saviour himſelf having inlarged ſo much upon all the particulars. The "bow," the "white horſe," and the "crown" are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation for conqueſt is fitly made by a creature like a lion. This period continued during the reigns of the Flavian family and the ſhort reign of Nerva, about 28 years.

They who ſuppoſe this book to have been written in Domitian's time, ſome years after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this firſt ſeal, applicable to ſome ſubſequent event, that it may not be deemed a hiſtory of things paſt inſtead of a prophecy of things to come. Now their notion is, that this firſt ſeal exhibits a repreſentation of the perſon and dignity of Chriſt, and of the triumphs of the Chriſtian religion over all the powers of Paganiſm. At the ſame time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the ſix firſt ſeals eſpecially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend ſo many notable periods in the Roman hiſtory. But where then is the propriety or conſiſtence, of underſtanding this firſt ſeal of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion, and the ſucceeding ſeals of ſucceſſive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its pagan and unconverted ſtate? And what good reaſon can be given for repreſenting the Church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was moſt grievouſly perſecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the ſeries and order of true hiſtory, if they had applied this firſt ſeal to the conqueſts of Veſpaſian and Titus, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; as they have applied the ſecond ſeal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following ſeals to tranſactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their ſtations, as we have ſhown, in the four quarters, eaſt, weſt, ſouth and north, to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *weſt*, Septimius Severus from the *ſouth*,

(3) Ιδε γαρ ὁ Τραϊανος αλλ' εκ Ιταλας, ουδ' Ιταλιωτης ην—μηδεις προσθεν αλλοεθνης το των Ρωμαιων κρατος εσχηκει. Trajanus homo Hiſpanus, nec Italus erat, nec Italicus—ante eum nemo alterius nationis imperium Romanum obtinuerat. Dion. Hiſt. Lib. 68. p. 771. Edit. Leunclav.

(4) Και εν τουτῳ οἱ κατα Κυρηνην Ιουδαιοι—τους τε Ρωμαιους και τους Ελληνας εφθειρον,—ὡστε τας πασας δυο και εικοσι μυριαδας απολεσθαι· εν τε Αιγυπτῳ πολλα εδρασαν ὁμοια, και εν τῃ Κυπρῳ ——και απωλοντο και εκει μυριαδες τεσσαρες και εικοσι.—αλλ' Ιουδαιους

ſouth, and Maximin from the *north*, what other emperor before them, beſides Veſpaſian, came from the *eaſt*, which was the ſtation of the lion, who made the firſt proclamation? It ſhould ſeem therefore that the interpretation which was firſt propoſed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot ſee how this firſt ſeal can be well explicated otherwiſe, conſiſtently with the truth of hiſtory and other circumſtances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a farther argument that the book was more probably written in the perſecutions under Nero than in thoſe under Domitian.

3 And when he had opened the ſecond ſeal, I heard the ſecond beaſt ſay, Come and ſee.

4 And there went out another horſe *that was* red: and *power* was given to him that ſat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they ſhould kill one another: and there was given unto him a great ſword.

The ſecond ſeal or period (ver. 3, 4.) is noted for war and ſlaughter, and was proclaimed by the ſecond living creature, who was like an ox, and had his ſtation in the weſt. "And there went out another horſe that "was red: and power was given to him that ſat thereon, to take peace "from the earth, and that they ſhould kill one another; and there was "given unto him a great ſword." This ſecond period commenceth with Trajan, who came from the weſt, being a (3) Spaniard by birth, and was the firſt foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his ſucceſſor Adrian there were horrid wars and ſlaughters, and eſpecially between the rebellious Jews and the Romans. Dion relates, (4) that the Jews about Cyrene ſlew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thouſand men with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity. In Egypt alſo and in Cyprus they committed the like barbarities, and there periſhed two hundred and forty thouſand men more. But the Jews were ſubdued in their turn by the

Ιουδαιους μεν αλλοι τε και Λυκιος ὑπο Τραϊανου πεμφθεις κατεστρεψαντο. Interim Judæi, qui circum Cyrenen habitabant—Romanos pariter atque Græcos concîdunt—ita ut interierint hominum ad ducenta viginti millia. Præterea in Ægypto Cyproque—conſimilia quædam perpetrarunt, ubi deſiderata ſunt hominum ducenta quadraginta millia.—Sed Judæi et ab aliis, et maxime a Lucio, quem Trajanus miſerat, ſubacti ſunt. Dion. ibid. p. 786.

(5) —ὡσπερ

other generals and Lucius ſent againſt them by Trajan. Euſebius writing of the ſame time ſaith, (5) that the Jews inflamed as it were by ſome violent and ſeditious ſpirit, in the firſt conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor ſent Marcius Turbo againſt them, with great forces by ſea and land; who in many battles ſlew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor alſo ſuſpecting that they might make the like commotions in Meſopotamia ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who marching againſt them ſlew a very great multitude of them there. Oroſius treating of the ſame time ſaith, (6) that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, roſe at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Libya they waged the fierceſt wars againſt the inhabitants, and the country was almoſt deſolated. Egypt alſo and Cyrene and Thebais they diſturbed with cruel ſeditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Meſopotamia alſo war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor. So that many thouſands of them were deſtroyed with vaſt ſlaughter. They utterly deſtroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having firſt murdered all the inhabitants. Theſe things were tranſacted in the reign of Trajan: and in the reign of Adrian (7) was their great rebellion under their falſe Meſſiah Barchochab, and their final diſperſion, after fifty of their ſtrongeſt caſtles and nine hundred and eighty five of their beſt towns had been demoliſhed, and after five hundred and eighty thouſand men had been ſlain by the ſword, beſides an infinite multitude who had periſhed by famin and ſickneſs and other caſualties, with great loſs and ſlaughter too of the Romans, inſomuch that the emperor forbore the uſual ſalutations in

(5) —ὡσπερ ὑπο πνευματος δεινυ τινος και σασιωδους αναρριπισθεντες—εν τη πρωτη συμβολη επικρατησαι αυτους συντυχη των Ελληνων· οἱ και καταφυγοντες εις την Αλεξανδριαν, τους εν τη πολει Ιυδαιους εζωγρησαν τε και απεκτειναν.—ἐφ' ὁις ὁ αυτοκρατωρ επεμψε Μαρκιον Τυρβωνα συν δυναμει πεζη τε και ναυτικη, ετι δε και ἱππικη· ὁδε πολλαις μαχαις—πολλας μυριαδας Ιυδαιων—αναιρει. ὁ δε αυτοκρατωρ ὑποπλευσας και τους εν Μεσοπὁταμια Ιυδαιους επιθησεσθαί τοις αυτοθι, Λυκιῳ Κυητῳ προσεταξεν εκκαθαραι της επαρχιας αυτους· ὁς και παραταξαμενος πρὸς πολυ πληθος των αυτοθι φονευει —velut a violento quodam et ſeditioſo dæmone exagitati—et primo quidem conflictu forte Judæi Gentiles ſuperaverant. Qui mox Alexandriam confugientes, Judæos qui in ea urbe degebant, captos interfecerunt.—Itaque imperator Marcium Turbonem adverſus eos miſit cum pedeſtribus ac navalibus copiis, et cum equitatu. Hic multis præliis conſertis—infinita Judæorum millia—neci dedit. Sed imperator veritus ne Judæi qui Meſopotamiam habitabant, incolas perinde aggrederentur, mandavit Lucio Quieto, ut eos extra provinciæ fines deportaret. Qui inſtructa adverſus illos acie, ingentem eorum multitudinem proſtravit. Euſeb. Eccleſ.

in his letters to the ſenate. Here was another illuſtrious triumph of Chriſt over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the perſecutors of the Chriſtians, were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The "great ſword" and the "red horſe" are expreſſive emblems of this ſlaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for ſlaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is deſtined for ſlaughter. This period continued during the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors by blood or adoption about 95 years.

5 And when he had opened the third ſeal, I heard the third beaſt ſay, Come, and ſee. And I beheld, and lo, a black horſe; and he that ſat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midſt of the four beaſts ſay, A meaſure of wheat for a peny, and three meaſures of barley for a peny; and ſee thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third ſeal or period (ver. 5, 6.) is characterized by the ſtrict execution of juſtice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his ſtation in the ſouth. "And I be-"held, and lo, a black horſe; and he that ſat on him had a pair of "balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midſt of the four "living creatures ſay, A meaſure of wheat for a peny, and three mea-"ſures of barley for a peny; and ſee thou hurt not the oil and the "wine." Where Grotius and others have (8) obſerved, that a *chœnix* of corn, the meaſure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *peny*

Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

(6) Incredibili deinde motu, ſub uno tempore Judæi, quaſi rabie efferati, per diverſas terrarum partes exarſerunt. Nam et per totam Lybiam adverſus incolas atrociſſima bella geſſerunt: quæ adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus deſolata eſt—Ægyptum vero totam et Cyrenem et Thebaida cruentis ſeditionibus turbaverunt. In Alexandria autem commiſſo prælio victi et adtriti ſunt. In Meſopotamia quoque rebellantibus juſſu imperatoris bellum illatum eſt. Itaque multa millia eorum vaſta cæde deleta ſunt. Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 12. p. 487. Edit. Havercamp.

(7) Euſeb. ibid. Cap. 6. Dion. ibid. Lib. 69. p. 794.

(8) Eſt autem χοινξ tritici tantum, quanto homo ſanus in diem indiget, ut ex Herodoti libro tertio et ſeptimo obſervarunt eruditi, alii etiam ex Hippocrate, Diogene Laertio et Athenæo. Denarius vero tantum, quantum quoque die mereri poterat homo ſtrenue laborans, ut videre eſt Matt. XX. 2, &c. Grot. in locum. Vide etiam Vitring. p. 259.

(9) Septimius

a *peny* was his daily wages; ſo that if his daily labor could earn no more than his daily bread, without other proviſion for himſelf or his family, corn muſt needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chœnix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet ſuch care and ſuch regulations about the neceſſaries of life imply ſome want and ſcarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth men to exactneſs in the price and meaſure of things. In ſhort, the intent of the prophecy is, that corn ſhould be provided for the people, but it ſhould be diſtributed in exact meaſure and proportion. This third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the ſouth, being (9) a native of Africa. He was an (1) enactor of juſt and equal laws, and was very ſevere and implacable to offenſes; he would not ſuffer even petty larcenies to go unpuniſhed: as neither would Alexander Severus in the ſame period, who (2) was a moſt ſevere judge againſt thieves; and was ſo fond of the Chriſtian maxim, "Whatſoever you would not have "done to you, do not you to another," that he commanded it to be ingraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. Theſe two emperors were alſo no leſs celebrated for the procuring of corn and oil and other proviſions, and for ſupplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them. They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuſes of former princes. Of Septimius Severus it is ſaid, that (3) the proviſion of corn, which he found very ſmall, he ſo far conſulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for ſeven years: and alſo of oil as much as for the ſpace of five years might ſupply not only the uſes of the city, but likewiſe of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus it is alſo ſaid, that (4) he took ſuch care in providing for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabalus had waſted, he replaced

(9) Septimius Severus—oriundus ex Africa.—Solus omni memoria et ante et poſtea ex Africa imperator fuit. Eutropius. Lib. 8. Cap. 10. Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. Ælius Spartianus in Severo. Hiſt. Auguſt. Scriptores VI. p. 64. Edit. Salmaſii.

(1) Legum conditor longe æquabilium—implacabilis delictis—ne parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur. Aurel. Victor de Cæſar. Cap. 20.

(2) Severiſſimus judex contra fures—*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*; quam ſententiam uſque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præſcribi juberet. Lampridius in Alexandro. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. VI. p. 123 et 132. Edit. Salmaſii.

(3) Rei frumentariæ, quam minimam repererat, ita conſuluit, ut excedens vita, ſeptem annorum canonem P. R. relinqueret. Spartian. ibid. p. 97. olei vero

placed out of his own money; the oil alſo, which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had leſſened, he reſtored whole as before. The color of the "black horſe" befits the ſeverity of their nature and their name, and the "balances" are the well known emblem of juſtice, as well as an intimation of ſcarcity; and the proclamation for juſtice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about 42 years.

7 And when he had opened the fourth ſeal, I heard the voice of the fourth beaſt ſay, Come, and ſee.

8 And I looked, and behold, a pale horſe; and his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beaſts of the earth.

The fourth ſeal or period (ver. 7, 8.) is diſtinguiſhed by a concurrence of evils, war, and famin, and peſtilence, and wild beaſts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his ſtation in the north. "And I looked, and behold, a pale horſe; and "his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: "and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, "to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the "beaſts of the earth." Theſe are the ſame "four ſore judgments," with which Ezekiel (XIV. 21.) threatened Jeruſalem, "the ſword, "and the famin, and the noiſome beaſt, and the peſtilence;" for in the oriental languages the peſtilence is emphatically (5) ſtiled *death*. Theſe

vero tantum ut per quinquennium non ſolum urbis uſibus, ſed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, ſufficeret. Spartian in Severo. ibid. p. 73.

(4) Commeatum populi Romani ſic adjuvit, ut quum frumenta Heliogabalus evertiſſet, vicem de propria pecunia loco ſuo reponeret——Oleum quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus imminuerat, integrum reſtituit. Lamprid. in Alex. ibid. p. 121.

(5) Voce θανατῳ intelligendus eſt λοιμος ex Hebraiſmo: Nam ita מות ſumitur apud Jer. IX. 21. et XVIII. 21. Sic apud Sirachidem legimus XXXIX. 29. λιμος και θανατος, ubi itidem θανατος haud dubie peſtilentiam ſignificat. Syrus quoque tum hic tum apud Lucam λοιμους vertit מותנא. i. e. θανατες· et LXX Hebræorum דבר i. e. *peſtem* vertunt θανατον, ut et Chaldæus et Latinus Lev. XXVI. 25. Horum exemplo Severus Sulpitius, Hiſt. I. *mortem* pro *peſtilentia* poſuit. Grot. in Matt. XXIV. 7.

(6) Hic

Theſe "four" were to deſtroy "the fourth part" of mankind; and the image is very poetical, of "death riding on a pale horſe," and "hell" or "the grave following with him," ready to ſwallow up the dead corpſes. This period commenceth with Maximin, who was an emperor from the north, being (6) born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all reſpects. There was not, as an (7) hiſtorian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was ſo cruel, that he was deſervedly called by the name of Cyclops, Buſiris, Phalaris, and the worſt of tyrants. The hiſtory of his and ſeveral ſucceeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of ſoldiers, and invaſions of foreign armies, rebellions of ſubjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the ſpace of fifty years, and all or moſt of them died in war, or were murdered by their own ſoldiers and ſubjects. Beſides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus (8) thirty tyrants or uſurpers, who ſet up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miſerable ends. Here was ſufficient employment for the "ſword;" and ſuch wars and devaſtations muſt neceſſarily produce a "famin," and the "famin" is another diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus the Scythians made ſuch incurſions, that (9) not one nation ſubject to the Romans was left unwaſted by them, and every unwalled town, and moſt of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus alſo (1) there was a great famin throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and ſlew him. An uſual conſequence of famin

(6) Hic de vico Thraciæ, vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus. Julius Capitolin. in Maximin. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. VI. Edit. Salmaſ. p. 138. Vide etiam notas Salmaſ. et Caſauboni. Μαξιμινος, το μεν γενος των ενδοτατων Θρακων και μιξοβαρβαρων. Max. qui quod ad genus attinet, ex intimis Thracibus, et ſemibarbaris erat. Herodian. Lib. 6. p. 143. Edit. H. Steph. 1581.

(7) Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris—tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Buſiridem, alii Scironem, nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem, vel Gygem vocarent. Jul. Capit. ibid. p. 141.

(8) Vide Trebell. Pollio. de triginta tyrannis. Hiſt. Aug. Script. VI. p. 184, &c. Edit. Salmaſii.

(9) ὡστε μηδε εν εθνος Ρωμαιοις ὑπηκοον απορθητον ὑπο τυτων καταλειφθηναι, πασαν δε ὡς ειπειν ατειχιστον πολιν, και των ωχυρωμενων τειχεσι τας πολεις ἁλωναι. adeo quidem, ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab eis non vaſtata manſerit, ſed omnia, prope dixerim, oppida deſtituta mœnibus, et iiſdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. Zoſim. in Gall. Lib. 1. Sect. 26.

(1) εγενετο λιμος κοσμικος μεγας, και μη ευρεθεντων ανθρωπων, εξασιασεν ὁ στρατος και επελθοντες εσφαξαν αυτον. fames ingens per totum orbem graſſata eſt: annona autem deficiente, ſeditione in exercitu excitata, a militibus interfectus eſt. Joan. Malalæ. Chronograph. p. 400. Edit. Oxon. 1691.

(2) Zonaras author eſt, nec cæteri tacuere, ſub Gallo et Voluſiano imperatoribus, *peſtem* ab Æthiopia exortam omnes Romanas provincias pervaſiſſe, et per quindecim continuos annos incredibiliter exhauſiſſe. *Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta* (inquit

famin is the "peſtilence," and the "peſtilence" is the third diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. This peſtilence, according to (2) Zonaras, ariſing from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Voluſian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for fifteen years together incredibly exhauſted them; and ſo learned a man as Lipſius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the ſpace of time that it laſted, or of land that it overſpread. Zoſimus, ſpeaking of the devaſtations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before mentioned, farther addeth, that (3) the peſtilence not leſs pernicious than the war, deſtroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made ſuch havoc as it had never done in former times. He ſaith alſo, that in the reign of Gallienus, (4) ſuch a grievous peſtilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians more moderate. He ſaith afterwards too in the reign of Claudius, that (5) the peſtilence ſeiſing on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and alſo Claudius the emperor. Dionyſius in (6) Euſebius, treating of the ſame time, mentions the "war" and the "famin" and the "peſtilence," as ſucceeding one another in their natural order. St. Cyprian too mentions (7) all the three together, as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote alſo a (8) treatiſe upon this very peſtilence, which he intitled *De mortalitate*, as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In ſhort, without alleging more teſtimonies, Eutropius affirms of Gallus and Voluſian,

quit vir noſtro ævo celebris) *ſpatio temporum, ſive terrarum.* Mede p. 446. Zonar. in Gal. et Voluſ. Lipſius de Conſtantia. Lib. 2. Cap. 23.

(3) ουχ ήτλον δε τω πολλαχοθεν επιβρισαντος πολεμω, και ὁ λοιμος πολεσι τε και κωμαις επιγενομενος, ει τι λελειμμενον ην ανθρωπειον γενος; διεφθειρεν, ωπω προτερον εν τοις φθασασι χρονοις τοσαυτην ανθρωπων απωλειαν εργασαμενος. Nec minus bello, quod undique ſcaturiendo velut emerſerat, lues etiam peſtilens in oppidis atque vicis ſubſecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum, abſumſit: quæ ſane nunquam ſuperioribus ſæculis tantam hominum ſtragem ediderat. Zoſim. ib.

(4) λοιμος επιβρισας ταις πολεσιν, οιος ωτω προτερον εν παντι τω χρονω συνεβη, τας μεν ὑπο των βαρβαρων συμφορας μετριωτερας απεφηνε. tanta peſtis in civitatibus exorta, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore exſtiterat, calamitates a barbaris illatas leviores reddidit. Zoſim. ibid. Sect. 37.

(5) Αψαμενω δε τω λοιμω και Ρωμαιων, απεθανον μεν πολλοι τω στρατευματος, τελευτα δε και Κλαυδιος. Sed quod in Romanos quoque peſtis ſævire cæpiſſet, cum alii complures in exercitu mortui ſunt, tum etiam Claudius vivendi finem fecit. Zoſim. ibid. Sect. 46.

(6) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 22.

(7) Sed enim cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius ſurgant, quod lues, quod fames ſæviant, &c. Ad Demetrianum p. 129. Edit. Felli. Quod autem crebrius bella continuant, quod ſterilitas et fames ſolicitudinem cumulant, quod ſævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione vaſtatur, &c. Ibid. p. 130.

(8) Vide Edit. Felli. p. 110.

(9) Sola

that (9) their reign was remarkable only for the peſtilence and diſeaſes and ſickneſs. Oroſius (1) aſſerts much the ſame thing: and Trebellius Pollio likewiſe (2) informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the peſtilence was ſo great that five thouſand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the "wild beaſts" multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. This would appear a probable conſequence of the former calamities, if hiſtory had recorded nothing of it: but we read in hiſtory that (3) five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, and where the younger Maximin chanced to be. It is well known, that the Heathens maliciouſly aſcribed all public calamities to the Chriſtians, and among them we find objected (4) the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beaſts; as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote ſoon after this time. The color of the "pale horſe" is very ſuitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and deſtruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcaſes. This period continued from Maximin to Diocletian about fifty years.

9 And when he had opened the fifth ſeal, I ſaw under the altar the ſouls of them that were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they held.

10 And they cried with a loud voice, ſaying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was ſaid unto them, that they ſhould reſt yet for a little ſeaſon, until

(9) Sola peſtilentia, et morbis, atque ægritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit. Eutrop. Lib. 9. Cap. 5.

(1) Hac ſola pernicie inſignes Gallus et Voluſianus. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 21.

(2) Peſtilentia tanta exſtiterat, ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent. Trebell. Pollio in Gall. p. 177. ibid.

(3) Lupi urbem quingenti ſimul ingreſſi ſunt, in quam ſe Maximinus contulerat——quæ deſerta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit. Julius Capitolin. in Max. Jun. p. 150. ibid.

(4) Quando

until their fellow-ſervants alſo, and their brethren that ſhould be killed as they were, ſhould be fulfilled.

The following ſeals have nothing extrinſecal, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determin from what quarter we muſt expect their completion; but they are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their internal marks and characters. The fifth ſeal or period is remarkable for a dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians, who are repreſented (ver. 9.) lying "under the altar," (for the ſcene is ſtill in the tabernacle or temple) as ſacrifices newly ſlain and offered to God. They "cry aloud" (ver. 10.) for the Lord to "judge and avenge" their cauſe; that is, the cruelties exerciſed upon them were of ſo barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deſerve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord. "White "robes are given unto every one of them" (ver. 11.) as a token of their juſtification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to "reſt "for a ſeaſon," till the number of the martyrs be completed, when they ſhall receive their full reward, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Where Mr. Lowman (5) obſerves very well, that "this repreſentation ſeems "much to favor the immediate happineſs of departed ſaints, and hardly "to conſiſt with that uncomfortable opinion, the inſenſible ſtate of "departed ſouls, till after the reſurrection." There were other perſecutions before, but this was by far the moſt conſiderable, the tenth and laſt general perſecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and laſted longer, and extended farther, and was ſharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Euſebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witneſſes, have (6) written large accounts of it. Oroſius (7) aſſerts, that this perſecution was longer and more cruel than all the paſt; for it raged inceſſantly for ten years by burning the churches, proſcribing the innocent, and ſlaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus

(4) Quando cum feris bella, et prælia cum leonibus geſta ſunt? Non ante nos? Arnob. adverſ. Gentes. Lib. 1. p. 5. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

(5) See Lowman on the Rev. p. 51.

(6) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. cum ſupplemento. Lactantius de Mortibus Perſecut. Cap. 7. &c.

(7) —quæ perſecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis eccleſiarum, proſcriptionibus innocentum, cædibus martyrum, inceſſabiliter acta eſt. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

(8) Acerbiſſima

too (8) deſcribes it as the moſt bitter perſecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God; at which time all the world almoſt was ſtained with the ſacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhauſted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Chriſtians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwiſe called the æra of martyrs.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the ſixth ſeal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the ſun became black as ſack-cloth of hair, and the moon became as blood.

13 And the ſtars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree caſteth her untimely figs when ſhe is ſhaken of a mighty wind:

14 And the heaven departed as a ſcrole when it is rolled together: and every mountain and iland were moved out of their places:

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty-men, and every bond-man, and every free-man hid themſelves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains;

16 And ſaid to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who ſhall be able to ſtand?

The ſixth ſeal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic ſtile are expreſſed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very ſame images, the very ſame expreſſions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments: and why may they not therefore with equal fitneſs and propriety be applied to one of the greateſt and moſt memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the ſubverſion

(8) Acerbiſſima perſecutio, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata eſt; qua tempeſtate omnis fere ſacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus eſt: —Nullis

ſubverſion of the Heathen religion, and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian, which was begun by Conſtantine the great, and was completed by his ſucceſſors? The ſeries of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phraſes and expreſſions will eaſily admit of ſuch a conſtruction. "And I beheld when he had opened the ſixth ſeal," (ver. 12.) "and "lo, there was" σειτμος μεγας "a great earth-quake," or rather *a great concuſſion*; for the word in the original comprehends the ſhaking of *heaven* as well as of *earth*. The ſame phraſe is uſed by the prophet Haggai (II. 6, 21.) concerning the firſt coming of Chriſt, "I will ſhake "the heavens and the earth:" and this ſhaking, as the apoſtle ſaith, (Heb. XII. 27.) "ſignifieth the removing of thoſe things which are "ſhaken;" and ſo the prophet Haggai himſelf explains it, "I will "ſhake the heavens and the earth, And I will overthrow the throne of "kingdoms, and I will deſtroy the ſtrength of the kingdoms of the "Heathen:" And where was ever a greater concuſſion or removal, than when Chriſtianity was advanced to the throne of Paganiſm, and idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concuſſion, (ver. 12, 13, 14.) "And the ſun "became black as ſackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; "And the ſtars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree caſteth "her untimely figs when ſhe is ſhaken of a mighty wind: And the "heavens departed as a ſcrole when it is rolled together; and every "mountain and iland were moved out of their places." Iſaiah ſpeaketh much in the ſame manner concerning Babylon and Idumea; (XIII. 10. XXXIV. 4.) "For the ſtars of heaven and the conſtellations thereof "ſhall not give their light; the ſun ſhall be darkened in his going "forth, and the moon ſhall not cauſe her light to ſhine: And all the "hoſt of heaven ſhall be diſſolved, and the heavens ſhall be rolled "together as a ſcrole; and all their hoſt ſhall fall down as the leaf fall-"eth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree:" And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, (IV. 23, 24.) "I beheld the "earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens and "they

—Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhauſtus eſt. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir 1656.

(9) Euſeb.

" they had no light: I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, " and all the hills moved lightly:" And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, (XXXII. 7.) " And when I ſhall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, " and make the ſtars thereof dark; I will cover the ſun with a cloud, " and the moon ſhall not give her light:" And Joel concerning Jeruſalem, (II. 10, 31.) " The earth ſhall quake before them, the heavens " ſhall tremble, the ſun and the moon ſhall be dark, and the ſtars ſhall " withdraw their ſhining: the ſun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and " the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the " Lord come:" And our Saviour himſelf alſo concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, (Matt. XXIV. 29.) " The ſun ſhall be darkened, " and the moon ſhall not give her light, and the ſtars ſhall fall from " heaven, and the powers of the heavens ſhall be ſhaken." Now it is certain, that the fall of any of theſe cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and conſequence to the world, nor more deſerving to be deſcribed in ſuch pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, " the ſun, moon, " and ſtars," the powers civil and eccleſiaſtical, were all eclipſed and obſcured, the heathen emperors and cæſars were ſlain, the heathen prieſts and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magiſtrates were removed, the heathen temples were demoliſhed, and their revenues appropriated to better uſes. It is cuſtomary with the prophets, after they have deſcribed a thing in the moſt ſymbolical and figurative diction, to repreſent the ſame again in plainer language: and the ſame method is obſerved here, (ver. 15, 16, 17.) " And the kings of the earth, and " the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the " mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man," that is Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius &c, with all their adherents and followers, were ſo routed and diſperſed, that they " hid themſelves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and " ſaid to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us;" expreſſions uſed, as in other prophets, (Iſ. II. 19, 21. Hoſ. X. 8. Luke XXIII. 30.) to denote the utmoſt terror and conſternation; " Fall on us, and " hide

(9) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 17. De Vita Conſtant. Lib. 1. Cap. 57. Lactantius de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 33, &c.

(1) Euſeb.

" hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the " wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and " who ſhall be able to ſtand?" This is therefore a triumph of Chriſt over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a ſevere perſecution; ſo that the time and all the circumſtances, as well as the ſeries and order of the prophecy, agree perfectly with this interpretation. (9) Galerius, (1) Maximin, and (2) Licinius made even a public confeſſion of their guilt, recalled their decrees and edicts againſt the Chriſtians, and acknowleged the juſt judgments of God and of Chriſt in their deſtruction.

CHAP. VII.

1 AND after theſe things, I ſaw four angels ſtanding on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind ſhould not blow on the earth, nor on the ſea, nor on any tree.

2 And I ſaw another angel aſcending from the eaſt, having the ſeal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the ſea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the ſea, nor the trees, till we have ſealed the ſervants of our God in their foreheads.

4 And I heard the number of them which were ſealed: *and there were* ſealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thouſand, of all the tribes of the children of Iſrael.

5 Of the tribe of Juda *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Gad *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

6 Of the tribe of Aſer *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Nepthalim *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Manaſſes *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

7 Of the tribe of Simeon *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Iſachar *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

8 Of

(1) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 9. Cap. 9, 10, 11. Cap. 49. De Vita Conſt. Lib. 1. Cap. 59. Lactant. ibid. (2) Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 18.
(3) Euſeb.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Joſeph *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

9 After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, ſtood before the throne, and before the Lamb, cloathed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10 And cried with a loud voice, ſaying, Salvation to our God which ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

11 And all the angels ſtood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beaſts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worſhipped God,

12 Saying, Amen: Bleſſing and glory, and wiſdom, and thankſgiving, and honour, and power, and might *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13 And one of the elders anſwered, ſaying unto me, What are theſe which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14 And I ſaid unto him, Sir, thou knoweſt. And he ſaid to me, Theſe are they which came out of great tribulation, and have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple: and he that ſitteth on the throne ſhall dwell among them.

16 They ſhall hunger no more, neither thirſt any more, neither ſhall the ſun light on them, nor any heat.

17 For the Lamb which is in the midſt of the throne, ſhall feed them, and ſhall lead them unto living fountains of waters: And God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is ſtill a continuation of the ſixth ſeal, for the ſeventh ſeal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It

(3) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 10. Cap. 1. ἐφ' οἷς εἰς ἡμας εναργως πεπληρωμενοις χαιροντες——Quæ cum omnia noſtris temporibus manifeſtè completa ſint, læti deinceps et gratulabundi—

(4) Reſtituta per orbem tranquillitate, profligata nuper eccleſia rurſum exſurgit.—Nunc poſt tantæ tempeſtatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux

It is a deſcription of the ſtate of the church in Conſtantine's time, of the peace and protection that it ſhould enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great acceſſion that ſhould be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. "Four angels" (ver. 1, 2, 3.) are ordered by another angel to reſtrain "the four winds" from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to ſhow that theſe were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and perſecutions ſhould ceaſe, and peace and tranquillity be reſtored for a ſeaſon. Euſebius is very copious upon this ſubject in ſeveral parts of his writings; and hath (3) applied that paſſage of the Pſalmiſt in the verſion of the Seventy, (Pſal. XLVI. 8, 9.) "Come hither, "and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in "the earth: He maketh wars to ceaſe unto the end of the earth, he "breaketh the bow, and cutteth the ſpear in ſunder, he burneth the "chariot in the fire;" which things, ſaith he, being manifeſtly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice over them. Lactantius alſo (4) ſaith in the ſame triumphant ſtrain, that 'tranquillity being reſtored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riſeth again. 'Now after the violent agitations of ſo great a tempeſt, a calm air and 'the deſired light become reſplendent. Now God hath relieved the 'afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the ſorrowful.' Theſe are teſtimonies of contemporary writers; and ſome (5) medals of Conſtantine are ſtill preſerved with the head of this emperor on one ſide and this inſcription CONSTANTINUS AUG, and on the reverſe BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, *Bleſſed Tranquillity*. During this time of tranquillity "the ſervants of God were to be ſealed in their "foreheads." It is an expreſſion in alluſion to the ancient cuſtom of marking ſervants in their foreheads to diſtinguiſh what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Chriſtians baptiſm being the ſeal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers (6) often called the *ſeal*, the *ſign*, the *mark* and *character* of the Lord: and it was the (7) practice in early times, as it is at preſent, to make the ſign of the croſs upon the foreheads of the parties baptized.

lux refulſit. Nunc Deus afflictos ſublevavit. Nunc mærentium lacrymas deterſit. Lactantius de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 1.

(5) See Daubuz. p. 311.

(6) See Mede, p. 511. Bingham's Antiquities. B. 11. Ch. 1. Sect. 6 et 7.

(7) See Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity. Part. 1. Ch. 10. Bingham, ibid. Ch. 9. Sect. 4. &c.

(8) Hoc

baptized. The ſame ſign of the croſs was alſo made at confirmation; and upon many other occaſions the Chriſtians ſigned themſelves with the ſign of the croſs in their foreheads, as a token that they were not aſhamed of a crucified maſter, that on the contrary they gloried in the croſs of Chriſt, and triumphed in that ſymbol and repreſentation of it. The "ſealing" therefore "of the ſervants of God in their foreheads" at this juncture can imply no leſs, than that many converts ſhould be baptized, and thoſe, who before, in times of perſecution, had been compelled to worſhip God in private, ſhould now make a free, open, and public profeſſion of their religion; and that ſuch an acceſſion was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the hiſtory of this time.

As the church of Chriſt was firſt formed out of the Jewiſh church and nation, ſo here (ver. 4—8.) the ſpiritual Iſrael is firſt mentioned; and the number of the thouſands of Iſrael is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apoſtles, which we ſhall find to be a ſacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the ſame method and order, as they are in other places of holy ſcripture. Judah hath the firſt rank and precedence, becauſe from him deſcended the Meſſiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, becauſe they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is ſubſtituted in the room of the one, and Joſeph is mentioned inſtead of the other. The children too of the bond-women and of the free-women are confounded together, there being (Gal. III. 28.) "in Chriſt Jeſus neither "bond nor free." Beſides ſome of all the tribes of Iſrael, there was "an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, cloathed with "white robes, and palms in their hands," (ver. 9, 10.) who received and embraced the goſpel: and as Sulpicius Severus (8) ſays, it is wonderful how much the Chriſtian religion prevailed at that time. The hiſtorians, who have written of this reign, (9) relate how even the moſt remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One hiſtorian in particular (1) affirms, that at the time

(8) Hoc temporum tractu mirum eſt quantum invaluerit religio Chriſtiana. Sulpic. Sever. Sacr. Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 100. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(9) Socrates Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 18, 19, 20. Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. Cap, 5, 6, 7, 8. &c. &c.

(1) Hoc

time when Conſtantine took poſſeſſion of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thouſand Jews and Heathens, beſides women and children. The angels alſo (ver. 11, 12.) join in the celebration of God upon this occaſion: for if "there is "joy" (Luke XV. 10.) "in the preſence of the angels of God over "one ſinner that repenteth," much more may thoſe heavenly ſpirits rejoice at the converſion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders (ver. 13—17.) explains to St. John ſome particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have "palms in their hands," as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and perſecution. They are "arrayed in white robes," as emblems of their ſanctity and juſtification thro' the merits and death of Chriſt. They are, like the children of Iſrael, arrived at their Canaan or land of reſt, and they ſhall no more ſuffer "hunger," or "thirſt," or "heat," as they did in the wilderneſs. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and moleſtations; and their heathen adverſaries ſhall no more prevail againſt them. This period we may ſuppoſe to have continued with ſome little interruption, from the reign of Conſtantine the great to the death of Theodoſius the great, about 70 years.

CHAP. VIII.

1 AND when he had opened the ſeventh ſeal, there was ſilence in heaven about the ſpace of half an hour.

2 And I ſaw the ſeven angels which ſtood before God; and to them were given ſeven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and ſtood at the altar, having a golden cenſer; and there was given unto him much incenſe, that he ſhould offer *it* with the prayers of all ſaints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

(1) Hoc tempore Romæ baptizati ſunt e Judæis et Idololatris ultra duodecim hominum millia, præter mulieres et pueros. Abul Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 7. p. 85. Verſ. Pocockii. Vide etiam Epiphanii Hæreſ. 30. Sect. 4. &c. p. 127. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii.

(2) —ως

4 And the ſmoke of the incenſe, *which came* with the prayers of the ſaints, aſcended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the cenſer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and caſt it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the ſeven angels which had the ſeven trumpets, prepared themſelves to ſound.

The ſeventh ſeal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former ſeals. It comprehends indeed ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of ſeven trumpets. At the opening of this ſeal (ver. 1.) "there was ſilence in "heaven about the ſpace of half an hour." This "ſilence of half "an hour" is a ſign that the peace of the church would continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon. It is an interval and pauſe as it were between the foregoing and the ſucceeding viſions. It is a mark of ſolemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and ſignal events; and not without an alluſion to a ceremony among the Jews. As Philo (2) informs us, the incenſe uſed to be offered before the morning, and after the evening ſacrifice: and while the ſacrifices were made, (2 Chron. XXIX. 25—28.) the voices and inſtruments, and trumpets ſounded; while the prieſt went into the temple to burn incenſe, (Luke I. 10.) all were ſilent, and the people prayed without to themſelves. Now this was the morning of the church, and therefore the ſilence precedes the ſounding of the trumpets. It was neceſſary, before the trumpets could be ſounded, that they ſhould be "given" (ver. 2.) to the ſeven arch-angels, who were to execute the will of God, and to ſound the trumpets each in his ſeaſon. At the ſame time (ver. 3, 4, 5.) "another "angel," like the prieſt, "having a golden cenſer," offereth incenſe "with the prayers of all ſaints;" and then filleth the cenſer "with "fire of the altar, and caſteth it into the earth;" as in Ezekiel (X. 2.) "coals of fire" are taken "from between the cherubim," and ſcattered

(2) —προ τε της ἑωθινης θυσιας και μετα την ἑσπερινην— ante matutinum eſt poſt veſpertinum ſacrificium— Philo de Victimis. p. 836. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(3) Socratis Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Sozomen. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Zoſimi Hiſt. Lib. 5 et 6. Pauli Oroſii

ſcattered over Jeruſalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately enſue "voices, and "thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake," the uſual prophetic ſigns and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels (ver. 6.) "prepare themſelves to ſound:" and as the "ſeals" foretold the ſtate and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Chriſtian, ſo the "trumpets" foreſhow the fate and condition of it afterwards. "The ſound of the trumpet," as Jeremiah (IV. 19.) ſays, and as every one underſtands it, is "the "alarm of war:" and the ſounding of theſe trumpets is deſigned to rouſe and excite the nations againſt the Roman empire, called "the "third part" of the world, as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being ſeated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7 The firſt angel ſounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were caſt upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green graſs was burnt up.

At the ſounding of the firſt trumpet (ver. 7.) the barbarous nations, like a ſtorm of "hail and fire mingled with blood," invade the Roman territories; and deſtroy "the third part of trees," that is the trees of the third part of the earth, and "the green graſs," that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodoſius the great died in the year 395; and no ſooner was he dead, than the (3) Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and ſlaughter, broke in upon the beſt provinces of the empire both in the eaſt and weſt, with greater ſucceſs than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths (4) under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incurſions in the ſame year 395, firſt ravaged Greece, then waſted Italy, beſieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price, beſieged it again in the year 410, took

Oroſii Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 37. &c. Car. Sigonii Hiſt. de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 10.

(4) Zoſim. Oroſ. Sigon ibid. &c. Philoſtorgius, Lib. 11 et 12.

(5) Βαρβαριων

took and plundered the city, and ſet fire to it in ſeveral places. Philoſtorgius, who lived in and wrote of theſe times, (5) ſaith that 'the ſword of the barbarians deſtroyed the greateſt multitude of men; 'and among other calamities dry heats with flaſhes of flame and whirl-'winds of fire occaſioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and 'hail greater than could be held in a man's hand fell down in ſeveral 'places, weighing as much as eight pounds.' Well therefore might the prophet compare theſe incurſions of the barbarians to "hail and "fire mingled with blood." Claudian in like manner compares them to (6) a ſtorm of "hail" in his poem on this very war. Jerome alſo (7) ſaith of ſome of theſe barbarians, 'that they came on unexpectedly every 'where, and marching quicker than report, ſpared not religion, nor 'dignities, nor age, nor had compaſſion on crying infants; thoſe were 'compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live.' So truly did they deſtroy the "trees" and the "green graſs" together.

8 And the ſecond angel ſounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was caſt into the ſea; and the third part of the ſea became blood:

9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the ſea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ſhips were deſtroyed.

At the ſounding of the ſecond trumpet (ver. 8, 9.) "as it were a "great mountain burning with fire," that is a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the (8) ſtile of poetry, which is near akin to the ſtile of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains;) "caſt into the ſea, "turneth the third part into blood, and deſtroyeth the fiſhes and the "ſhips

(5) βαρβαρικη μην γαρ το της φθορας πληθος ειργαζετο μαχαιρα.—αυχμοι φλογωδεις, πρηστηρες τε εσιν οις εμβαλλομενοι, ποικιλον τε το δεινον εποιων και αφορητον· και δη και χαλαζα μειζων η κατα χερμαδα πολλαχυ γης κατεφερετο. αχρι γαρ και οκτω των λεγομενων λιτρων ελκυσα βαρος ωφθη κατασκηψασα. Nam et barbaricus enſis maximam hominum multitudinem delevit;—ſiccitates flammeæ, et ignis turbines cælitus immiſſi, multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et grando, lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. Deprehenſa enim eſt alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus æquaret. Philoſtorgii Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

(6) Claudian de Bello Getico. ver. 173.

Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinnys,
Grandinis aut morbi ritu per devia rerum
Præcipites, per clauſa, ruunt.

Where Mr. Daubuz would read *nimbi* inſtead of *morbi*.

(7) Inſperati ubique aderant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miſerabantur infantiæ. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant. Hieron. Epiſt. 84. de morte Fabiolæ. Col. 661. Tom. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

" ſhips therein;" that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a ſea of blood, with horrible deſtruction of the cities and inhabitants: for " waters," as the angel afterwards (XVII. 15.) explains them to St. John, " are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues," and " the third part" is all along the Roman empire; for it poſſeſſed in Aſia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the ſpace of fourteen years, as (9) Sigonius ſays, ſhook the eaſt and weſt with the moſt cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering, ſlaughter, and burning. They (1) firſt waſted Thrace, Macedon and Greece, putting all to fire and ſword, and compelled the eaſtern emperor, Theodoſius the ſecond, to purchaſe a ſhameful peace. Then Attila turned his arms againſt the weſtern emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with ſeven hundred thouſand men, and not content with taking and ſpoiling, ſet moſt of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorouſly oppoſed, he fell upon Italy, took and deſtroyed Aquileia with ſeveral other cities, ſlaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in aſhes, and (2) filled all places between the Alps and Apennine with flight, depopulation, ſlaughter, ſervitude, burning, and deſperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpoſe by a ſolemn embaſſy from the emperor, and the promiſe of an annual tribute; and ſo concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and paſſed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to " a great mountain burn-" ing with fire," who really was, as he called himſelf, (3) *the ſcourge*

(8) So Virgil of his hero. Æn. XII. 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipſe coruſcis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice ſe attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

(9) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 13. Hunnica jam hinc bella ſcribere ordiemur, quæ poſt per quatuordecim annos ſæviſſima orientem, occidentemque formidine concuſſerunt, atque utriuſque imperii provincias omni direptione, ſtrage, atque incendio deformarunt.

(1) Sigonius ibid. Jornandes de rebus Get. &c. &c.

(2) Jam omnia, quæ intra Apenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, cæde, ſervitute, incendio, et deſperatione repleta erant. Sigon. ibid. Ann 452.

(3) Qui ſe Flagellum Dei, et Terrorem hominum appellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo miſſum jactabat, ut tanquam juſtæ illius vindex iræ terras omni malorum genere permiſceret, et crudelitatem ac libidinem ſuam non niſi ſanguine et incendio terminabat. Sigon. ibid.

(4) Homer:

ſcourge of God, and the terror of men, and boaſted that he was ſent into the world by God for this purpoſe, that as the executioner of his juſt anger he might fill the earth with all kind of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and paſſion by nothing leſs than blood and burning.

> 10 And the third angel ſounded, and there fell a great ſtar from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters:
> 11 And the name of the ſtar is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood: and many men died of the waters, becauſe they were made bitter.

At the ſounding of the third trumpet (ver. 10, 11.) a great prince appears like "a ſtar ſhooting from heaven to earth;" a ſimilitude not (4) unuſual in poetry. His coming therefore is ſudden and unexpected, and his ſtay but ſhort. "The name of the ſtar is called Wormwood," and he infects "the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bit-"terneſs of wormwood;" that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The "rivers" and "fountains" have a near connection with the "ſea:" and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had cauſed him to be murdered reigning in his ſtead, (5) Genſeric the king of the Vandals ſettled in Africa was ſollicited by Eudoxia the widow of the deceaſed emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genſeric accordingly embarked with three hundred thouſand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coaſts in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any ſuch enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an eaſy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and

(4) Homer: Iliad. IV. 75.

Οιον δ' αϛερα ηκε Κρονε παις αγκυλομητεω,
Η ναυτηϲι τερας, ηε ϛρατῳ ευρεϊ λαων,
Λαμπον· τε δε τε πολλοι απο ϲπινθηρες ιενται.

(5) Evagrii Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Zonaræ Annal. Lib. 13. in fine. Sigonius de Imperio Occidentali. Lib. 14. Ann. 455. &c. &c.

(6) Voſſius de Hiſt. Latinis Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Hofmanni Lex.

(7) Tunc illud eloquentiæ, quod ubertim per omnes

and avarice of his ſoldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only ſpoiling the private houſes and palaces, but ſtripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then ſet ſail again for Africa, carrying away with him immenſe wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empreſs Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the ſtate ſo weakened, that in a little time it was utterly ſubverted. Some critics underſtand "rivers" and "fountains" with relation to doctrins; and in this ſenſe the application is ſtill very proper to Genſeric, who was a moſt bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign moſt cruelly perſecuted the orthodox Chriſtians. Victor Uticenſis, or Vitenſis as he is more uſually called, who (6) wrote in three books the hiſtory of this perſecution by the Vandals, ſpeaking of St. Auſtin (7) hath uſed this very ſame metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his ſweetneſs turned into "the bitterneſs of wormwood."

12 And the fourth angel ſounded, and the third part of the ſun was ſmitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the ſtars; ſo as the third part of them was darkened, and the day ſhone not for a third part of it, and the night likewiſe.

At the ſounding of the fourth trumpet (ver. 12.) "the third part of "the ſun, moon, and ſtars," that is the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipſed and "darkened," and remain in darkneſs for ſome time. Genſeric left the weſtern empire in a weak and deſperate condition. It ſtruggled hard, and gaſped as it were for breath, through (8) eight ſhort and turbulent reigns, for the ſpace of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476 under Momyllus, or Auguſtulus as he was named in deriſion, being a diminutive Auguſtus. This change was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome with an army of barbarians, ſtripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the weſtern empire, and cauſed himſelf to be

omnes campos eccleſiæ decurrebat, ipſo metu ſiccatum eſt flumen; atque dulcedo ſuavitatis dulcius propinata, in *amaritudinem abſinthii* verſa eſt. Victor Vit. de Perſecut. Vandal. Lib. 1. n. 3. Vide etiam Vitam Auguſtini Lib. 8. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(8) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14, et 15 in initio.

(9) Sigonius

be proclaimed King of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration; for after a reign of ſixteen years he was overcome and ſlain (9) in the year 493 by Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths in Italy, which continued about ſixty years under his ſucceſſors. Thus was the Roman "ſun" extinguiſhed in the weſtern emperor; but the other leſſer luminaries, the "moon" and "ſtars," ſtill ſubſiſted; for Rome was ſtill allowed to have her ſenate, and conſuls, and other ſubordinate magiſtrates as before. Odoacer (1) at firſt ſuppreſſed them, but after two or three years reſtored them again. Theodoric (2) changed none of the Roman inſtitutes; he retained the ſenate, and conſuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magiſtrates, and committed theſe offices only to Romans. Theſe lights, we may ſuppoſe, ſhone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, till after the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths was deſtroyed by the emperor of the eaſt's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eaſtern empire. Longinus was (3) ſent then in the year 566 by the emperor Juſtin II to govern Italy with abſolute authority: and he changed the whole form of the government, aboliſhed the ſenate, and conſuls, and all the former magiſtrates in Rome and Italy, and in every city of note conſtituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himſelf preſided over all; and reſiding at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the Exarch of Ravenna, as were alſo his ſucceſſors in the ſame office. Rome was degraded to the ſame level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empreſs of the world was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which ſhe had uſed to govern.

13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midſt of heaven, ſaying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth, by reaſon of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to ſound.

Notice

(9) Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. in fine. Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(1) Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. Ann. 476 et 479.

(2) Jam vero nullum Romanum inſtitutum mutavit: ſiquidem et ſenatum, et conſules, patricios, —cæteroſque

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel (ver. 13.) that the three other trumpets ſound to ſtill greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore diſtinguiſhed from the former by the name of "woes." The deſign of this meſſenger is to raiſe our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we ſhall find to be more ſtrongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the weſtern empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eaſtern empire. The foregoing are deſcribed more ſuccinctly, and contain a leſs compaſs of time; the two following are ſet forth with more particular circumſtances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger deſcription.

CHAP. IX.

1 AND the fifth angel ſounded, and I ſaw a ſtar fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomleſs pit.

2 And he opened the bottomleſs pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit, as the ſmoke of a great furnace: and the ſun and the air were darkened, by reaſon of the ſmoke of the pit.

3 And there came out of the ſmoke locuſts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the ſcorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they ſhould not hurt the graſs of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only thoſe men which have not the ſeal of God in their foreheads.

5 And to them it was given that they ſhould not kill them, but that they ſhould be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a ſcorpion, when he ſtriketh a man.

—cæteroſque qui fuerant in imperio, magiſtratus retinuit, eoſque Romanis hominibus tantum mandavit. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

(3) Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiæ, Lib. 1. Blondi Decad. primæ, Lib. 8.

(4) Vide

6 And in thoſe days ſhall men ſeek death, and ſhall not find it; and ſhall deſire to die, and death ſhall flee from them.

7 And the ſhapes of the locuſts *were* like unto horſes prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions.

9 And they had breaſt-plates, as it were breaſt-plates of iron; and the ſound of their wings *was* as the ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle.

10 And they had tails like unto ſcorpions, and there were ſtings in their tales: and their power was to hurt men five months.

11 And they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomleſs pit, whoſe name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name Apollyon.

12 One woe is paſt, *and* behold, there come two woes more hereafter.

At the ſounding of the fifth trumpet (ver. 1, 2, 3.) "a ſtar fallen "from heaven," meaning the wicked impoſtor Mohammed, "opened "the bottomleſs pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit, and the "ſun and the air were darkened" by it; that is, a falſe religion was ſet up, which filled the world with darkneſs and error; and ſwarms of Saracen or Arabian "locuſts" overſpread the earth. A falſe prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing "ſtar" or meteor. The Arabians likewiſe are properly compared to "locuſts," not only becauſe numerous armies frequently are ſo, but alſo becauſe ſwarms of locuſts often ariſe from Arabia: and alſo becauſe in the plagues of Egypt, to which conſtant alluſion is made in theſe trumpets, "the locuſts" (Exod. X. 13.) are "brought by an eaſt-wind," that is from Arabia, which lay eaſtward of Egypt; and alſo becauſe in the book of Judges (VII. 12.) the people of Arabia are compared to "locuſts" or "graſ-"hoppers for multitude," for in the original the word for both is the ſame.

(4) Vide Geſner. de Inſect. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. XI. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Harduin.

(5) Anno Heraclii decimo ſeptimo dimidium corporis ſolaris lumine defecit, manſitque ejus deliquium a Tiſrin priori ad Haziran, adeo ut non appareret niſi parum quid de lumine ipſius. Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn.

ſame. As the natural locuſts (4) are bred in pits and holes of the earth, ſo theſe myſtical locuſts are truly *infernal*, and proceed with the ſmoke " from the bottomleſs pit." It is too a remarkable coincidence, that at this time " the ſun and the air were" really " darkened." For we learn from an (5) eminent Arabian hiſtorian, that ' in the ſeven-' teenth year of Heraclius half the body of the ſun was eclipſed, and ' this defect continued from the former Tiſrin to Haziran, (that is ' from October to June) ſo that only a little of its light appeared.' The ſeventeenth year of Heraclius (6) coincides with the year of Chriſt 626, and with the 5th year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exerciſing his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conqueſts abroad.

" It was commanded them" (ver. 4.) " that they ſhould not hurt " the graſs of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;" which demonſtrates that theſe were not natural, but ſymbolical locuſts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and ſoldiers. When Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him (7) with this among other orders; " Deſtroy no palm-" trees, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit-trees, nor do " any miſchief to cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat." Their com-miſſion is to " hurt only thoſe men who have not the ſeal of God in " their foreheads;" that is thoſe who are not the true ſervants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians. Now from hiſtory it appears evidently, that in thoſe countries of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conqueſts, the Chriſtians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worſhipping of ſaints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chaſtiſe them for it, and to re-eſtabliſh the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freeſt from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the ſouthern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurſeries and habitations of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes: and it is very me-morable, that (8) when the Saracens approached theſe parts, they were defeated

Dyn. 8. p. 99. Verſ. Pocockii.

(6) Blair's Chron. Tab. N° 33. Abul-Pharaji Dyn. 9. p. 102. Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 2. p. 6.

(7) Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 25.

(8) Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 5. Mezeray Abregé Chronol. A. D. 732, &c.

(9) Sigonii

defeated with great ſlaughter by the famous Charles Martel in ſeveral engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians, ſo theſe (ver. 5, 6.) they were not to "kill" but only to "torment," and ſhould bring ſuch calamities upon the earth, as ſhould make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be ſuppoſed that the Saracens would not "kill" many thouſands in their incurſions. On the contrary their angel (ver. 11.) hath the name of "the deſtroyer." They might "kill" them as individuals, but ſtill they ſhould not "kill" them as a political body, as a ſtate or empire. They might greatly harraſs and "torment" both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they ſhould not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They beſieged Conſtantinople, and (9) even plundered Rome; but they could not make themſelves maſters of either of thoſe capital cities. The Greek empire ſuffered moſt from them, as it lay neareſt to them. They diſmembered it of Syria, and Egypt, and ſome other of its beſt and richeſt provinces; but they were never able to ſubdue and conquer the whole. As often as they beſieged Conſtantinople, they were repulſed and defeated. They attempted it (1) in the reign of Conſtantine Pogonatus A. D. 672; but their men and ſhips were miſerably deſtroyed by the ſea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after ſeven years fruitleſs pains they were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again (2) in the reign of Leo Iſauricus A. D. 718; but they were forced to deſiſt by famin, and peſtilence, and loſſes of various kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commiſſion, and therefore they were not crowned with their uſual ſucceſs. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reſerved for another power, as we ſhall ſee under the next trumpet.

In

(9) Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiæ Lib. 5. Ann. 846.

(1) Theoph. Cedren. ad. ann. Conſt. 5. Zonaræ Annales Lib. 14. Cap. 20. &c. Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 34. Part 2d.

(2) Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiæ Lib. 3. Anno 718. Petav. ibid. Cap. 5.

(3) Vide Albertum, Aldrovandum, Theodoretum &c. apud Bochart. Hieroz. Part. Poſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.——caput aut faciem equinæ non abſimilem. A qua locuſtæ ab Italis vocantur *cavalette*. Col. 474.

(4) Arabes mitrati degunt. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Hic mitra velatus Arabs. Claudian de Laud. Stil. I. 156. Pocockii Not. in Carm. Tograi Arab. pag. ult.

(5) Nulli unquàm genti tam late regnatum fuit, neque tàm brevi temporis ſpatio unquam tot regna, tot

In the following verſes (7, 8, 9, 10.) the nature and qualities of theſe locuſts are deſcribed, partly in alluſion to the properties of natural locuſts and the deſcription given of them by the prophet Joel, and partly in alluſion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to ſhow that not real but figurative locuſts were here intended. The firſt quality mentioned is their being " like unto horſes prepared unto battle;" which is copied from Joel (II. 4.) " The appearance of them is as the " appearance of horſes, and as horſemen, ſo ſhall they run." Many authors have (3) obſerved that the head of a locuſt reſembles that of an horſe. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette*, as it were little horſes. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horſes and horſemanſhip. Their ſtrength is well known to conſiſt chiefly in their cavalry.

Another diſtinguiſhing mark and character is their having " on their " heads as it were crowns like gold;" which is an alluſion to the headdreſs of the Arabians, (4) who have conſtantly worn turbants or mitres, and boaſt of having thoſe ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The " crowns" alſo ſignify the kingdoms and dominions which they ſhould acquire. For, as Mr. Mede (5) excellently obſerves, ' No nation had ever ſo wide a ' command, nor ever were ſo many kingdoms, ſo many regions ſub- ' jugated in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. It ſounds incredible, yet moſt ' true it is; that in the ſpace of eighty or not many more years, they ' ſubdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed ' Paleſtine, Syria, both Armenia's, almoſt all Aſia Minor, Perſia, India, ' Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, ' Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition ſtop here, till they had ' added alſo a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; ' moreover

tot regiones, ſub jugum miſſa. Incredibile dictu, viriſſimum tamen eſt; Octoginta, aut non multo plurium, annorum ſpatio ſubjugârunt illi et diabolico regno Muhammedis acquiſiverunt Palæſtinam, Syriam, Armeniam utramque, totam ferme Aſiam minorem, Perſiam, Indiam, Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam totam ad Nigrum uſque fluvium, Luſitaniam, Hiſpaniam. Neque hic ſtetit illorum fortuna, aut ambitio, donec et Italiæ magnam quoque partem adjecerint, ad portas uſque urbis Romæ; quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, et reliquas maris Mediterranei inſulas. Deus bone, quantus hic terrarum tractus! quot hic *coronæ!* Unde dignum quoque obſervatu eſt, non hic, ut in cæteris tubis, *trientis* mentionem fieri: ſiquidem non minus extra imperii Romani fines quam intra ipſum caderet hæc clades, ad extremos uſque Indos ſeſe porrectura. Mede p. 468.

(6) Arabes

'moreover Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other ilands of the Mediterranean ſea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many 'crowns were here! Whence alſo it is worthy of obſervation, that 'mention is not made here, as in other trumpets,' *of the third part*; 'foraſmuch as this plague fell no leſs without the bounds 'of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itſelf even to 'the remoteſt Indies.'

They had alſo "faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of "women:" and the Arabians wore their beards, or at leaſt muſtachoes, as men; while the hair of their heads was flowing or plaited like that of women; as (6) Pliny and other ancient authors teſtify. Another property copied from Joel is their having "teeth as the teeth of "lions;" that is ſtrong to devour. So Joel deſcribes the locuſts (I. 6.) as "a nation, whoſe teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-"teeth of a great lion:" and it is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as (7) Pliny ſays, even the doors of houſes. They had alſo "breaſt-plates, as it were breaſt-plates of iron:" and the locuſts have a hard ſhell or ſkin, which (8) hath been called their armour. This figure is deſigned to expreſs the defenſive, as the former was the offenſive arms of the Saracens. "And the ſound of their wings was as the "ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle." Much the ſame compariſon had been uſed by Joel, (II. 5.) "Like the noiſe of chariots "on the tops of mountains ſhall they leap:" and (9) Pliny affirms, that they fly with ſo great a noiſe of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their "wings," and "the ſound of their wings," denote the ſwiftneſs and rapidity of their conqueſts; and it is indeed aſtoniſhing, that in leſs than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover

(6) Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonſo crine: barba abraditur, præterquam in ſuperiore labro. Aliis et hæc intonſa. Plin. ibid. Plurimis crinis intonſus, mitrata capita, pars raſa in cutem barba. Solinus Cap. 33. p. 46. Edit. Salmaſii. Crinitus quidam, &c. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 31. ubi notat Valeſius, Talis erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docet Hieronymus in Vita Malchi. Ecce ſubito equorum camelorumque ſeſſores Iſmaëlitæ irruunt, crinitis vittatiſque capitibus &c: et Theodorus Mopſueſtenus in caput X Hieremiæ, Saracenos ait comam a fronte quidem detondere, retro autem intonſam demittere. &c. p. 654. Edit. Paris. 1681.

(7) Omnia vero morſu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Harduin.

(8) Claudian. Epigram. 32. De Locuſtâ: Fragmentum.

——cognatus

Moreover they are thrice compared unto "ſcorpions," (ver. 3, 5, 10.) and "had ſtings in their tails like unto ſcorpions;" that is they ſhould draw a poiſonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there alſo they ſhould diſtil the venom of a falſe religion. It is farther added (ver. 11.) that "they had a king over them;" the ſame perſon ſhould exerciſe temporal as well as ſpiritual ſovranty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the ſame as the "ſtar" or "angel of the "bottomleſs pit," whoſe name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is *the deſtroyer*. Mr. Mede (1) imagins, that this is ſome alluſion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharoah* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and *Cæſar* of the emperors of Rome: and ſuch alluſions are not unuſual in the ſtile of ſcripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his ſucceſſors, who were the authors of all thoſe horrid wars and deſolations, and openly taught and profeſſed that their religion was to be propagated and eſtabliſhed by the ſword.

One difficulty, and the greateſt of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of "five months" aſſigned to theſe locuſts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular conſideration. They "tormented men five months, (ver. 5.) and again (ver. 10.) "their power was to hurt for five months." It is ſaid without doubt in conformity to the type; for locuſts (2) are obſerved to live about "five months," that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as (3) Bochart aſſerts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of theſe locuſts it is ſaid, not that their duration or exiſtence was only for "five months," but their "power "of hurting and tormenting men" continued "five months." Now theſe

——cognatus dorſo dureſcit amictus.
Armavit natura cutem.

(9) Tanto volant pennarum ſtridore, ut aliæ alites credantur. Plin. ibid.

(1) Mede, ibid. p. 470.

(2) Vergiliarum exortu parére, [Circa Maii Nonas] deinde ad Canis ortum obire, [Circa XV. Calendas Auguſti] et alias renaſci. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Hard. Locuſtæ vere natæ ſub finem æſtatis obeunt, nec ſupra quinque menſes vivere ſolent. Bochart. Hieroz. Part Poſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Col. 495.

(3) Nec fruſtra eſt, quod myſticis locuſtis, quæ ſcorpionum caudas habent, non datur poteſtas nocendi hominibus, niſi per menſes quinque. Quippe ut locuſtæ, ita nec ſcorpiones diutius nocent. Nam per frigora torpent, nec quidquam ab iis eſt periculi. Bochart ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 29. Col. 640.

(4) Howel's

months may either be months commonly ſo taken: or prophetic months, conſiſting each of 30 days, as St. John reckons them, and ſo making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year; or the number being repeated twice, the ſums may be thought to be doubled, and "five months" and "five months" in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If theſe months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locuſts live and do hurt only in the five ſummer-months, ſo the Saracens, in the five ſummer-months too, made their excurſions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears that this was their uſual practice, and particularly when (4) they firſt beſieged Conſtantinople in the time of Conſtantine Pogonatus. For "from the month of April till September, they pertinaciouſly continued their ſiege, and then deſpairing of ſucceſs, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in ſpring again renewed the war: and this courſe they held for ſeven years, as the Greek annals tells us." If theſe months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that ſpace of time that the Saracens made their principal conqueſts. Their empire might ſubſiſt much longer, but their "power" of "hurting" and "tormenting men" was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the hiſtory of the Saracens, and you will find that their greateſt exploits were performed, their greateſt conqueſts were made, between the (5) year 612 when Mohammed firſt "opened the bottomleſs pit," and began publicly to teach and propagate his impoſture, and the year 762 when the caliph Almanſor built Bagdad, to fix there the ſeat of his empire, and called it "the city of peace." Syria, Perſia, India, and the greateſt part of Aſia; Egypt, and the greateſt part of Africa; Spain, and ſome parts of Europe, were all ſubdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceaſed from their excurſions and ravages like locuſts, and became a ſettled nation; then they made no more ſuch rapid and amazing conqueſts

(4) Howel's Hiſt. of the World. Part 3. Chap. 4. Sect. 7. p. 288.—απο μηνος Απριλλιυ εις Σεπτεμβρ. και υποτρεψαντες εν Κυζικω, ταυτην παραλαμβανουσι, και χειμαζουσιν εκει. και κατα εαρ ὁμοιως επολεμουν μετα των χριστιανων, επι επτα ετη.—ab Aprili uſque ad Septembrem menſem. Inde barbari revertentes Cyzicum occupaverunt, atque ibi hyemarunt: et vere rurſum Chriſtianis bellum fecerunt. Hoc modo ſeptem annos ſe geſſere. Cedreni Hiſt. Compend. p. 437. Edit. Paris. p. 345. Edit. Venet. Vide etiam Theophanis Chronograph. p. 264. Edit. Paris. p. 234. Edit. Venet.

(5) Prideaux Life of Mahomet. p. 14. 8th Edit. Elmacini

conqueſts as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locuſts, "one king over them," Spain (6) having revolted in the year 756, and ſet up another caliph in oppoſition to the reigning houſe of Abbas. If theſe months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to (7) Sir Iſaac Newton, "the whole time that "the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Da-"maſcus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 "to the year 936 incluſive;" when (8) their empire was broken and divided into ſeveral principalities or kingdoms. So that let theſe "five "months" be taken in any poſſible conſtruction, the event will ſtill anſwer, and the prophecy will ſtill be fulfilled; though the ſecond method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the firſt or the third.

In the concluſion it is added, (ver. 12.) "One woe is paſt, and be-"hold there come two woes more hereafter." This is added not only to diſtinguiſh the woes, and to mark more ſtrongly each period, but alſo to ſuggeſt that ſome time will intervene between this firſt woe of the Arabian locuſts, and the next of the Euphratéan horſemen. The ſimilitude between the locuſts and Arabians is indeed ſo great that it cannot fail of ſtriking every curious obſerver: and a farther reſemblance is (9) noted by Mr. Daubuz, that "there hath happened in the ex-"tent of this torment a coincidence of the event with the nature of "the locuſts. The Saracens have made inroads into all thoſe parts of "Chriſtendom where the natural locuſts are wont to be ſeen and known "to do miſchief, and no where elſe: And that too in the ſame pro-"portion. Where the locuſts are ſeldom ſeen, there the Saracens "ſtayed little: where the natural locuſts are often ſeen, there the Sa-"racens abode moſt; and where they breed moſt, there the Saracens

Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 3. et Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 102. Abul-Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 9. p. 141. Verſ. Pocockii. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 36. Part 2d.

(6) Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 101. Blair ibid.

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton on the Apoc. Chap. 3. p. 305. See likewiſe p. 91. of Mr. Jackſon's Addreſs to the Deiſts: wherein are ſome pertinent obſervations concerning the completion of this and the ſucceeding Woe.

(8) Elmacin. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. p. 203. Blair's Tab. N° 39.

(9) Daubuz. p. 409.

(1) Elmacini

" had their beginning and greateſt power. This may be eaſily verified " by hiſtory."

13 And the ſixth angel ſounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God,

14 Saying to the ſixth angel which had the trumpet, Looſe the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

15 And the four angels were looſed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to ſlay the third part of men.

16 And the number of the army of the horſemen *were* two hundred thouſand thouſand: and I heard the number of them.

17 And thus I ſaw the horſes in the viſion, and them that ſat on them, having breaſt-plates of fire, and of jacinct, and brimſtone: and the heads of the horſes *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths iſſued fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone.

18 By theſe three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the ſmoke, and by the brimſtone, which iſſued out of their mouths.

19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto ſerpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20 And the reſt of the men which were not killed by theſe plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they ſhould not worſhip devils, and idols of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, and ſtone, and of wood: which neither can ſee, nor hear, nor walk:

21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their ſorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

At the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet (ver. 13, 14, 15.) a voice proceeded " from the four horns of the golden altar," (for the ſcene was ſtill in the temple) ordering the angel of the ſixth trumpet " to looſe " the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates;" and they " were looſed" accordingly. Such a voice proceeding " from " the four horns of the golden altar" is a ſtrong indication of the divine

(1) Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 3. Cap. 7 et 8. p. 726. Edit. 1703. Introduct. to the Hiſt. of Aſia. p. 271 et 284. Edit. Erpenii. Heylin's Coſm. B. 3.

Chap.

divine diſpleaſure; and plainly intimates that the ſins of men muſt have been very great, when the altar, which was their ſanctuary and protection, called aloud for vengeance. "The four angels" are the four ſultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans. For there were four principal ſultanies or kingdoms of the Turks, bordering upon the river Euphrates: (1) one at Bagdad founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is more uſually called, in the year 1055: another at Damaſcus founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo founded by Sjarfuddaulas or Melech in the ſame year 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Aſia Minor founded by Sedyduddaulus or Cutlu Muſes, or his ſon, in the year 1080. Theſe four ſultanies ſubſiſted ſeveral years afterwards; and the ſultans were "bound" and reſtrained from extending their conqueſts farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and ſecondarily by the croiſades or expeditions of the Européan Chriſtians into the holy land in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay the Européan Chriſtians took ſeveral cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croiſades, and the Chriſtians totally abandoned their conqueſts in Syria and Paleſtine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then "the four angels on the river Euphrates were looſed." Soliman Shah (2) the firſt chief and founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three ſons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have paſſed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of "looſing "the four angels" being not yet come. Diſcouraged at this ſad accident, two of his ſons returned to their former habitations: but Ortogrul the third, with his three ſons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained ſome time in thoſe parts, and having obtained leave of Aladin the ſultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and ſettled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excurſions; and the other Turks aſſociating with them, and following their ſtandard, they gained ſeveral victories over the Tartars on one ſide, and over the

Chap. 11. Sect. 2 et 3. Sandys's Travels. B. 1. p. 34. 7th Edit.

(2) Pocockii Supplem. Abul-Pharaj. Hiſt. p. 41, 42. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 822. 694, &c.

(3) Pocock.

the Chriſtians on the other. Ortogrul (3) dying in the year 1288, Othman his ſon ſucceeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as ſome ſay with the conſent of Aladin himſelf, he was proclaimed ſultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For tho' they diſclame the name of *Turks*, and aſſume that of *Othmans*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four ſultanies above mentioned, as well as the deſcendents particularly of the houſe of Othman.

In this manner and at this time "the four angels were looſed, which "were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for "to ſlay the third part of men," that is as before, the men of the Roman empire, and eſpecially in Europe the third part of the world. The Latin or weſtern empire was broken to pieces under the four firſt trumpets; the Greek or eaſtern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the ſixth trumpet it is to be *ſlain* and utterly deſtroyed. Accordingly all Aſia Minor, Syria, Paleſtine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greek or eaſtern Cæſars, the Othmans have conquered, and ſubjugated to their dominion. They firſt (4) paſſed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their ſecond Emperor, and in the year 1357; they (5) took Conſtantinople in the reign of Mohammed their ſeventh emperor, and in the year 1453; and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire ſhared the fate of the capital city. The laſt of their conqueſts were (6) Candia or the ancient Crete in 1669, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is ſaid that they "were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a "year;" which will admit either of a litteral or a myſtical interpretation; and the former will hold good, if the latter ſhould fail. If it be taken litterally, it is only expreſſing the ſame thing by different words, as "peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues" are jointly uſed in other places: and then the meaning is that they were prepared and ready

(3) Pocock. ibid. Herbelot. p. 694, 697.
(4) Pocockii Supplem. p. 43. Herbelot. p. 693. A. H. 758. cæpit Decem. 25. 1356. Pocockii Index.
(5) Leunclav. Pandect. Hiſt. Turc. Cap. 129. p. 448. Edit. Paris. p. 339. Edit. Venet. Pocock. ibid. p. 47. Herbelot. p. 615. Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire. B. 3. Chap. 1. Sect. 9. p. 103. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. 1.

ready to execute the divine commiſſion at any time or for any time, any "hour," or "day," or "month," or "year" that God ſhould appoint. If it be taken myſtically, and the "hour," and "day," and "month," and "year" be a prophetic "hour," and "day," and "month," and "year," then a "year" (according to St. John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) conſiſting of 360 days is 360 years, and a "month" conſiſting of 30 days is 30 years, and a "day" is a year, and an "hour" in the ſame proportion is 15 days; ſo that the whole period of the Othmans "ſlaying the third part of men," or ſubduing the Chriſtian ſtates in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the firſt conqueſt mentioned in hiſtory, of the Othmans over the Chriſtians, was (7) in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Chriſt 1281. For Ortogrul "in that year (according to the accurate hiſtorian Saadi) "crowned his victories with the conqueſt of the famous city of Kutahi "upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year, as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth (8) took Cameniec from the Poles, "and forty eight towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec were "delivered up" to the ſultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was "the laſt victory by which any advantage accrued to the Othman ſtate, "or any city or province was annexed to the ancient bounds of the "empire." Agreeably to which obſervation, he hath intitled the former part of his hiſtory *of the growth of the Othman empire*, and the following part *of the decay of the Othman empire*. Other wars and ſlaughters, as he ſays, have enſued. The Turks even beſieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commiſſion, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and ſurrendered to them again: but ſtill they have ſubdued no new ſtate or potentate of Chriſtendom now for the ſpace of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing

I. p. 180, &c.

(6) Prince Cantemir, B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 8. p. 262. Sect. 16. p. 265. Savage. ibid. Vol. 2. p. 192, et 200.

(7) Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 5. p. 10.

(8) Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 18, 19, p. 265.

(9) λεγεται

appearing rather to decreaſe than increaſe. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic hiſtories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactneſs might alſo be found in the 15 days. But tho' the time be limited for the Othman's "ſlaying the third part of men," yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this ſecond woe will end, when the third woe, (XI. 14.) or the deſtruction of the beaſt, ſhall be at hand.

A deſcription is then given (ver. 16, 17, 18, 19.) of the forces, and of the means and inſtruments, by which the Othmans ſhould effect the ruin of the eaſtern empire. Their armies are deſcribed as very numerous, "myriads of myriads;" and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the ſecond beſieged Conſtantinople, he had (9) about four hundred thouſand men in his army, beſides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred leſſer ſhips. They are deſcribed too chiefly as "horſemen;" and ſo they are deſcribed both by Ezekiel and by Daniel, as there was occaſion to obſerve in the laſt diſſertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, eſpecially before the order of Janizaries was inſtituted by Amurath the firſt. The Janizaries may be the guard of the court, but the Timariots, or horſemen holding lands by ſerving in the wars, are the ſtrength of the government: and theſe, as Heylin (1) affirms, are in all accounted between ſeven and eight hundred thouſand fighting men; ſome ſay they are a million; and beſides theſe, there are Spahi's and other horſemen in the emperor's pay.

"In the viſion," that is in appearance, and not in reality, they "had "breaſt-plates of fire, and of jacinct" or hyacinth, "and brimſtone." The color of "fire" is red, of "hyacinth" blue, and of "brimſtone" yellow:

(9) λεγεται δε γενεσθαι. κ. τ. λ. Quadraginta myriades hominum dicuntur tunc temporis in exercitu regis fuiſſe——claſſis regiæ, in qua erant triremes triginta, naves minores ducentæ. Laonicus Chalcocondylas de rebus Turcicis. Lib. 8. p. 203. Edit. Paris. p. 158. Edit. Venet.

(1) Heylin's Coſm. B. 3. p. 729. Edit. 1703. Sandys's Travels. B. 1. p. 38. 7th Edit.

(2) Daubuz. p. 444. See too Rycaut's Preſent State of the Othman Empire. B. 3. Chap. 3. Tournefort's Voyage. Vol. 2. Lett. 1. p. 36, &c.

(3) Chalcocond ibid. Lib. 7.

(4) τηλεβολες ποιεμενος μεγιστες. κ. τ. λ. Bombardas fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus ea tempeſta-

te

yellow: and this, as Mr. Daubuz (2) obſerves, "hath a litteral accom-
"pliſhment; for the Othmans, from the firſt time of their appearance,
"have affected to wear ſuch warlike apparel of ſcarlet, blue, and yel-
"low." Of the Spahi's particularly ſome have red, and ſome have yel-low ſtandards, and others red or yellow mixt with colors. In appear-ance too "the heads of the horſes were as the heads of lions, to" denote their ſtrength, courage, and fierceneſs; "and out of their mouths "iſſued fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone." A manifeſt alluſion to great guns and gun-powder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of ſuch ſignal ſervice to the Othmans in their wars. For "by theſe "three was the third part of men killed," by theſe the Othmans made ſuch havoc and deſtruction in the Greek or eaſtern empire. Amurath the ſecond (3) broke into Peloponneſus, and took ſeveral ſtrong places by the means of his artillery. But his ſon Mohammed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople (4) employed ſuch great guns, as were never made be-fore. One is deſcribed to have been of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, that it was drawn by ſeventy yoke of oxen and by two thouſand men. There were two more, each of which diſcharged a ſtone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a ſtone of the weight of half a talent. But the greateſt of all diſcharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds; and the report of this cannon is ſaid to have been ſo great, that all the country round about was ſhaken to the diſtance of forty furlongs. For forty days the wall was battered by theſe guns, and ſo many breaches were made, that the city was taken by aſſault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover "they had power to do hurt by their tails," as well as "by their mouths, their tails being like unto ſerpents, and having "heads." In this reſpect they very much reſemble "the locuſts;" only the different tales are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of "ſcorpions to locuſts," the tails of "ſerpents with an head at each

te nunquam extitiſſe.—Tanta hujus bombardæ magnitudo extitit, ut a ſeptuaginta jugis boum et a viris bis mille trahenda fuerit.——Bombardæ, quas rex habebat, duæ maximæ, emittebant lapidem qui appendebat talenta duo.—Hæ emittebant lapidem, cujus pondus erat dimidium talentum——Bombarda maxima torquebat globum, cujus pondus continebat tria circiter talenta—Bombardæ hujus tonitru tantum eſſe traditum eſt, ut finitima regio uſque ad quadraginta ſtadia concuteretur.—Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quaſſatus erat, &c. Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 8. p. 203, 204. Edit. Paris. p. 158, 159. Edit. Venet.

(5) See

" end to horſes." By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the ſame poiſonous train as the Saracens; they profeſs and propagate the ſame impoſture; they do hurt not only by their conqueſts, but alſo by ſpreading their falſe doctrin; and wherever they eſtabliſh their dominion, there too they eſtabliſh their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are ſtill remaining among them: but they are (5) made to pay dearly for the exerciſe of their religion; are ſubjected to a capitation-tax, which is rigorouſly exacted from all above fourteen years of age; are burdened beſides with the moſt heavy and arbitrary impoſitions upon every occaſion; are compelled to the loweſt and moſt ſervile drudgery; are abuſed in their perſons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of ſeeing ſome of their friends and kindred daily apoſtatize to the ruling religion, but had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the more robuſt and hardy were trained up to the ſoldiery, the more weakly and tender were caſtrated for the ſeraglio: but notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions and oppreſſions ſome remains of the Greek church are ſtill preſerved among them, as we may reaſonably conclude, to ſerve ſome great and myſterious ends of providence.

But tho' the Greek church was thus ruined and oppreſſed, " the reſt " of men" (ver. 20, 21.) " who were not killed by theſe plagues," the Latin church which pretty well eſcaped theſe calamities, " yet re- " pented not of the works of their hands, that they ſhould not worſhip " devils," δαιμονια demons or ſecond mediatory Gods, as it hath largely been ſhown before, ſaints and angels, " and idols of gold and ſilver " and braſs and ſtone and wood." From hence it is evident, that theſe calamities were inflicted upon the Chriſtians for their idolatry. As the eaſtern churches were firſt in the crime, ſo they were firſt likewiſe in the puniſhment. At firſt they were viſited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chaſtiſed by the ſtill greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the weſtern, or thoſe in communion with Rome? And the weſtern were not

(5) See Smith's and Rycaut's accounts of the Greek church.

(6) Vitring.

not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eaſtern, but perſiſted ſtill in the worſhip of ſaints, and (what is worſe) the worſhip of images, "which "neither can ſee, nor hear, nor walk:" and the world is witneſs to the completion of this prophecy to this day. "Neither repented they "of their murders," their perſecutions and inquiſitions, "nor of their "ſorceries," their pretended miracles and revelations, "nor of their "fornication," their public ſtews and uncleanneſs, "nor of their "thefts," their exactions and impoſitions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiouſneſs and wickedneſs, as for their ſuperſtition and idolatry. As they therefore refuſed to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we ſhall ſee, will fall with vengeance upon them.

CHAP. X.

1 AND I ſaw another mighty angel come down from heaven, cloathed with a cloud, and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the ſun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he ſet his right foot upon the ſea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth,

3 And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth: and when he had cried, ſeven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the ſeven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven, ſaying unto me, Seal up thoſe things which the ſeven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5 And the angel which I ſaw ſtand upon the ſea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And ſware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the ſea and the things which are therein, that there ſhould be time no longer:

7 But in the days of the voice of the ſeventh angel, when he

ſhall begin to ſound, the myſtery of God ſhould be finiſhed, as he hath declared to his ſervants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven ſpake unto me again, and ſaid, Go, *and* take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which ſtandeth upon the ſea, and upon the earth.

9 And I went unto the angel, and ſaid unto him, Give me the little book. And he ſaid unto me, Take *it*, and eat it up; and it ſhall make thy belly bitter, but it ſhall be in thy mouth as ſweet as hony.

10 And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth ſweet as hony: and as ſoon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he ſaid unto me, Thou muſt propheſy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St. John, in the concluſion of the laſt chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the weſtern church, proceeds now to deliver ſome prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the ſubject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an auguſt and conſolatory viſion. "Another mighty angel came down from "heaven," (ver. 1.) deſcribed ſomewhat like the angel in the three laſt chapters of Daniel, and in the firſt chapter of the Revelation. "He "had in his hand" (ver. 2.) "a little book," βιβλαριδιον "a little book" or codicil different from the βιβλιον or "book" mentioned before: and it was "open," that all men might freely read and conſider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the ſixth trumpet, to deſcribe the ſtate of the weſtern church after the deſcription of the ſtate of the eaſtern: and this is with good reaſon made a ſeparate and diſtinct prophecy, on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. "He ſet his right foot upon "the ſea, and his left foot on the earth," to ſhow the extent of his power and commiſſion: "and when he had cried aloud", (ver. 3.) "ſeven thunders uttered their voices." St. John would have written down (ver. 4.) "thoſe things which the ſeven thunders uttered," but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the ſubjects of "the ſeven "thunders,"

" thunders," ſo neither can we know the reaſons for ſuppreſſing them: but it may be conceived, that ſome things might be proper to be revealed to the apoſtle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By theſe " ſeven thunders," (6) Vitringa underſtands the ſeven great croiſades or expeditions of the weſtern Chriſtians for the conqueſt of the holy land, and Daubuz the ſeven kingdoms which received and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant reformation by law. But doth it not ſavor rather of vanity and preſumption than of wiſdom and knowlege, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purpoſely concealed them? Then the angel (ver. 5, 6, 7.) " lifted up his " hand to heaven," like the angel in Daniel, (XII. 7.) " and ſware by " him that liveth for ever and ever," the great creator of all things, ὅτι χρονος οὐκ ἐσται ἔτι, " that the time ſhall not be yet," but it ſhall be in the days of the ſeventh trumpet, that " the myſtery of God ſhall be " finiſhed," and the glorious ſtate of his church be perfected, agreeably to the good things which he hath promiſed, ὡς εὐηγγελισε, " to his ſervants " the prophets." This is ſaid for the conſolation of Chriſtians, that tho' " the little book" deſcribes the calamities of the weſtern church, yet they ſhall all have a happy period under the ſeventh trumpet. St. John is then ordered (ver. 8, 9, 10.) " to eat the little book," as Ezekiel (III. 3.) did upon a like occaſion: and he " ate it up;" he thoroughly conſidered, and digeſted it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, " ſweet as hony in his mouth," but " bitter in his ſtomach." The knowlege of future things at firſt was pleaſant, but the ſad contents of the little book afterwards filled his ſoul with ſorrow. But theſe contents were not to be " ſealed up" like thoſe of " the ſeven thun- " ders;" this " little book" was to be publiſhed (ver. 11.) as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps; it was a kind of *ſecond* prophecy, added to the former; and as it concerned " kings and nations," ſo it was to be made public for their uſe and information. But if here as ſome contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the ſubject is reſumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in " the little book," then " the little book" contains more matter than " the larger book," and part of the " ſealed" book is made part of the " open" book, which is

(6) Vitring. in locum. p. 431. Daubuz. p. 469.

(7) Mr.

is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalyps, and in great meaſure deſtroys the beauty and ſymmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the ſeventh trumpet is the ſeventh part of the ſeventh ſeal, as the ſeventh ſeal is the ſeventh part of the ſealed book, and conſequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth, as we ſhall ſee, with the ſixth trumpet, and immediately before the ſounding of the ſeventh.

CHAP. XI.

1 AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel ſtood, ſaying, Riſe, and meaſure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worſhip therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and meaſure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city ſhall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.

3 And I will give *power* unto my two witneſſes, and they ſhall propheſy a thouſand two hundred *and* threeſcore days cloathed in ſackcloth.

4 Theſe are the two olive-trees, and the two candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he muſt in this manner be killed.

6 Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to ſmite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.

7 And when they ſhall have finiſhed their teſtimony, the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit, ſhall make war againſt them, and ſhall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies *ſhall lie* in the ſtreet of the great city, which ſpiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where alſo our Lord was crucified.

9 And

9 And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, ſhall ſee their dead bodies three days and a half, and ſhall not ſuffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth ſhall rejoice over them, and make merry, and ſhall ſend gifts one to another; becauſe theſe two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and a half, the ſpirit of life from God entered into them: and they ſtood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which ſaw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven, ſaying unto them, Come up hither. And they aſcended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the ſame hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were ſlain of men ſeven thouſand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The ſecond woe is paſt, *and* behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the firſt verſe to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St. John is commanded (ver. 1.) to "meaſure" the inner court, "the temple of God, "and the altar, and them who worſhip therein," to ſhow that during all this period there were ſome true Chriſtians, who conformed to the rule and meaſure of God's word. This meaſuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from popery, which fell out under this ſixth trumpet; and one of the moral cauſes of it was the Othmans taking of Conſtantinople, whereupon the Grecks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more weſtern parts of Europe, proved the happy occaſion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learning opened mens eyes, and proved the happy occaſion of the Reformation. But tho' "the inner court," which includes the ſmaller number, was "meaſured," yet "the outer court," which implies the far greater part, was "left out" (ver. 2.) and rejected, as being in the poſſeſſion of Chriſtians only in name, but "Gentiles" in worſhip and practice, who profaned it with heatheniſh ſuperſtition

and

and idolatry: "and they ſhall tread under foot the holy city," they ſhall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Chriſt, for the ſpace of "forty and two months."

At the ſame time God ſhould raiſe up ſome true and faithful "witneſſes" (ver. 3.) to preach and proteſt againſt theſe innovations and corruptions of religion; for there were proteſtants long before ever the name came into uſe. Of theſe witneſſes there ſhould be, tho' but a ſmall, yet a competent number; and it was a ſufficient reaſon for making them "two witneſſes," becauſe that is the number required by the law, and approved by the goſpel, (Deut. XIX. 15. Mat. XVIII. 16.) "In the mouth of two witneſſes ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed:" and upon former occaſions two have often been joined in commiſſion, as Moſes and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Eliſha in the apoſtaſy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Jeſhua after the Babyloniſh captivity, to whom theſe witneſſes are particularly compared. Our Saviour himſelf ſent forth his diſciples (Luke X. 1.) "two and two:" and it hath been obſerved alſo, that the principal reformers have uſually appeared as it were in pairs, as the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there ſhould be ſome in every age, tho' but a few in number, who ſhould bear witneſs to the truth, and declare againſt the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They ſhould not be diſcouraged even by perſecution and oppreſſion, but tho' "cloathed "in ſackcloth," and living in a mourning and afflicted ſtate, ſhould yet "propheſy," ſhould yet preach the ſincere word of God, and denounce the divine judgments againſt the reigning idolatry and wickedneſs: and this they ſhould continue to do, as long as the grand corruption itſelf laſted, for the ſpace of "a thouſand two hundred and "threeſcore days." It is the ſame ſpace of time with "the forty and "two months" before mentioned. For "forty and two months," conſiſting each of thirty days, are equal to "a thouſand two hundred "and threeſcore days," or "years" in the prophetic ſtile: and "a "thouſand two hundred and threeſcore years," as we have ſeen before in Daniel, and ſhall ſee hereafter in the Revelation, is the period aſſigned

for

for the tyranny and idolatry of the church of Rome. The "witneſſes" therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but muſt be a ſucceſſion of men, and a ſucceſſion of churches.

A character is then given of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effect of their preaching. "Theſe are the two olive trees, and the two "candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth, (ver. 4.) that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Jeſhua, (Zech. IV.) the great inſtructers and inlightners of the church. "Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, "and devoureth their enemies," (ver. 5.) that is, they are like unto Moſes and Elijah, (Num. XVI. 2 Kings I.) who called for fire upon their adverſaries. But their fire was real, this is ſymbolical, and "proceedeth out of the mouth" of the witneſſes, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and oppoſers of true religion; much in the ſame manner, as it was ſaid to Jeremiah (V. 14.) "I will make my "words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it ſhall devour "them. Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the days "of their prophecy," (ver. 6.) that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, (1 Kings XVII. 1. Jam. V. 17.) "and it rained not on the earth by the ſpace of three years and ſix "months," which, myſtically underſtood, is the ſame ſpace of time as "the forty and two months," and "the thouſand two hundred and "threeſcore days," which are allotted for the propheſying of the witneſſes. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and bleſſing ſhall be withheld from thoſe men, who neglect and deſpiſe their preaching and doctrin. "They have" alſo "power over the waters to "turn them to blood, and to ſmite the earth with all plagues, as often "as they will," that is they are like Moſes and Aaron, who inflicted theſe plagues on Egypt: and they may be ſaid to "ſmite the earth with "the plagues" which they denounce, for in ſcripture-language the prophets are often ſaid to do thoſe things, which they declare and foretel. But it is moſt highly probable, that theſe particulars will receive a more litteral accompliſhment, when the plagues of God and the vials of his wrath (Chap. XVI.) ſhall be poured out upon men, in conſequence of their having ſo long reſiſted the teſtimony of the witneſſes. Their cauſe and the cauſe of truth will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next after this deſcription of the power and office of the witneſſes, follows a prediction of thoſe things, which ſhall befall them at the latter end of their miniſtry: and their paſſion, and death, and reſurrection, and aſcenſion are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically ſtiled (III. 14.) "the faithful and true witneſs;" but with this difference, that his were real, theirs are figurative and myſtical. "And "when they ſhall have finiſhed," ὁταν τελεσωσι, "when they ſhall be "about finiſhing their teſtimony," (ver. 7.) "the beaſt that aſcendeth "out of the abyſs," the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we ſhall hear more hereafter, "ſhall make war againſt them, and ſhall overcome "them, and kill them. The beaſt" indeed "ſhall make war againſt "them" all the time that they are performing their miniſtry; but "when they ſhall be near finiſhing it," he "ſhall" ſo "make war againſt "them, as to overcome them, and kill them." They ſhall be ſubdued and ſuppreſſed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally ſo. In this low and abject ſtate they ſhall lie ſome time (ver. 8.) "in the ſtreet of the great city," in ſome conſpicuous place within the juriſdiction of (7) Rome, "which ſpiritually is called Sodom" for corruption of manners, "and Egypt" for tyranny and oppreſſion of the people of God, "where alſo our Lord was crucified" ſpiritually, being crucified afreſh in the ſufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay to ſhow the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs, "their dead bodies" ſhall not only be publicly expoſed, (ver. 9.) but they ſhall be denied even the

(7) Mr. Mann, the late learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe, in ſome manuſcript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr. Jortin, hath the following to prove that not Jeruſalem, but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. XI. 8. "The great city which ſpi-"ritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord "was crucified." 1. "Jeruſalem in ver. 2. of this "very chapter, is called the holy city: can it be in "ſo few periods intended under the names of Sodom "and Egypt?

2. "The holy city or Jeruſalem ver. 2. was to be "waſted and trod under foot by the Gentiles for 42 "months: the two witneſſes were to propheſy the "ſame ſpace of time: how then ſhould their carkaſ-"ſes lie in the ſtreet of Jeruſalem ſo waſted?

3. "Jeruſalem in this book is four times called "the Holy City, never the Great (unleſs it be here "meant) The Great City is twelve times repeated "only of Babylon, i. e. Rome: is it probable it "ſhould be here uſed of Jeruſalem?

4. "In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witneſ-"ſes after lying dead three days and a half, the tenth "part of the city fell: but in ver. 2. Jeruſalem is "already waſted, and not ſuppoſed to be rebuilt; "and therefore incapable of being ſo damaged.

5. "And were Jeruſalem rebuilt, the enemies of "Chriſt out of all people, tongues, and nations "(ver. 9.) would not aſſemble there, nor the beaſt "expoſe the ſlain witneſſes but in his own capital.

1. "Object. There are two characteriſtics aſſign-"ed, which fit Jeruſalem only, That it is ſpiritually "or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt; as Jeru-"ſalem is compared to Sodom, Iſa. I. 10. and III. "9. (of Egypt no inſtance.)

1. "Anſw.

the common privilege of burial, which is the caſe of many proteſtants in popiſh countries: and their enemies "ſhall rejoice" and inſult "over them," (ver. 10.) "and ſhall ſend" mutual preſents and congratulations "one to another," for their deliverance from theſe "tormenters," whoſe life and doctrin were a continual reproach to them. But "after three days and a half," (ver. 11.) that is in the prophetic ſtile "after three years and a half," for no leſs time is requiſite for all theſe tranſactions, they ſhall be raiſed again by "the ſpirit of God," and (ver. 12.) ſhall "aſcend up to heaven;" they ſhall not only be reſtored to their priſtin ſtate, but ſhall be farther promoted to dignity and honor; and that by "a great voice from heaven," by the voice of public authority. "At the ſame hour there ſhall be a great earthquake," there ſhall be great commotions in the world; "and the tenth part of the "city ſhall fall," as an omen and earneſt of a ſtill greater fall; "and "ſeven thouſand names of men," or ſeven thouſand men of name, "ſhall be ſlain;" and the remainder in their fright and fear ſhall acknowlege the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of "the death "and reſurrection of the witneſſes" received its completion (8) in the caſe of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, who were "two" faithful "witneſſes" and martyrs of the bleſſed Jeſus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for hereſy by the council of Conſtance. Which council ſitting about "three years "and a half," from November 1414 to April 1418, their "bodies"

1. "Anſw. That Capernaum (Matt. XI. 23, 24.) "is likewiſe compared to Sodom by Chriſt; and ſo "is any city that ſhall reject the Goſpel. Matt. X. "15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9.) ob"ſerves of this very name, Nec hoc novum Scrip"turis divinis, figurate uti tranſlatione nominum, "ex comparatione criminum. So Rome might be "called Sodom for lewdneſs, and Egypt for the op"preſſion of God's people.

2. "Object. The ſecond characteriſtic, where "alſo our Lord was crucified, determines the place "to Jeruſalem beyond all poſſibility of doubting.

2. "Anſw. Mills ſays, The Text ſhould be read, "Ὅπου ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη, where their Lord was cru"cified, or had been crucified; yet indeed without "making any great difference to the litteral ſenſe. But "why may not this expreſſion be uſed figuratively as "well as the preceding? why may not the Lord of the "two witneſſes be ſpiritually crucified, where they are "ſpiritually ſlain? St. Paul to the Galatians uſes "this expreſſion figuratively 3 or 4 times: The Ep. "to the Hebr. VI. 6. uſes it figuratively, and per"haps in the very ſenſe it may bear here. Though "it is capable too of another, which is authorized "by Chriſt himſelf, for Matt. X. and XXV. and "Acts IX. 4, 5. he declares himſelf to ſuffer what "is done to his followers. In that Great City there"fore, which was drunk with the blood of the ſaints, "and the martyrs of Jeſus, Chap. XVII. 6. Je"ſus himſelf might be ſaid to be crucified."

(8) Fox et Vitring. p. 487, &c. Vide etiam Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſt. Sæc. XV. Cap. 6, 7. Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance par Jaques Lenfant. Voltaire's General Hiſtory and State of Europe. Part 2. and Annals of the Empire. Vol. 2.

(9) Brightman

may that time be ſaid to have lain "unburied in the ſtreet of the great "city," in Conſtance where was the greateſt aſſembly not only of biſhops and cardinals, but likewiſe of embaſſadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himſelf. But after the council was diſſolved, theſe two preachers were reſtored as it were to life in their diſciples and followers, who propagated the ſame doctrins, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquiſhed the Imperialiſts in ſeveral battles. It was truly ſaid to them "Come up hither," when they were invited to the council of Baſil with a promiſe of redreſs of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, "and the tenth part of the city "fell," the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to (9) the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the proteſtants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken priſoner, and the Landgrave of Heſſe was forced to ſurrender himſelf, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Proteſtantiſm was then in a manner ſuppreſſed, and the maſs reſtored. The witneſſes were "dead," but "not buried;" and the papiſts "rejoiced over them, and "made merry, and ſent gifts one to another." But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the ſpace of about "three years and a half," the proteſtants were "raiſed again" at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg priſoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almoſt every day; ſucceſs attended their arms and counſels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Paſſau to allow them the free exerciſe of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever ſince the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed "a great earthquake," a great commotion, in which many "thouſands were ſlain;" and "the tenth "part

(9) Brightman and Vitring. p. 493, &c. See alſo Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reformation. B. 19, &c. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire. Vol. 2.

(1) Vitring.

" part of the city fell," a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to (1) the horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the beſt authors, there were ſlain thirty or forty thouſand hugonots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witneſſes and faithful martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt. " Their dead bodies lay in the " ſtreet of the great city," one of the greateſt cities of Europe; for they were not ſuffered to be buried being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged thro' the ſtreet, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and expoſed to public infamy. Great " rejoicings" too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in proceſſion to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they ſung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they ſtruck medals; and it was enacted that St. Bartholomew's day ſhould ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and ſolemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than " three years and a half," Henry III, who ſucceeded his brother Charles IX, entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and publiſhed on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former ſentences againſt them were reverſed, and the free and open exerciſe of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honors, dignities, and offices, as well as the papiſts; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the " reſurrection" of the witneſſes, and their " aſ- " cenſion into heaven." The " great earthquake," and the " falling of " the tenth part of the city," and the " ſlaying of thouſands of men," according to this hypotheſis, muſt be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for ſeveral years afterwards cruelly diſturbed, and almoſt deſtroyed the kingdom of France.

Others again have recourſe to later events, and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpoſe. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French

(1) Vitringa. p. 496, &c. Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 52, 53, et 62. Davila's Hiſt. B. 5. et 6. Mezeray, Charles IX. and Henry III.

(2) Jurieu's

may that time be ſaid to have lain "unburied in the ſtreet of the great "city," in Conſtance where was the greateſt aſſembly not only of biſhops and cardinals, but likewiſe of embaſſadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himſelf. But after the council was diſſolved, theſe two preachers were reſtored as it were to life in their diſciples and followers, who propagated the ſame doctrins, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquiſhed the Imperialiſts in ſeveral battles. It was truly ſaid to them "Come up hither," when they were invited to the council of Baſil with a promiſe of redreſs of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, "and the tenth part of the city "fell," the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to (9) the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the proteſtants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken priſoner, and the Landgrave of Heſſe was forced to ſurrender himſelf, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Proteſtantiſm was then in a manner ſuppreſſed, and the maſs reſtored. The witneſſes were "dead," but "not buried;" and the papiſts "rejoiced over them, and "made merry, and ſent gifts one to another." But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the ſpace of about "three years and a half," the proteſtants were "raiſed again" at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg priſoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almoſt every day; ſucceſs attended their arms and counſels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Paſſau to allow them the free exerciſe of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever ſince the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed "a great earthquake," a great commotion, in which many "thouſands were ſlain;" and "the tenth "part

(9) Brightman and Vitring. p. 493, &c. See alſo Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reformation. B. 19, &c. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire. Vol. 2.

(1) Vitring.

" part of the city fell," a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to (1) the horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the beſt authors, there were ſlain thirty or forty thouſand hugonots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witneſſes and faithful martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt. " Their dead bodies lay in the " ſtreet of the great city," one of the greateſt cities of Europe; for they were not ſuffered to be buried being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged thro' the ſtreet, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and expoſed to public infamy. Great " rejoicings" too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in proceſſion to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they ſung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they ſtruck medals; and it was enacted that St. Bartholomew's day ſhould ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and ſolemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than " three years and a half," Henry III, who ſucceeded his brother Charles IX, entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and publiſhed on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former ſentences againſt them were reverſed, and the free and open exerciſe of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honors, dignities, and offices, as well as the papiſts; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the " reſurrection" of the witneſſes, and their " aſ- " cenſion into heaven." The " great earthquake," and the " falling of " the tenth part of the city," and the " ſlaying of thouſands of men," according to this hypotheſis, muſt be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for ſeveral years afterwards cruelly diſturbed, and almoſt deſtroyed the kingdom of France.

Others again have recourſe to later events, and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpoſe. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French

(1) Vitringa. p. 496, &c. Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 52, 53, et 62. Davila's Hiſt. B. 5. et 6. Mezeray, Charles IX. and Henry III.

(2) Jurieu's

French church at Rotterdam, (2) imagined that the perſecution then carried on by Lewis XIV againſt the proteſtants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the laſt perſecution of the church; that during this time the witneſſes would lie dead, but ſhould recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation ſhould be eſtabliſhed in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country ſhould renounce popery, and embrace the proteſtant religion. Biſhop Lloyd and after him Mr. Whiſton (3) apply this prophecy to the poor proteſtants in the valleys of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their ſovran the Duke of Savoy, inſtigated by the French king, were impriſoned and murdered, or baniſhed and totally diſſipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and ſuccurred by the proteſtant ſtates; and after a while ſecretly entring Savoy with their ſwords in their hands, they regained their ancient poſſeſſions with great ſlaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himſelf, having then left the French intereſt, granted them a full pardon; and re-eſtabliſhed them, by another edict ſigned June 4, 1690, juſt "three "years and an half" after their total diſſipation. Biſhop Lloyd not only underſtood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiſton relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee miniſter, of the Vaudois, whoſe name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and reſtitution of his country. Theſe were indeed moſt barbarous perſecutions of the proteſtants both in France and Savoy; and at the ſame time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter ſubverſion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than "three years and an half" a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all theſe caſes there may be ſome reſemblance to the prophecy before us, of "the death and reſurrection of the witneſſes;" and it may pleaſe an overruling providence ſo to diſpoſe and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in ſome meaſure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of that tyrannical and perſecuting power called "the beaſt," may be the types and figures as it were of this his laſt and greateſt effort againſt the witneſſes. But tho'

(2) Jurieu's Accompliſhment of the Prophecies. Part 2. Chap. 12 and 83.

(3) Whiſton's

tho' theſe inſtances ſufficiently anſwer in ſome reſpects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the laſt perſecution; others have been ſince, and in all probability will be again. Beſides as "the two witneſſes" are deſigned to be the repreſentatives of the proteſtants in general, ſo the perſecution muſt be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under "the ſixth trumpet:" and the empire of the "Euphratean horſemen" or Othmans is ſtill ſubſiſting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: "the beaſt" is ſtill "reigning;" and "the witneſſes" are ſtill, in ſome times and places more, in ſome leſs, "propheſying in ſackcloth." It will not be till toward "the end of "their teſtimony," and that "end" ſeemeth to be yet at ſome diſtance, that the great victory and triumph of the "beaſt," and the ſuppreſſion, and reſurrection, and exaltation of "the witneſſes" will take effect. When all theſe things ſhall be accompliſhed, then "the ſixth trumpet" will end, then "the ſecond woe" ſhall be "paſt," (ver. 14.) the Othman empire ſhall be broken in the ſame manner that Ezekiel (XXXVIII. XXXIX.) and Daniel (XI. 44, 45.) have predicted; the ſufferings of "the witneſſes" ſhall ceaſe, and they ſhall be raiſed and exalted above their enemies: and when "the ſecond woe" ſhall be thus "paſt, be-"hold the third woe," or the total deſtruction of the beaſt, "cometh "quickly." Some time intervened between "the firſt" and "the "ſecond woes;" but upon the ceaſing of "the ſecond, the third" ſhall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to "the "witneſſes" remains yet to be fulfilled: but poſſibly ſome may queſtion, whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any ſuch perſons as "the witneſſes," any true and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, who have in every age profeſſed doctrins contrary to thoſe maintained by the pope and church of Rome. The truth of the fact will beſt appear by an hiſtorical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have conſtantly been ſuch "witneſſes" from the ſeventh century down to the Reformation, during the moſt floriſhing period of popery, I preſume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occaſion to obſerve before, the ſeeds

(3) Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part 3. Viſion 2.

(4) Theoph.

ſeeds of popery were ſown even in the apoſtles time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a " horn" or temporal prince was not eſtabliſhed till the eighth century; and from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beaſt began to reign, and the witneſſes to " propheſy in ſackcloth."

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the *eighth* century, the Greek church ſtill diſſented from it, and oppoſed it. The emperors (4) Leo Iſauricus and his ſon Conſtantine Copronymus not only vigorouſly oppoſed the worſhip of images, but alſo denied the interceſſion of ſaints, and burnt and deſtroyed their relics. In the year 754 Conſtantine Copronymus held a general council at Conſtantinople of 338 biſhops, who prohibited unanimouſly the worſhip of ſaints as well as of images; and (5) declared that 'only one image was con-'ſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, namely the bread and wine in the euchariſt, 'which repreſent the body and blood of Chriſt:' than which there cannot be a ſtronger declaration againſt the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation as well as againſt the worſhip of images. It is true that the ſecond council of Nice in the year 787 reſtored and eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it; but nevertheleſs great oppoſition was made to it by ſeveral churches in the weſt. Charlemain (6) held a council at Francfort in the year 794, conſiſting of 300 biſhops of various nations, who condemned equally the ſecond council of Nice and the worſhip of images. The Carolin books were alſo ſet forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrins therein contained, of the ſufficiency of the ſcriptures, of the worſhip of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the euchariſt, of juſtification, of repentance, of pretended viſions and miracles, and various other points, are ſuch as a papiſt would abhor, and a proteſtant would ſubſcribe. Not to ſeek for farther inſtances, the (7) Britiſh churches lamented and execrated the ſecond council of Nice; and the famous Albin

(4) Theoph. Cedren. Zonar. &c. &c. Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. VIII. Cap. 6, 7, &c.

(5) Aliis exploſis imaginibus, [verba ſunt Bellarmini Tom. 1. p. 535.] *unicam* definiverunt eſſe *imaginem ab ipſo Chriſto inſtitutam, nimirum panem et vinum in Euchariſtia, quæ repræſentant Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem.* Ex Concil. Conſtantinop. Tom. 3. p. 359. Edit. Binnii. Uſſerius de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 19.

(6) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. et 9. Uſſer. ibid. p. 20. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 8.

(7) Hoveden,

Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter againſt it, diſproving and refuting it by expreſs authorities of holy ſcripture; which letter was tranſmitted to Charles the great in the name of the biſhops and other great men of the kingdom. Even in Italy (8) the council of Forojulio preſcribed the uſe of no other creed but that of the apoſtles, ſo that they had no conception of the neceſſity of ſo many additional articles, as have ſince been made by pope Pius IV, and received by the church. Some even of the Italian biſhops aſſiſted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus biſhop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed ſtill more in the *ninth* century, but yet not without conſiderable oppoſition. Not only (9) the emperors of the eaſt, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the weſt, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious, but alſo ſeveral prelates and eccleſiaſtics, oppoſed the abſolute power and ſupremacy of the pope, together with the worſhip of images, and invocation of ſaints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the great and Lewis the pious (1) injoined the reading of the canonical ſpiriture as the ſole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private maſſes and pilgrimages, and other ſuch ſuperſtitions (2) were forbidden by the ſame capitularies. Lewis the pious held a council at Paris in the year 824, which (3) agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the ſecond council of Nice, and forbidding the worſhip of images. Agobard, archbiſhop of Lyons, in his book againſt pictures and images, maintains, that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himſelf, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other mediator between God and men, ſave Jeſus Chriſt God and man: ſo that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation was firſt advanced here in the weſt by Paſchaſius Radbertus abbat of Corbie in France; but

(7) Hoveden. Annal. pars prior. p. 232. Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 111. Matt. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. Ann. 793. Uſſer. ibid. p. 19, 20. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 2. p. 139.

(8) Tom. 7. Concil. p. 1002. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 8. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9, 10.

(9) Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian Sæc. IX. Cap. 9. Miſcell. Sacræ Antiq. Lib. 6. Hiſt. Imag. Sect. 7, 8, 9.

(1) Capit. Aquiſgranens. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 3. Sect. 2. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

(2) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect, 5, 8, &c.

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. Hiſt. Imag. Sect. 9. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 9.

(4) Quidam

it was ſtremuouſly oppoſed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other biſhops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus, archbiſhop of Mentz, (4) paſſes this cenſure upon the novelty of the doctrin; 'Some, ſays he, of late not rightly conceiving 'concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have 'affirmed that this is the very ſame body of our Lord, which was born 'of the virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himſelf ſuffered, &c; 'which error we have oppoſed to the utmoſt of our power, &c.' He thus (5) expreſſes his own ſentiments; 'Our Lord would have the ſa-'crament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that 'by a viſible work an inviſible effect might appear. For as the mate-'rial food outwardly nouriſhes and refreſhes the body, ſo alſo the word 'of God inwardly nouriſhes and ſtrengthens the ſoul.' Again: 'the 'ſacrament is reduced into the nouriſhment of the body, but by the 'virtue of the ſacrament eternal life is obtained.' Bertramus, or Ratramnus as he is otherwiſe called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book *of the body and blood of our Lord*, which he inſcribed to the emperor Charles the bald. The emperor (6) had inquired of him, 'whether 'the ſame body, which was born of Mary, and ſuffered, and was 'dead and buried, and which ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, 'is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the myſtery of 'the ſacrament in the church:' and Bertram anſwers, that the difference between them is 'as great as between the pledge, and the thing 'for which the pledge is delivered; as great as between the image, and 'the thing whoſe image it is; as great as between the repreſentation, 'and the reality.' He ſays (7) in ſeveral places, that 'the bread and 'wine are figuratively the body of Chriſt, ſpiritually not corporally, in 'figure, in image, in myſtery, not in truth, or real exiſtence, or pre-

'ſence

(4) Quidam nuper de ipſo ſacramento corporis et ſanguinis Domini non recte ſentientes, dixerunt hoc ipſum corpus Domini quod de Maria virgine natum eſt, et in quo ipſe Dominus paſſus eſt, &c; cui errori quantum potuimus, &c. Lib. Pœnitent. Cap. 33. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 10. Sect. 4.

(5) Maluit Dominus corporis et ſanguinis ſui ſacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in partem [al. paſtum] eorum redigi, ut per viſibile opus inviſibilis oſtenderetur effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinſecus nutrit corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat. Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem ſacramenti æterna vita adipiſcitur. Inſtitut. Cleric. Lib. 1. Cap. 31. et de Univerſo Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Sect. 16.

(6) Ubi quærenti imperatori *utrum ipſum corpus quod de Maria natum eſt et paſſum, mortuum et ſepultum, quodque ad dexteram Patris conſideat, ſit quod ore fidelium per ſacramentorum myſterium in eccleſia quotidie ſumitur:*

'ſence of the ſubſtance.' Johannes Scotus, the famous Iriſhman, for the Iriſh were the Scots of thoſe times, (8) wrote alſo a book *of the euchariſt* by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he aſſerted, that 'the ſacrament of the altar is not the true body, nor true blood of 'our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true 'blood.' He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honored with the title of martyr after his death; which is at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation. In Italy itſelf (9) Angilbertus, archbiſhop of Milan, would not acknowlege the ſupremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan ſubmit to the ſee of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able to ſtem the torrent of ſuperſtition than Claude biſhop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon ſcripture. He (1) aſſerted the equality of all the apoſtles with St. Peter, and maintained that Jeſus Chriſt was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrin of merit and all pretences to works of ſupererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be ſubject to error, and denied the uſe of prayers for the dead. He propoſed the doctrin of the euchariſt in a manner totally different from Paſchaſius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the ſenſe of the ancient church. He oppoſed with all his might the worſhip of ſaints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other ſuperſtitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be ſaid to have ſown the ſeeds of the Reformation in his dioceſe of Turin; and his doctrins took ſuch deep root eſpecially in the valleys of Piedmont, that they continued to floriſh there for ſome centuries, as the papiſts themſelves acknowlege.

mitur: reſpondet Bertramus diſcrimen inter utrumque eſſe tantum, *quantum eſt inter pignus, et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur*; *quantum inter imaginem, et rem cujus eſt imago*; *et quantum inter ſpeciem et veritatem.* Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 17.

(7) Ibi fusè Bertramus, *Panem vinumque figuratè corpus Chriſti exiſtere*; *ſpiritualiter, non corporaliter*; *in figura, in imagine, in myſterio*; *non in veritate*, ſeu reali exiſtentia, vel præſentia *ſubſtantiæ*, &c. Spanhem. ibid.

(8) Sacramentum altaris non eſſe verum corpus, nec verum ſanguinem Domini, ſed ſolummodo memoriale veri corporis et veri ſanguinis. Spanhem. ibid. Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 19. Dupin. IX. Siecle. Chap. 7. Cave Hiſt. Litt. Ann. 858. p. 45. Vol. 2. Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 3. p. 165.

(9) Sigon. de Regn. Ital. Lib. 5. Ann. 844. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.

(1) See theſe points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr. Allix his Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 9. See alſo Spanheim, Dupin, Cave, &c.

(2) Infelix

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romiſh communion lament and deſcribe as the moſt debauched and wicked, the moſt illitterate and ignorant age ſince the coming of Chriſt. Genebrard (2) ſays 'This 'is called the unhappy age, being deſtitute of men famous for wit and 'learning, as alſo of famous princes and popes; in which ſcarce any 'thing was done worthy of the memory of poſterity.' He ſubjoins, 'But chiefly unhappy in this one thing, that for almoſt 150 years about '50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, be-'ing more like apoſtates than apoſtles.' Baronius himſelf (3) denominates it an *iron*, a *leaden*, and *obſcure* age: and declares that 'Chriſt 'was then, as it appears, in a very deep ſleep, when the ſhip was 'covered with waves; and what ſeemed worſe, when the Lord was 'thus aſleep, there were wanting diſciples who by their cries might 'awaken him, being themſelves all faſt aſleep.' It is not to be wondered, that in ſo long and dark a night as this, while all were aſleep, the ſuttle enemy ſhould ſow his tares in great abundance. However there were ſome few like "lights ſhining in a dark place," who remonſtrated againſt the degeneracy and ſuperſtition of the times. The reſolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris againſt the worſhip of images (4) had ſtill ſome force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council (5) was held at Troſly, a village near Soiſſons in France: and having made ſeveral wiſe and good regulations, they concluded with a profeſſion of the things, which Chriſtians ought to believe and practiſe: and in that profeſſion are none of thoſe things which conſtitute the ſum of popiſh doctrin, nothing of the pope's being head of the

(2) Infelix dicitur hoc ſæculum, exhauſtum hominibus ingenio et doctrina claris, ſic etiam claris principibus; et pontificibus; in quo nihil fere dignum memoria poſteritatis geſtum ſit—Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150 pontifices circiter 50 a virtute majorum prorſus defecerint, Apotactici Apoſtaticive potius quam Apoſtolici. Genebrard. Chron. Lib. 4. In initio X Sæc. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Sect. 34. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. X. Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

(3) En novum inchoatur ſæculum, quod ſui aſperitate ac boni ſterilitate *ferreum*, malique exundantis deformitate *plumbeum*, atque inopia ſcriptorum appellari conſuevit *obſcurum*. Baron. ad ann. 900. Dormiebat tunc planè alto (ut apparet) ſopore Chriſtus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: Et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum ſic dormientem clamoribus excitarent diſcipuli, ſtertentibus omnibus. Ibid. ad ann. 912. Uſſer. ibid. Spanhem. ibid.

(4) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 8. Hiſt. Imag. Sect. 9.

(5) Tom. 3. Concil. Galliæ. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3. Dupin. X. Siecle. Chap. 3.

(6) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 2 et 10. Scripturas divinas verti fecit in Anglo-Saxonicum idioma. Wilh. Malmeſ. et Balæus.

(7) Spanhem.

the church, nothing of the daily ſacrifice of the maſs, or of purgatory, or of the worſhip of creatures, or of commentitious ſacraments, or of confeſſion to the prieſt, but of pure and ſincere confeſſion to God: ſo much did this council differ from the ſpirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches (6) ſtill retained the uſe of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue; and in England particularly Athelſtan cauſed them to be tranſlated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great oppoſition (7) was alſo made in ſeveral countries to the celibacy of the clergy; and ſeveral councils were held upon the controverſy between the monks and the ſecular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfere earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monaſteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation. Heriger abbat of Lobes near Liege (8) wrote expreſly againſt it; as did alſo (9) Alfric in England, whoſe homily for eaſter uſed to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein (1) is to prove, 'that we ſpiritually taſte the body of 'Chriſt, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that 'holy ſacrament; the bread and wine cannot by any benediction be 'changed into the body and blood of Chriſt, they are indeed the body 'and blood of Chriſt, yet not corporally, but ſpiritually;' with much more to the ſame purpoſe. He wrote alſo two epiſtles, the one addreſſed to Wulfin biſhop of Shirburn, and the other to Wulfſtan archbiſhop of York, wherein he aſſerts the ſame doctrin. In the former he thus (2) explains the doctrin of the ſacrament; 'The hoſt is the body 'of Chriſt, not corporally, but ſpiritually. Not the body in which 'he ſuffered; but the body of which he ſpake, when he conſecrated 'the

(7) Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 5. Spelmanni Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 3. p. 199.

(8) Sigebert de Eccleſiaſt. Script. Cap. 138. Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 20. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 4.

(9) Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 20, 21. Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 2. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5. Cave. Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 2. p. 108. &c. Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 3. p. 204. &c.

(1) —id pene unice agit, "ut oſtendat nos ſpiri-"tualiter corpus Chriſti guſtare ejuſque ſanguinem "bibere, cum vera fide ſacram illam guſtamus eu-"chariſtiam; panem et vinum non poſſe per ullam "benedictionem in Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem mu-"tari; vere quidem Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem eſſe, "non tamen corporaliter, ſed ſpiritualiter; &c." Cave ibid. p. 110.

(2) Hoſtia illa eſt Chriſti corpus non corporaliter, ſed ſpiritualiter, Non corpus in quo paſſus eſt: ſed corpus de quo locutus eſt, quando panem et vinum, ea quæ paſſionem anteceſſit nocte, in hoſtiam conſecravit: et de ſacrato pane dixit, Hoc eſt corpus meum; rurſumque de ſacro vino, Hic eſt ſanguis meus, qui pro multis effunditur in remiſſionem peccatorum. Apud Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 21.

(3) Non

'the bread and wine the night preceding his paſſion, and ſaid of the 'conſecrated bread, This is my body, and again of the conſecrated 'wine, This is my blood, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of 'ſins.' In the latter he hath theſe (3) memorable words, which ſome papiſts of more zeal than knowlege attempted to eraſe out of the manuſcript copy. 'Yet this ſacrifice is not made his body in which 'he ſuffered for us, nor his blood which he poured out for us, but it 'is ſpiritually made his body and blood; as the manna which rained 'from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, as Paul the 'apoſtle ſaith.' The ſynods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and biſhops, ſhow evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and biſhops who oppoſed the ſupremacy of the pope; and none more than (4) the council of Rheims in the year 991, and Gerbert archbiſhop of Rheims, who declared 'that if the pope did amiſs, he was liable to 'the cenſures of the church:' and ſpeaking of the pope then reigning John XV, 'What,' ſays he, 'do you conceive this man, ſitting on a 'lofty throne, glittering in purple cloathing and in gold, what, I ſay, 'do you conceive him to be? If he is deſtitute of charity, and is 'puffed up by knowlege alone, he is Antichriſt ſitting in the temple of 'God, and ſhowing himſelf that he is God.' He was afterwards himſelf choſen pope under the name of Sylveſter II, and poſſibly the change of his ſituation might produce a change in his ſentiments.

Much of the ſame complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally ſunk in profligacy, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, but yet not without ſome ſuperior ſpirits to bear teſtimony againſt it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtineſs of Gregory VII, whoſe former name was Hildebrand, or *Hell-brand*, as he hath often been denominated. But yet there

(3) Non fit tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus ejus in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neque ſanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, ſed ſpiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et ſanguis: ſicut manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit, ſicut Paulus apoſtolus ait. Apud Uſſer. ibid. et Cave ibid.

(4) Spanhem. ex Baronio ad ann. 992. Num. 10. &c. et ex Epiſt. Gerberti. Si peccaverit, ſubeſſe judicio eccleſiæ.—Quid hunc, reverendi patres, in ſublimi ſolio reſidentem, veſte purpurea et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, eſſe cenſetis? Nimirum ſi charitate deſtituitur, ſolaque ſcientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichriſtus eſt et in templo Dei ſedens, et ſe oſtendens tanquam ſit Deus. Cap. 6. Sect. 3, &c. Dupin. ibid.

there were emperors and councils, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the pretenſions and uſurpations of the ſee of Rome; and theſe conteſts and ſtruggles between the popes and emperors about the right of inveſtitures and other articles make a principal part of the hiſtory of this age. Our Engliſh kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely ſubmit to the authority of the biſhop of Rome; but contradicted it in ſeveral inſtances. When William I was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made (5) anſwer, 'To pay homage I 'have been unwilling, nor am I willing; for neither did I promiſe it, 'neither do I find that my predeceſſors paid it to your predeceſſors.' His ſon William Rufus exerted ſomewhat of the ſame ſpirit, and (6) inſiſted that the pope, without his permiſſion, had no manner of juriſdiction in England. Early in this century, there (7) appeared at Orleans ſome heretics as they were called, who maintained that the conſecration of the prieſt could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, and that it was unprofitable to pray to ſaints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after theſe (8) appeared other heretics of the ſame ſtamp in Flanders, who were alſo condemned by the ſynod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the diſciples of Gundulphus; and they are ſaid to have admitted no ſcripture but the goſpels and apoſtolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Chriſt in the euchariſt; to have attributed no religious worſhip to the holy confeſſors, none to the croſs, none to images, nor to temples nor altars; and to have aſſerted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not abſolve the deceaſed from their ſins. Other tenets were aſcribed to them, which were really heretical: and perhaps they might hold ſome errors, as well as ſome truths; or perhaps their adverſaries, as it hath been their uſual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken

ibid. Chap. 5. See alſo Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 10.

(5) Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promiſi, nec anteceſſores meos anteceſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio. Apud Baron. Ann. 1079. Sect. 25. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 7. Sect. 9.

(6) Eadmer. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 4. p. 279.

(7) Dupin. XI. Siecle. Chap. 13. Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XI. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 11.

(9) Uſſer.

blacken and defame them. Not long after theſe (9) aroſe the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more profeſſedly wrote againſt the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation; and alſo (1) called 'the church of Rome a church of malignants, the council of 'vanity, and the ſeat of Satan.' It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the leaſt a voluntary recantation. As often as he recanted, he relapſed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a (2) contemporary popiſh writer expreſſeth it. He lived and died in the ſame ſentiments. His hereſy was from him called the Berengarian hereſy; and his followers were ſo numerous, that as (3) old hiſtorians relate, he had corrupted almoſt all the French, Italians, and Engliſh with his depravities. When Gregory VII had, both by letters and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, ſtrictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raiſed (4) great commotions among the eccleſiaſtics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for impoſing this yoke, but likewiſe accuſed him of advancing a notion inſupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who ſaith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apoſtle, who ordereth thoſe who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary courſe of nature, would be the cauſe of great diſorders; that they would rather renounce the prieſthood than marriage; and the pope ſhould provide, if he could, angels to govern the church, ſince he refuſed to be ſerved by men. This was the language of theſe corrupt eccleſiaſtics, as (5) Dupin hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no leſs oppoſed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Wincheſter in the year 1076, wherein it was (6) decreed indeed, that no canon ſhould marry; but the prieſts in the country, who were already married, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had injoined all

(9) Uſſer. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 24, &c. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 2. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 8. &c. &c.

(1) Eccleſiam Romanam, eccleſiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, et ſedem Satanæ vocabat. Gulielm. Reginald. Calvino Turciſm. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 24.

(2) Qui licet eandem hæreſin ſæpiſſime in ſynodo abjuravit, ad vomitum tamen ſuum canino more non expavit redire. Bertoldus Conſtantienſis preſbyter apud Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 34.

(3) Eodem tempore, Berengarius Turonenſis, in hæreticam prolapſus pravitatem, omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, ſuis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus. Matt. Weſtmonaſt. et Hiſt. Roffen. in anno 1087.

all prieſts without diſtinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exerciſe of their office. Whereupon Mr. Collier hath made this juſt reflection; "From hence it appears that the papal ſupremacy had not "reached its zenith in this century, and that the Engliſh biſhops did "not believe the patriarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a "national church had ſome reſerves of liberty, and might diſſent from "the conſtitutions of the ſee of Rome upon occaſion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only ſome ſtars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be viſible ſome ſtreaks of the morning light, ſome dawnings of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II, the famous conſtitutions of Clarendon were ſworn to and ſigned both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidding all appeals to Rome without the king's licence, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before ſecular judges: But the beſt account of this as well as of the other memorable tranſactions of this reign the public expects with ſome impatience from one of the moſt maſterly and elegant writers of the preſent age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been ſince fully anſwered. Fluentius biſhop of Florence (7) taught publicly, that Antichriſt was born, and come into the world: whereupon pope Paſchal II went to Florence, held a council there in the year 1105, and ſeverely reprimanded the biſhop, and ſtrictly forbad him to preach any ſuch doctrin. St. Bernard himſelf, devoted as he was and bigotted to the church of Rome in other reſpects, (8) yet inveighed loudly againſt the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, ſaying that they were the miniſters of Chriſt and ſerved Antichriſt, that nothing remained but that the man of ſin ſhould be revealed, that the beaſt in the Apocalyps occupied St. Peter's chair, with other ex-

1087. Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 27.

(4) Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 4.

(5) C'eſt ainſi que ces eccleſiaſtiques corrompus parloient. Dupin. ibid. p. 36.

(6) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 4. p. 248, 249. Spelmanni Concil. Vol. 2.

(7) Platina in vita Paſchal. II. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian Sæc. XII. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. Cav. Hiſt. Litt. Sæc. XII. Concilia. Vol. 2. p. 258. Calmet. Dict. in ANTICHRIST.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Uſſer de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 7. Sect. 5, 6.

(9) Rogeri

preſſions to the ſame effect. While our King Richard I was at Meſſina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he (9) ſent for the famous abbat Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much ſatisfaction explain the Apocalyps, and diſcourſe of Antichriſt. He ſaid that Antichriſt was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apoſtolical chair, and " exalted above all " that is called God or is worſhipped." So that ſome true notion of Antichriſt began to ſpread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder that it prevailed among thoſe, who more directly oppoſed the doctrins of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his diſciple (1) taught in ſeveral parts of France, that 'the body and 'blood of Chriſt were not offered in the theatrical maſs; that the 'doctrin of the change of the ſubſtances in the ſacrament is falſe; 'that ſacrifices, that is maſſes, prayers, alms, and other works of the 'living for the dead, are fooliſh and impious, and profit them nothing; 'that prieſts and monks ought rather to marry than to burn; that 'croſſes are not to be adored, or venerated, and ſo many croſſes, 'ſerving to ſuperſtition, ought rather to be removed than retained:' and they both were martyrs, the one being burnt, and the other impriſoned for life, on account of their doctrins. Other hereſies were laid to their charge, and their own writings are not extant to ſpeak for them; but theſe things they taught and profeſſed, their enemies themſelves being judges. Arnold of Breſcia (2) held opinions contrary to thoſe

(9) Rogeri de Hóveden Annal. Pars Poſterior p. 681. Edit. Francof. 1601. Jam natus eſt in civitate Romana, et in ſede apoſtolica ſublimabitur, &c. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 6. p. 401.

(1) Corpus et ſanguinem Chriſti in theatrica miſſa non offerri. Doctrinam de ſpeciebus ſacramenti, ipſis nimirum ſubſtantiis mutatis, eſſe falſam. Sacrificia, id eſt miſſas, orationes, eleemoſynas, et reliqua vivorum opera pro defunctis, eſſe ſtultitiam et impietatem, nihilque eis prodeſſe. Sacerdotes et monachos debere uxores potius ducere, quam comburi. Cruces non adorandas aut venerandas: et tot cruces ſuperſtitioni ſervientes, potius amovendas quam retinendas, &c. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 5. p. 331. &c. Edit. Baſil. 1624. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. Dupin. XII. Siecle. Chap. 6. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 14.

(2) Otho Friſing de Geſtis Frederici. Lib. 1. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 4. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks on the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 18.

(3) Vallenſes ſe appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneant. Ebrard. Beth. Antihæreſ. Cap. 25. Uſſer. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. Allix. ibid.

(4) In articulis fidei ſummam eſſe ſacræ ſcripturæ authoritatem, eamque ob cauſam eſſe illam normam judicandi; ut quicquid cum verbo Dei non congruat, merito fit repudiandum et fugiendum.

Patrum et conciliorum dogmata eatenus probanda, quatenus cum verbo Dei conveniunt.

Sacrarum ſcripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus hominibus, tum laicis, tum ſacratis viris, liberam et neceſſariam eſſe; imo potius prophetarum et apoſtolorum monumenta legenda eſſe, quam hominum commenta.

Duo

thoſe of the church concerning the ſacrament, and preached mightily againſt the temporal power and juriſdiction of the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his aſhes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people from expreſſing any veneration for his relics. But the true witneſſes, and as I may ſay the proteſtants of this age, were the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, who began to be famous at this time, and being diſperſed in various places were diſtinguiſhed by various appellations. Their firſt and proper name ſeemeth to have been *Vallenſes*, or inhabitants of the valleys; and ſo ſaith (3) one of the oldeſt writers, Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in the year 1212; 'They call themſelves *Vallenſes*, becauſe they abide in 'the valley of tears,' alluding to their ſituation in the valleys of Piedmont. They were called *Albigenſes* from Alby a city in the ſouthern parts of France, where alſo great numbers of them were ſituated. They were afterwards denominated *Valdenſes* or *Waldenſes* from Peter Valdo or Waldo a rich citizen of Lyons, and a conſiderable leader of the ſect. From Lyons too they were called *Leoniſts*, and *Cathari* from the profeſſed purity of their life and doctrin, as others ſince have had the name of *Puritans*. As there was a variety of names, ſo there might be ſome diverſity of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty of Manicheiſm and other abominable hereſies, which have been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all the remains of their creeds, confeſſions, and writings. Their opinions (4) are thus recited from an old manuſcript by the Centuriators of Magdeburg.

Duo eſſe eccleſiæ Chriſti ſacramenta, baptiſmum et cænam Domini.

Utriuſque ſpeciei uſum, pro ſacerdotibus et laicis, a Chriſto inſtitutum eſſe.

Miſſas eſſe impias; ac furorem eſſe, pro mortuis miſſificare.

Purgatorium eſſe figmentum hominum; credentes enim, in vitam æternam, non credentes autem, in damnationem æternam venire.

Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, eſſe idololatriam.

Romanam eccleſiam eſſe meretricem Babylonicam.

Papæ et epiſcopis non obtemperandum; quia ſint lupi eccleſiæ Chriſti.

Papam non habere primatum ſuper omnes eccleſias Chriſti, nec habere poteſtatem utriuſque gladii.

Eccleſiam Chriſti eſſe, quæ ſincerum Chriſti verbum audiat, et ſacramentis ab ipſo inſtitutis utatur, ubicunque locorum ea exſiſtat.

Vota eſſe hominum figmenta, Sodomam nutrientia.

Tot ordines eſſe tot characteres beſtiæ.

Monochatum eſſe cadaver fætidum.

Templorum tot ſuperſtitioſas dedicationes, memorias mortuorum, benedictiones creaturarum, peregrinationes, tot coacta jejunia, tot feſta ſuperflua, perpetuos iſtos hominum indoctorum boatus, ac reliquarum ceremoniarum obſervationes, verbi doctrinam et inſtitutionem manifeſte impedientes, eſſe inventiones diabolicas.

Conjugium ſacerdotum eſſe licitum et neceſſarium.

Hæc ex antiquo manuſcripto libro proferimus. Hiſt. eccleſ. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 8. p. 548, 549. Edit. Baſil. 1624. See alſo the Confeſſion of the faith of the Waldenſes in Perrin's Hiſt. B. 1. Chap. 12 &c.

(5) Inter

'In articles of faith the authority of the holy ſcripture is the higheſt, 'and for that reaſon it is the rule of judging; ſo that whatſoever agreeth 'not with the word of God, is deſervedly to be rejected and avoided.

'The decrees of fathers and councils are ſo far to be approved, as 'they agree with the word of God.

'The reading and knowlege of the holy ſcriptures is free and ne-'ceſſary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy; yea and the writ-'ings of the prophets and apoſtles are to be read rather than the com-'ments of men.

'The ſacraments of the church of Chriſt are two, baptiſm and the 'ſupper of the Lord.

'The receiving in both kinds for prieſts and people was inſtituted by 'Chriſt.

'Maſſes are impious; and it is madneſs to ſay maſſes for the dead.

'Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who believe, go into 'eternal life, they who believe not, into eternal damnation.

'The invocating and worſhipping of dead ſaints is idolatry.

'The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

'We muſt not obey the pope and biſhops; becauſe they are the 'wolves of the church of Chriſt.

'The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Chriſt, 'neither hath he the power of both ſwords.

'That is the church of Chriſt which heareth the ſincere word of 'Chriſt, and uſeth the ſacraments inſtituted by him, in what place ſo-'ever it exiſt.

'Vows

(5) Inter omnes ſectas, quæ adhuc ſunt vel fuerunt, non eſt pernicioſior eccleſiæ quam Leoniſtarum. Et hoc tribus de cauſis. Prima eſt, quia eſt diuturnior; aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylveſtri; aliqui, a tempore apoſtolorum. Secunda, quia eſt generalior; fere enim nulla eſt terra, in qua hæc ſecta non ſit. Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ ſectæ immanitate blaſphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc Leoniſtarum magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juſte vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in ſymbolo continentur; ſolummodo Romanam eccleſiam blaſphemant et clerum; cui multitudo laicorum facilis eſt ad credendum. Reiner. contra Hæret. Cap. 4. p. 54. Edit. Ingolſt. 1613. Uſſer. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cave Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 2. ad ann. 1244. p. 302. Uſher hath added other remarkable teſtimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenſes and their followers. Pontificius quidam inquiſitor [Rerum Bohem. Script. a Frehero edit. p. 231.] Leoniſtarum ſive Waldenſium mores deſcripturus, hujuſmodi titulo præfatiuncula: *Cognoſcuntur hæretici per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compoſiti, et modeſti; ſuperbiam in veſtibus non habent, &c.* Miſerrima profecto tempora in quibus *compoſiti et modeſti mores* hæreticorum

‘ Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occaſions of So-
‘ domy.
‘ So many orders are ſo many characters of the beaſt.
‘ Monkery is a ſtinking carcaſs.
‘ So many ſuperſtitious dedications of churches, commemorations of
‘ the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages, ſo many forced
‘ faſtings, ſo many ſuperfluous feſtivals, thoſe perpetual bellowings
‘ (meaning the ſinging and chanting) of unlearned men, and the ob-
‘ ſervations of the other ceremonies, manifeſtly hindering the teaching
‘ and learning of the word, are diabolical inventions.
‘ The marriage of prieſts is lawful and neceſſary.’

Much hath been written in cenſure and commendation of this ſect both by enemies and friends, by papiſts and proteſtants. If they have been groſsly miſrepreſented and vilified on one ſide, they have been amply vindicated and juſtified on the other; but I will only produce the teſtimonies of three witneſſes concerning them, whom both ſides muſt allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thuanus, and Mezeray. Reinerius (5) floriſhed about the year 1254; and his teſtimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquiſitor general. ‘ Among
‘ all the ſects, which ſtill are or have been, there is not any more per-
‘ nicious to the church than that of the Leoniſts. And this for three
‘ reaſons. The firſt is, becauſe it is older; for ſome ſay that it hath
‘ endured from the time of pope Sylveſter; others, from the time of
‘ the apoſtles. The ſecond, becauſe it is more general; for there is
‘ ſcarce any country wherein this ſect is not. The third, becauſe when
‘ all other ſects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageouſneſs of their
‘ blaſphemies againſt God, this of the Leoniſts hath a great ſhow of
‘ piety;

reticorum haberentur inſignia. De iiſdem Claudius Seyſillius archiepiſcopus Taurinenſis; [Seyſil. tract. adverſus errores et ſectam Waldenſium. Edit. Paris. Ann. 1520. fol. 9.] *Nonnihil etiam ad horum Valdenſium confirmandam tolerandamque ſectam confert, quod præter hæc quæ contra fidem religionemque noſtram aſſumunt, in reliquis ferme puriorem quam cæteri Chriſtiani vitam agunt. Non enim niſi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt, promiſſaque ſua bona fide implent, et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, apoſtolicam vitam doctrinamque ſervare ſe ſolos proteſtantur: ob idque poteſtatem eccleſiæ apud ſe, velut innoxios et veros Chriſti diſcipulos, reſidere affirmant; pro cujus fide religioneque in egeſtate vivere, et a nobis perſecutionem pati, pulchrum et glorioſum ducunt.* Fratribus Bohemis, Waldenſium ſoboli, non diſſimile perhibuit teſtimonium, qui fidei ipſorum fuit inimiciſſimus, Jacobus Liclenſtenius Dominicanus. [Citatus a Joachim Camerario de Eccleſ. Fratr. Bohem.] *Dico* (inquit) *quod in moribus et vita boni ſunt, veraces in ſermone, in caritate fraterna unanimes. Sed fides eorum eſt incorrigibilis et peſſima ut patuit in tractatu meo.* Uſſer. Cap. 6. Sect. 15.

(6) Petrus

'piety; becauſe they live juſtly before men, and believe all things 'rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in 'the creed; only they blaſpheme the church of Rome and the clergy; 'whom the multitude of the laity is eaſy to believe.' The credit of Thuanus as an hiſtorian is too well eſtabliſhed to need any recommendation; and he is (6) ſo candid and impartial, as to diſtinguiſh between their real opinions, and thoſe hereſies which were falſly imputed to them by their enemies. 'Peter Valdo a wealthy citizen of Lyons about the 'year of Chriſt 1170 gave name to the Valdenſes. He (as Guy de 'Perpignan, biſhop of Elna in Rouſſillon, who exerciſed the office of 'inquiſitor againſt the Valdenſes, hath left teſtified in writing) leaving 'his houſe and goods, devoted himſelf wholly to the profeſſion of the 'goſpel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apoſ-'tles tranſlated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time 'he had many followers about him, he ſent them forth as his diſciples 'into all parts to propagate the goſpel—Their fixed opinions were ſaid 'to be theſe: that the church of Rome, becauſe ſhe hath renounced the 'true faith of Chriſt, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree, 'which Chriſt himſelf hath curſed, and commanded to be rooted up; 'therefore we muſt by no means obey the pope, and the biſhops who 'cheriſh his errors: that the monaſtic life is the ſink of the church, and 'an helliſh inſtitution; its vows are vain, and ſubſervient only to the 'filthy love of boys: the orders of the preſbytery are the marks of 'the great beaſt, which is mentioned in the Apocalyps: the fire of 'purgatory, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the feaſts of the dedications of 'churches, the worſhip of ſaints, and propitiations for the dead, are 'inventions

(6) Petrus Valdus locuples civis Lugdunenſis anno Chriſti circiter MCLXX Valdenſibus nomen dedit. Is (ut monumentis teſtatum reliquit Vidus Perpinianus præſul Elnenſis, qui quæſitoris in Valdenſes munus exercuit) domo ac bonis relictis totum ſe evangelicæ profeſſioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apoſtolorum ſcripta populari lingua vertenda curaverat——Cum jam multos ſectatores exiguo tempore circa ſe haberet, eos tanquam diſcipulos ad evangelium promulgandum in omnes partes ablegat—Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Eccleſiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Chriſti fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam meretricem eſſe, et arborem illam ſterilem, quam ipſe Chriſtus diris devovit et revellendam eſſe præcepit; proinde minime parendum pontifici, et epiſcopis, qui ejus errores fovent: monaſticam vitam eccleſiæ ſentinam ac Plutonium eſſe; vana illius vota, nec niſi fædis puerorum amoribus ſervientia: preſbyterii ordines magnæ beſtiæ, quæ in apocalypſi commemoratur, notas eſſe: ignem purgatorium, ſolemne ſacrum, templorum encænia, cultum ſanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanæ commenta eſſe. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus alia afficta, de conjugio, reſurrectione, animæ ſtatu poſt mortem, et de cibis. Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 6. Sect. 16. Vol. 1. p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

(7) —avoient

'inventions of Satan. To theſe the principal and certain heads of 'their doctrin others were feigned and added, concerning marriage, 'the reſurrection, the ſtate of the ſoul after death, and concerning 'meats.' Mezeray, the celebrated hiſtoriographer of France, is ſhort, but full to our purpoſe; for (7) he ſaith, that 'they had almoſt the 'ſame opinions as thoſe who are now called Calviniſts.' It cannot be objected that this is proteſtant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenſes and Albigenſes had ſpread and prevailed ſo far, and were prevailing ſtill farther, that the pope thought it neceſſary to exert his utmoſt efforts to ſuppreſs them. For this purpoſe the firſt croiſade was proclaimed of Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, and the office of inquiſition was firſt erected, the one to ſubdue their bodies, the other to inſlave their ſouls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devaſtations of this time, how many of theſe poor innocent Chriſtians were ſacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is (8) computed that in France alone were ſlain a million: and what was the conſequence of theſe ſhocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than (9) the wiſe and moderate hiſtorian Thuanus. 'Againſt 'the Waldenſes (ſaith he) when exquiſite puniſhments availed little, 'and the evil was exaſperated by the remedy which had been unſeaſonably applied, and their number increaſed daily, at length complete armies were raiſed: and a war of no leſs weight, than what 'our people had before waged againſt the Saracens, was decreed againſt 'them: the event of which was, that they were rather ſlain, put to 'flight, ſpoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and diſperſed 'here

(7) —avoient à peu prés les meſmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourd'huy Calviniſtes. Abregé Chronol. Philippe Auguſte. p. 657. Edit. Amſterdam 1674.

(8) Vide Mede in Apoc. p. 503.

(6) Contra quos [Valdenſes] cum exquiſita ſupplicia parum proficerent, et remedio, quod intempeſtive adhibitum fuerat, malum exacerbaretur, numeruſque eorum in dies creſceret, juſti tandem exercitus conſcripti ſunt: nec minoris molis bellum quam quod antea noſtri adverſus Saracenos geſſerant, contra eoſdem decretum eſt: cujus is exitus fuit, ut potius cæſi, fugati, bonis ac dignitatibus ubique ſpoliati atque huc illuc diſſipati ſint, quam erroris convicti reſipuerint. Itaque qui armis ſe initio tutati fuerant, poſtremo armis victi in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebraſque vitæ ac doctrinæ ſuæ iis in locis repererunt. Pars in Calabriam conceſſit, in eaque diu, atque adeo uſque ad Pii IV. pontificatum, ſe continuit. Pars in Germaniam tranſiit, atque apud Bohemos, et in Polonia et Livonia, larem fixit. Alii ad occidentem verſi in Britannia perfugium habuerunt. Thuani Præfat. ad Henric IV. p. 7. Edit. Buckley.

(1) Dupin

'here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. 'So that they who at firſt had defended themſelves by arms, at laſt 'overcome by arms fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of 'the French territory, and found a ſhelter for their life and doctrin in 'thoſe places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a 'long while, even to the pontificate of Pious IV. Part paſſed into 'Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in 'Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the weſt obtained refuge in 'Britain.' But there were others in this age, who proceeded not ſo far as the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, and yet oppoſed the church of Rome in many reſpects. At the beginning of this century (1) Almeric and his diſciples were charged with ſeveral hereſies, and were condemned by the ſecond council of Paris in the year 1209. They might poſſibly hold ſome heterodox opinions; but their great offenſe was their denying the change of the ſubſtance of the bread and wine in the euchariſt, their oppoſing the worſhip of ſaints images and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichriſt, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and miniſters of Antichriſt: ſo that theſe differed little from the Waldenſes and Albigenſes. William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, (2) wrote a treatiſe *of the perils of the laſt times*, wherein he applied that prophecy of St. Paul, (2 Tim. III. 1.) "This know alſo that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come," to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was ſo ſevere a ſatir upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverſe ſentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other biſhops, and in fine as a book capable of cauſing great ſcandals and troubles in the church. Robert Groſthead or Greathead, biſhop of Lincoln, (3) in his ſpeeches and writings inveighed bitterly againſt the corruption and ſuperſtition, the lewdneſs and wickedneſs of the clergy in general, and the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichriſtianiſm

(1) Dupin XIII. Siecle. Chap. 8. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XIII. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

(2) Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Magdeburg. Cent. XIII. Cap. 10. p. 588. Edit. Baſil. 1624. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 7. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

(3) Vide Cent. Magdeburg. Balæum. Dupin. Cave. Tanner. &c.

(4) Matt. Paris ad Ann. 1253. p. 874. Edit. Wats. 1646.

(5) Matt. Paris. ibid. Papæ redargutor, prælatorum

chriſtianiſm of pope Innocent IV in particular. He was alſo no leſs a friend to (4) civil than to religious liberty, and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whoſoever and whereſoever they were within his dioceſe, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary hiſtorian, hath (5) related the ſubſtance of his dying diſcourſes, wherein he proved the pope to be an heretic, and deſervedly to be called Antichriſt: and concludes with giving him the character of 'refuter of 'the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of prieſts, 'inſtructor of the clergy, and in ſhort the hammer to beat down the 'Romans and to bring them into contempt.' It is no marvel that ſuch a man was excommunicated; but he (6) little regarded the cenſure, and appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Chriſt. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himſelf hath painted in the moſt lively colors the corruptions and abominations of the ſee of Rome, the tyranny, ſuperſtition, ſimony, and wickedneſs of the popes and clergy. A proteſtant hiſtorian could not more freely laſh and expoſe the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St. Albans.

As "they are not all Iſrael which are of Iſrael;" ſo neither have all the members of the Romiſh church believed all her doctrins. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were (7) ſevere ſatiriſts upon the times, and wrote freely againſt the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the Pope as Antichriſt: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Caſſiodor, whether a fictitious or a real perſon, (8) addreſſed a remonſtrance to the church of England againſt the tyranny, avarice, and exactions of the court of Rome, adviſing and exhorting the Engliſh to ſhake off the Roman yoke from their necks.

rum correptor, monachorum corrector, preſbyterorum director, clericorum inſtructor—Romanorum malleus et contemptor. p. 876.

(6) Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Chriſti. Henr. de Knyghton. Lib. 2. inter Scriptores X. p. 2436.

(7) Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XIV. Cap. 5. Sect. 8. et 9. Robertus Gerius et Henricus Wharton in Appendice ad Cave Hiſt. Litt. p. 9 et 50.

(8) Appendix ad Cave. p. 10. Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 5. p. 501, &c.

(9) H. Wharton

Michael Cæſenas and William Occam (9) expoſed the various errors and hereſies of John XXII to the number of 77; and ſecure in the protection of the emperor, they ſet at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marſilius, a famous lawyer of Padua, (1) wrote a treatiſe intitled *the defender of peace*, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things ſpiritual as well as temporal; painted in the ſtrongeſt colors the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the leaſt authority or præeminence over other biſhops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witneſſes than theſe in this age. It was ſhown before from Thuanus, that the Waldenſes and Albigenſes being perſecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, ſome into Germany, and ſome into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied ſo faſt, notwithſtanding the rage and violence of croiſaders and inquiſitors, that at the beginning of this century (2) it is computed, that there were eighty thouſand of them in Bohemia, Auſtria, and the neighbouring territories; and they pertinaciouſly defended their doctrins even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards* from (3) one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 againſt the authority of the pope, the interceſſion of ſaints, the maſs, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologn in the year 1322. In England alſo they were denominated Lollards, tho' there was a man more worthy to have given name to the ſect, the deſervedly famous John Wickliff, the honor of his own, and the admiration of all ſucceeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he (4) filled all England, and almoſt all Europe with his doctrin. He began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing againſt the ſuperſtitions of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrins and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and eſpecially by defending the royal and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction againſt

(9) H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 20 et 28. Dupin. XIV. Siecle. Chap. 5.

(1) Wharton, ibid. p. 26, 27. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5 et 8.

(2) Bzovius ad Ann. 1315. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 8.

(3) Dupin.

againſt the uſurpations of the popes and mendicant friers. The more he oppoſed, the more reaſon he found for oppoſition. He tranſlated the canonical ſcriptures into the Engliſh language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonſtrated the antichriſtianity of popery, and the abomination of deſolation in the temple of God. He aſſerted the one true ſacrifice of Chriſt, and oppoſed the ſacrifice of the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, the adoration of the hoſt, the ſeven ſacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worſhip of ſaints and images, and in ſhort all the principal corruptions and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome. His ſucceſs too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the univerſity of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favored and ſupported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with ſeveral heterodox notions; but many years ago was publiſhed *An apology for John Wickliff, ſhowing his conformity with the now church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James keeper of the ſame, at Oxford* 1608. This truly great and good man died of a palſy the laſt day of the year 1387, but his doctrins did not die with him. His books were read in the public ſchools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent peruſal of each ſtudent in the univerſity, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Conſtance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1395 preſented (5) a remonſtrance to the parlament, which contained theſe with other articles; that when the church of England began to miſmanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith, hope, and charity began to take their leave of her communion; that the Engliſh prieſthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power ſuperior to angels, is not that prieſthood which Chriſt ſettled upon his apoſtles; that injoining celibacy to the clergy was the occaſion of ſcandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracle of tranſubſtantiation runs the greateſt part of chriſtendom upon idolatry; that exorciſms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread,

(3) Dupin. ibid. Hoffmanni Lex. Spelman. Skinner, &c.

(4) H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 60, &c. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Leland, Bale, Tanner. &c. &c.

(5) Walſingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 6. p. 596, &c.

(6) Balæi

water, the mitre, the croſs, &c, have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and croſſes, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confeſſion makes the prieſts proud, lets them into the ſecrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with ſcandalous conſequences, as well as the doctrin of indulgences; that the vow of ſingle life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occaſion of horrible diſorders, &c. Some falſe tenets might be contained in the ſame remonſtrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or allay of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themſelves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Conſtantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, ſo the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of perſecution increaſed in proportion. Wickliff himſelf had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death (6) his doctrins were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Conſtance, and the command of pope Martin V, executed by Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincoln. His followers however were not diſcouraged, and many of them witneſſed a good confeſſion even unto death. William Sawtre, pariſh prieſt of St. Oſith in London, (7) hath the honor of being the firſt who was burnt for hereſy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby (8) was convicted of hereſy, and ordered alſo to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was preſent at his execution: and the poor man ſhowing very ſenſible ſigns of the torment he endured, the prince out of compaſſion commanded the fire to be removed, and promiſed him pardon and a penſion for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himſelf, reſolutely

(6) Balæi Script. Brit. Cent. 6. N° 1. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave p. 63. Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

(7) Fox, Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. B. 1. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 7. p. 617. &c. Rapin. &c.

(8) Walſingham,

reſolutely rejected this offer; he choſe rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conſcience; and ſo the fire was kindled again, and he was conſumed to aſhes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, (9) was proſecuted for being the principal patron and abbetter of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he declared againſt tranſubſtantiation, penances, the worſhipping of the croſs, the power of the keys; and aſſerted that the pope was Antichriſt and the head of that body, the biſhops were the members, and the friers the hinder parts of the antichriſtian ſociety. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convict, and delivered over to the ſecular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he eſcaped out of priſon; and being charged by his enemies with endevoring to make an inſurrection, he was outlawed for high treaſon; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the firſt nobleman in England who ſuffered death for the cauſe of religion. It was the great blot and ſtain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the Engliſh arms abroad, he was ſtill perſecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, and the ſevereſt laws and proclamations againſt them, their numbers ſtill increaſed, not only among the people, but even in parlament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and eſpecially in Bohemia. For there (1) John Huſs and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliff's books, advanced and propagated the ſame doctrins; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and ſuffered death with the moſt heroic fortitude. It was a moſt unjuſt ſentence, contrary to all faith and the ſolemn engagement of a ſafe conduct, and drew after it the moſt fatal conſequences. For out of their aſhes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted againſt the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with ſome exactneſs from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living

(8) Walſingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 620. &c. &c.

(9) Walſingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 632. &c. &c.

(1) Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XV. Cap. 6 et 7. Dupin Siecle XV. Chap. 7. Lenfant. Hiſt. Conc. Piſ. et Conſtance.

(2) Uſſer.

living and converſing ſome time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favor, Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards choſen pope aſſumed the name of Pius II. Theſe then were (2) their opinions according to him, who, we may be certain, would not repreſent them better, if he would not repreſent them worſe, than they were in reality.

'The pope of Rome is equal with other biſhops.

'Among prieſts there is no difference; not dignity, but merit giveth 'the preference.

'Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately either plunged in-'to eternal puniſhments, or attain eternal joys.

'There is no purgatory fire.

'It is vain to pray for the dead, and an invention of prieſtly cove-'touſneſs.

'The images of God and the ſaints ought to be deſtroyed.

'The bleſſing of water and palm branches is ridiculous.

'The religion of the mendicants was invented by evil demons.

'Prieſts ought to be poor, content with alms alone.

'Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of God.

'No capital ſin ought to be tolerated, altho' for the ſake of avoid-'ing a greater evil.

'He who is guilty of mortal ſin ought not to enjoy any ſecular or ec-'cleſiaſtical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.

'Confirmation, which the biſhops celebrate with anointing, and ex-'treme unction, are by no means contained among the ſacraments of 'the church.

'Auricular

(2) Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 6. Sect. 16. Aſſix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 22. Æneas Sylv. Hiſt. Bohem. Cap. 35.

Romanum præſulem reliquis epiſcopis parem eſſe.

Inter ſacerdotes nullum diſcrimen; preſbyterum non dignitatem, ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.

Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e veſtigio pœnas mergi, aut perpetua conſequi gaudia.

Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri.

Vanum eſſe orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ ſacerdotalis inventum.

Dei et ſanctorum imagines delendas.

Aquarum palmarumque benedictiones irridendas.

Mendicantium religiones malos dæmonas inveniſſe.

Sacerdotes pauperes eſſe debere, ſolâ contentos eleemoſynâ.

Liberam cuique prædicationem verbi Dei patere.

Nullum capitale peccatum, quantumvis majoris mali vitandi gratia, tolerandum.

Qui mortalis culpæ reus ſit, eum neque ſeculari, neque eccleſiaſtica dignitate potiri, neque parendum ei.

Confirmationem, quam chriſmate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem inter eccleſiæ ſacramenta minimè contineri.

Auricularem

'Auricular confeſſion is trifling; it is ſufficient for every one in his 'chamber to confeſs his ſins unto God.

'Baptiſm ought to be celebrated without any mixture of holy oil.

'The uſe of church-yards is vain, invented for the ſake of gain; in 'whatſoever ground human bodies are buried, it maketh no difference.

'The temple of the great God is the whole world; they confine his 'majeſty, who build churches, monaſteries, and oratories, as if the 'divine goodneſs would be found more propitious in them.

'Sacerdotal veſtments, ornaments of altars, palls, corporals, cha-'lices, patins and veſſels of this ſort are of no moment.

'A prieſt in any place, at any time can conſecrate the body of Chriſt, 'and adminiſter it to thoſe who deſire it; it is ſufficient, if he repeat 'only the ſacramental words.

'The ſuffrages of the ſaints reigning with Chriſt in heaven are im-'plored in vain, foraſmuch as they cannot help us.

'The time is conſumed in vain in ſinging and ſaying the canonical 'hours.

'We ſhould ceaſe from work on no day, except that which is now 'called the Lord's day.

'The feſtivals of ſaints are altogether to be rejected.

'The faſts alſo inſtituted by the church have no merit in them.'

Theſe were the opinions of the Bohemians or Huſſites, for which they fought as well as diſputed againſt the pope and emperor. At firſt they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziſka; and when they were beaten at laſt, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued diſtinguiſhed by the name of *the Bohemian brethren*

Auricularem confeſſionem nugacem eſſe; ſufficere ſua quemque Deo in cubili ſuo conqueri peccata.

Baptiſma fluvialis undæ, nullâ interjectâ ſacri olei mixturâ recipiendum.

Cœmiteriorum inanem uſum, quæſtus causâ repertum; quacunque tegantur tellure humana corpora, nihil diſtare.

Templum Dei latè patentis ipſum mundum eſſe; coarctare majeſtatem ejus, qui eccleſias, monaſteria, oratoriaque conſtruunt, tanquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniatur.

Sacerdotales veſtes, altarium ornamenta, pallas, corporalia, calices, patinas, vaſaque hujuſmodi nil habere momenti.

Sacerdotem quocunque loco, quocunque tempore ſacrum Chriſti corpus conficere poſſe, petentibuſque miniſtrare; ſufficere, ſi verba ſacramentalia tantum dicat.

Suffragia ſanctorum in cælis cum Chriſto regnantium fruſtra impetrari, quæ juvare non poſſunt.

In canonicis horis cantandis dicendiſque fruſtra tempus teri.

Nulla die ab opere ceſſandum, niſi quæ Dominica nunc appellatur.

Celebritates ſanctorum prorſus rejiciendas.

Jejuniis quoque ab eccleſiis inſtitutis, nihil ineſſe meriti.

(3) Spanhem.

brethren till the time of the Reformation. Even in the boſom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in faith as well as in morals, in doctrin as well as in diſciplin. One inſtance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola (3) was a Dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and eſpecially in Florence, for the great purity and ſtrictneſs of his life and doctrin. He preached freely againſt the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice, and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedneſs in particular of pope Alexander VI and his ſon Cæſar Borgia. In his diſcourſes ſermons and writings, he preſſed the neceſſity of holding a general council and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatiſe (4) intitled *The lamentation of the ſpouſe of Chriſt againſt falſe apoſtles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and conſequence of all his pious zeal? He was excommunicated, he was impriſoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he ſuffered with all poſſible conſtancy on the 23d of May 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All perſons of any note and eminence bear a double character in the world, and ſo doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the beſt of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worſt of impoſtors and hypocrits; but if his works may ſpeak for him, they are, in the (5) opinion of Dupin, 'full of grace and of maxims of piety; he ſpeaketh freely 'there againſt the vices, and teacheth the moſt pure and the moſt exalted morality.'

We are now arrived at the *ſixteenth* century, *ſæculum reformatum* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great meaſure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happineſs of ſeeing the ſuperſtructure raiſed and completed. All the chriſtian world almoſt had groaned earneſtly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himſelf (6) acknowleged the neceſſity

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave p. 198. &c. Guicciardin. B. 3. toward the end. Phil. de Comines. B. 8. Chap. 19. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 4. Bayle's Dict. &c. &c.

(4) *Lamentatio Chriſti ſponſæ adverſus Pſeudapoſtolos, ſive exhortatio ad fideles, ut precentur Dominum pro renovatione eccleſiæ.* Venet. 1537. et cum vita Savonarolæ. Paris 1674. 8°. Wharton ibid.

(5) Les ouvrages de cet auteur ſons pleins d'onction et de maximes de pieté; il y parle librement contre les vices, et y enſeigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevée. Dupin. ibid.

(6) Sledian's

ſity of it, and promiſed to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the ſource and origin of evil. Eraſmus and others led the way; and Luther began (7) publicly to preach againſt the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is uſually reckoned the æra of the Reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the firſt riſe of the beaſt down to the Reformation, there have conſtantly been ſome true and faithful "witneſſes" of Jeſus Chriſt, who, tho' they may have fallen into ſome errors and miſtakes, (as indeed who is altogether free from them?) yet it may charitably be preſumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the chriſtian faith, and deſtructive of ſalvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowlege; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have ſtudied brevity as much as I well could; and they who are deſirous of ſeeing a larger and more particular account of "the witneſſes" may find it in (8) Flaccius Illyricus, in the Centuriators of Magdeburg, in Uſher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only ſome of the principal inſtances are ſelected: but this deduction, ſhort and defective as it is, evidently demonſtrates however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boaſt to have been before the Reformation: and at the ſame time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in aſking the queſtion *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we ſee, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witneſſes; but it is ſufficient, if it was no where elſe, that it was always in the Bible. "The Bible, as Chillingworth (9) ſays, the Bible only is the "religion of proteſtants."

15 And the ſeventh angel ſounded, and there were great voices, in heaven, ſaying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the*

(6) Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reformation. B. 4. Father Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 60.

(7) Sleidan. B. 1. Father Paul. B. 1. Sect. 18, &c.

(8) Matthias Flaccius in Catalogo teſtium veritatis. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Magdeburg. Uſher de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, and the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Frederici Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtiana et Hiſt. Imaginum.

(9) Chillingworth's Religion of Proteſtants. Chap. 6. Sect. 56.

kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders which ſat before God on their ſeats, fell upon their faces and worſhipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art and waſt, and art to come; becauſe thou haſt taken to thee thy great power, and haſt reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they ſhould be judged, and that thou ſhouldſt give reward unto thy ſervants the prophets, and to the ſaints and them that fear thy name, ſmall and great, and ſhouldſt deſtroy them which deſtroy the earth.

We are now come to the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, or the third woe trumpet, and the ſeventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the ſeventh ſeal, and the ſeventh ſeal and all the ſeals being conſtituent parts or members of the ſealed book, it is evident that the ſeventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but is plainly diſtinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the ſixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at leaſt ending with it. "The forty and two months of the Gen-" tiles treading the holy city under foot, and the 1260 days of the wit-" neſſes propheſying in ſackcloth" are 1260 ſynchronical years, and terminate at the ſame time with the fall of the Othman empire or the end of the ſixth trumpet or ſecond woe-trumpet. And when "the " ſecond woe is paſt," it is ſaid (XI. 14.) "behold, the third woe com-" eth quickly." At the ſounding of the ſeventh trumpet (ver. 15.) " the third woe" commenceth, which is rather implied than expreſſed, as it will be deſcribed more fully hereafter. "The third woe" brought "on the inhabiters of the earth" is the ruin and downfall of the Antichriſtian kingdom: and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, "the kingdoms of this world will become the king-" doms of our Lord and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and " ever." St. John is rapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millenium, without conſidering the ſteps preceding and conducting to it. At the ſame time "the four and twenty elders," or the miniſters

miniſters of the church, (ver. 16, 17, 18.) are repreſented as praiſing and glorifying God for manifeſting his "power" and "kingdom" more than he had done before: and give likewiſe an intimation of ſome ſucceeding events, as "the anger of the nations," Gog and Magog, (XX. 8.) and "the wrath of God," diſplayed in their deſtruction, (XX. 9.) and "the judging of the dead," or the general judgment, (XX. 12.) "and the rewarding of all the good, ſmall and great," as well as "the puniſhing of the wicked." Here we have only a ſummary account of the circumſtances and occurrences of the ſeventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and inlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the conſummation of all things, through a ſeries of prophecies extending from the apoſtle's days to the end of the world. It is this ſeries which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of theſe prophecies: and tho' ſome of them may be dark and obſcure, conſidered in themſelves, yet they receive light and illuſtration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and ſupports another. If any parts remain yet obſcure and unſatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apoſtle himſelf hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

An Analyſis of the Revelation.

PART II.

MOST of the beſt commentators divide the Apocalyps or Revelation into two parts, "the book" βιβλιον "ſealed with ſeven "ſeals," and "the little book" βιβλαριδιον as it is called ſeveral times. But it happens unluckily, that according to their diviſion the leſſer book is made to contain as much or more than the larger:

whereas in truth " the little book" is nothing more than a part of " the ſealed book," and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. IX., and the latter beginning with Chap. X., the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be ſeparated, which are plainly connected together and dependent upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, which are all opened in order; but the ſeventh ſeal conſiſts of the ſeven trumpets, and of the ſeven trumpets the three laſt are diſtinguiſhed by the name of " the " three woe trumpets;" ſo that the ſeven trumpets, as well as the ſeven ſeals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other diviſion, the trumpets would be divided, the three laſt trumpets would be divided from each other, the ſixth trumpet itſelf would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the ſeventh trumpet would remain ſeparated from the reſt, which would be a ſtrange interruption of the ſeries and order of the prophecies, and greatly diſturb and confound the courſe of events. The former part, inſtead of cloſing with the ſeventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the ſixth trumpet; the latter part would then commence under the ſixth trumpet, and after that would follow the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, and after this the general ſubject of the Revelation would be reſumed from the beginning of the Chriſtian æra, which inſtead of coming in after ſo many events poſterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would alſo divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book ſo divides itſelf. For the former part proceeds, as we have ſeen, in a regular and ſucceſſive ſeries from the apoſtle's days to the conſummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it muſt fall ſome where or other within the compaſs of this period; it muſt in ſome meaſure be a reſumption of the ſame ſubjects; and this latter part may moſt properly be conſidered as an inlargement and illuſtration of the former. Several things, which were only touched upon, and delivered in dark hints before, require to be more copiouſly handled, and placed in a ſtronger light. It was ſaid that " the beaſt ſhould " make war againſt the witneſſes, and overcome them:" but who or

what

what " the beaſt" is we may reaſonably conjecture indeed, but the apoſtle himſelf will more ſurely explain. The tranſactions of the ſeventh trumpet are all ſummed up and compriſed in a few verſes, but we ſhall ſee the particulars branched out and inlarged into as many chapters. In ſhort this latter part is deſigned as a ſupplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illuſtrate what was obſcure: and as the former deſcribed more the deſtinies of the Roman empire, ſo this latter relates more to the fates of the Chriſtian church.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was ſeen in his temple the ark of his teſtament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

This laſt verſe of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, ſhould have been made the firſt verſe of the twelfth chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new ſubject. It is ſomewhat like the beginning of Iſaiah's viſion; (VI. 1.) " I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon a throne" (the ark) " high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." It is ſomewhat like the beginning of St. John's prophetic viſions; (IV. 1, 2.) " I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven; and behold, " a throne was ſet in heaven, and one ſat on the throne." This is much in the ſame ſpirit: " And the temple of God was opened in " heaven, and there was ſeen in his temple the ark of his teſtament;" that is, more open diſcoveries were now made, and the myſtery of God was revealed to the prophet. " Lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, " and an earthquake, and great hail," are the uſual concomitants and attendents of the divine preſence, and eſpecially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at mount Sinai (Exod. XX. 16, &c.) " there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the " mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole " mount quaked greatly." So likewiſe in this very book of the Apocalyps, before the opening of the ſeven ſeals (IV. 5.) there were " lightnings, and thundrings, and voices." So again before the ſounding of the ſeven trumpets (VIII. 5.) " there were voices, and thund-

" rings,

" rings, and lightnings, and an earthquake:" and with as much reaſon they are made in this place the ſigns and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no juſt objection, that a new ſubject is ſuppoſed to begin with the conjunction " and;" for this is frequent in the ſtile of the Hebrews; ſome books, as Numbers, Joſhua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and*; and the ſame objection would hold equally againſt beginning the diviſion with the firſt verſe of the next chapter.

CHAP. XII.

1 AND there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman cloathed with the ſun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars:

2 And ſhe being with child, cried, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having ſeven heads, and ten horns, and ſeven crowns upon his heads.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the ſtars of heaven, and did caſt them to the earth: and the dragon ſtood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as ſoon as it was born.

5 And ſhe brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and *to* his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderneſs, where ſhe hath a place prepared of God, that they ſhould feed her there a thouſand two hundred *and* threeſcore days.

St. John reſumes his ſubject from the beginning, and repreſents the church (ver. 1, 2.) as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Chriſt. She is " cloathed by the ſun," inveſted with the rays of Jeſus

(1) A learned correſpondent obſerves, that the Jewiſh religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light

Jeſus Chriſt the ſun of righteouſneſs; having "the moon," the (1) Jewiſh newmoons and feſtivals as well as all ſublunary things, "under her feet; and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars," an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apoſtles. "And ſhe being with child, cried, travelling in birth, and "pained to be delivered." St. Paul hath made uſe of the ſame metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the goſpel in the midſt of tribulation and perſecution. (Gal. IV. 19.) "My little "children of whom I travel in birth again, until Chriſt be formed in "you." But the words of St. John are much ſtronger, and more emphatically expreſs the pangs, and ſtruggles, and torments, which the church endured from the firſt publication of the goſpel to the time of Conſtantine the great, when ſhe was in ſome meaſure eaſed of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr. Whiſton carries the compariſon farther. (Eſſay on the Revelation. Part. 3. Viſion 3.) "For as the "time of geſtation from the conception to the birth in women with "child, is known to be 40 weeks or 280 days; ſo it is as well known, "that from the firſt riſe of our Saviour's kingdom at his reſurrection "and aſcenſion A. D. 33. till the famous proclamation and edict, for "the univerſal liberty and advancement of Chriſtianity by Conſtan-"tine and Licinius A.D. 313. which put an end to the pangs of birth "in the heavieſt perſecution that ever was then known, was exactly "280 years," reckoning according to the prophetical account a day for a year. At the ſame time "there appeared" (ver. 3.) "a great dragon;" which is the well known ſign or ſymbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and inſtruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great perſecutors of the primitive church of Iſrael, diſtinguiſhed by this title in ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament: (Pſal. LXXIV. 13. Iſ. LI. 9. Ezek. XXIX. 3.) and with as much reaſon and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great perſecutors of the primitive church of Chriſt, be called by the ſame name, as they were actuated by the ſame principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon

light is not its own, but furniſhed by the Chriſtian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accompliſhed.

(2) Septem

dragon plainly evince. He is " a great red dragon:" and purple or ſcarlet was the diſtinguiſhing color of the Roman emperors, conſuls, and generals; as it hath been ſince of the popes and cardinals. His " ſeven heads," as the angel afterwards (XVII. 9, 10.) explains the viſion, allude to the ſeven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the ſeven forms of government, which ſucceſſively prevailed there. His " ten horns" typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the " ſeven crowns upon his heads" denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Propertius (2) deſcribes it, ſeated on ſeven hills, which preſides over the whole world. " His tail" alſo (ver. 4.) " drew the third part " of the ſtars of heaven, and did caſt them to the earth;" that is, he ſubjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth: and the Roman empire, as we have ſeen before, is repreſented as " the " third part" of the world. " He ſtood before the woman, which " was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as ſoon as it was " born:" and the Roman emperors and magiſtrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Chriſtians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid ſnares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Chriſt, the ſon of Mary; ſo did the Roman dragon for the myſtic Chriſt, the ſon of the church, that he might deſtroy him even in his infancy. But notwithſtanding the jealouſy and envy of the Romans, the goſpel was widely diffuſed and propagated, and the church brought many children unto Chriſt, and in time ſuch as were promoted to the empire. " She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations " with a rod of iron." (ver. 5.) It was predicted, that Chriſt ſhould rule over the nations, (Pſal. II. 9.) " Thou ſhalt break them with a rod of " iron, thou ſhalt daſh them in pieces like a potter's veſſel:" but Chriſt, who is himſelf inviſible in the heavens, ruleth viſibly in Chriſtian magiſtrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promiſed before to Chriſtians in general, (II. 26, 27.) " He that overcometh, " and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over " the nations (And he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron; as the veſſels " of

(2) Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præſidet orbi. Propert. Lib. 3. El. 11. ver. 57.

(3) Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 1. Cap. 20. Lactant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 24. Auctor ignotus ad

" of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers) even as I received of " my Father." But it ſhould ſeem that Conſtantine was here particularly intended, for whoſe life (3) the dragon Galerius laid many ſnares, but he providentially eſcaped them all; and notwithſtanding all oppoſition, " was caught up unto the throne of God," was not only ſecured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called " the throne of God," for (Rom. XIII. 1.) " there is no power " but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God." He too " ruled all nations with a rod of iron;" for he had not only the Romans, who before had perſecuted the church, under his dominion, but alſo (4) ſubdued the Scythians, Sarmatians, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been ſubject to the Roman empire: and as the learned (5) Spanheim informs us, there are ſtill extant medals and coins of his with theſe inſcriptions, *the ſubduer of the barbarous nations*, *the conqueror of all nations*, *every where a conqueror*, and the like. What is added (ver. 6.) of " the woman's flying into the wilderneſs for a thou- " ſand two hundred and threeſcore days" is ſaid by way of prolepſis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other ſubſequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderneſs: but before the prophet paſſeth on to a new ſubject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7 And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought againſt the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.

9 And the great dragon was caſt out, that old ſerpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was caſt out into the earth, and his angels were caſt out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice, ſaying in heaven, Now is come

 ſalvation,

ad calcem Amm. Marcellini. p. 656. Edit. Valeſii Paris. 1681.

(4) Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. &c.

(5) Spanhemii Diſſert. Decima Tertia de Præſtantia et Uſu Numiſm. Antiqu. p. 636, 638. Obſervat. ad Juliani Imp. Orat. I. in laudem Conſtantii. p. 66.

(6) Nor

ſalvation, and ſtrength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Chriſt: for the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down, which accuſed them before our God day and night.

11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their teſtimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the ſea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, becauſe he knoweth that he hath but a ſhort time.

It might reaſonably be preſumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be ſtrenuouſly exerted againſt the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and eſpecially againſt the eſtabliſhment of a Chriſtian on the imperial throne: and theſe ſtruggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Chriſtian religions are repreſented (ver. 7.) by "war in heaven" between the angels of darkneſs and angels of light. Michael was (Dan. X. 21. XII. 1.) the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewiſh church. He performs here the ſame office of champion for the Chriſtian church. He and the good angels, who are "ſent forth (Hebr. I. 14.) "to mi-"niſter to the heirs of ſalvation," were the inviſible agents on one ſide, as the devil and his evil angels were on the other. The viſible actors in the cauſe of chriſtianity were the believing emperors and miniſters of the word, the martyrs and confeſſors; and in ſupport of idolatry were the perſecuting emperors and heathen magiſtrates together with the whole train of prieſts and ſophiſts. This conteſt laſted ſeveral years, and the final iſſue of it was (ver. 8, 9.) that the Chriſtian prevailed over the Heathen religion; the Heathens were depoſed from all rule and authority, and the Chriſtians were advanced to dominion and empire in their ſtead. Our Saviour ſaid unto his diſciples caſting devils out of the bodies of men, (Luke X. 18.) "I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall "from heaven." In the ſame figure Satan fell from heaven, and "was

(6) Νυνι δε της ελευθεριας αποδοθεισης, και τυ διακοντος εκεινυ απο της των κοινων διοικησεως, τυ Θευ τυ μεγιστυ προνοια, ἡμετερα δ ὑπηρεσια εκδιωχθειτος, ἡγεμαι και πασι φανεραν γεγενησθαι την θειαν δυναμιν, κ. τ. λ. Nunc vero cum libertas reſtituta ſit, et draco ille providentia quidem Dei optimi maximi, miniſterio autem noſtro a reipublicæ adminiſtratione ſubmotus; equidem exiſtimo divinam potentiam omnibus clariſſimè innotuiſſe. &c. Euſeb. de

" was caſt out into the earth," when he was thruſt out of the imperial throne, " and his angels were caſt out with him," not only all the heathen prieſts and officers civil and military were caſhiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the ſubjects of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Conſtantine himſelf and the Chriſtians of his time deſcribe his conqueſts under the ſame image, as if they had underſtood that this prophecy had received its accompliſhment in him. Conſtantine himſelf, (6) in his epiſtle to Euſebius and other biſhops concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, ſaith that 'liberty being now reſtored, 'and *that dragon* being removed from the adminiſtration of public 'affairs, by the providence of the great God and by my miniſtry, I 'eſteem the great power of God to have been made manifeſt even to 'all.' Moreover (7) a picture of Conſtantine was ſet up over the palace gate, with the croſs over his head, and under his feet *the great enemy of mankind, who perſecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon*, transfixed with a dart through the midſt of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the ſea: in alluſion, as it is ſaid expreſly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil ſpirit is called the dragon and the crooked ſerpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced (ver. 10.) a triumphant hymn of thankſgiving for the depreſſion of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen perſecutors, as Satan accuſed holy Job before God, to accuſe the innocent Chriſtians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the cauſers of all calamities. It was not by temporal means or arms that the Chriſtians obtained this victory, (ver. 11.) but by ſpiritual, by the merits and death of their redeemer, by their conſtant profeſſion of the truth, and by their patient ſuffering of all kinds of tortures even unto death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the ſeed of the church*. This victory was indeed (ver. 12.) matter of joy and triumph to the bleſſed angels and glorified ſaints in

de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Socratis Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Theodorit. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.

(7) Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. τον δε εχθρον και πολεμιον θηρα, τον την εκκλησιαν τυ Θευ δια της των αθεων πολιορκησαντα τυραννιδος,—εν δρακοντος μορφη. hoſtem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum operâ eccleſiam Dei oppugnaverat, ſub draconis forma.

(8) Ταυτα

heaven, by whoſe ſufferings it was in great meaſure obtained; but ſtill new woes are threatened "to the inhabiters of the earth;" for though the dragon was depoſed, yet was he not deſtroyed; though idolatry was depreſſed, yet was it not wholly ſuppreſſed; there were ſtill many Pagans intermixed with the Chriſtians, and the devil would incite freſh troubles and diſturbances on earth, "becauſe he knoweth he hath but "a ſhort time," it would not be long before the Pagan religion ſhould be totally aboliſhed, and the Chriſtian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13 And when the dragon ſaw that he was caſt unto the earth, he perſecuted the woman which brought forth the man-*child*.

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that ſhe might fly into the wilderneſs, into her place: where ſhe is nouriſhed for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the ſerpent.

15 And the ſerpent caſt out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood.

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed up the flood, which the dragon caſt out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her ſeed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

When the dragon was thus depoſed from the imperial throne, and "caſt unto the earth," (ver. 13.) he ſtill continued to perſecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made ſeveral attempts to reſtore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Conſtantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abuſed the Chriſtian religion by ſuch writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and

(8) Ταυτα μεν εν φθονος [forſan φθονερος] τις και πονηρος δαιμων, τοις της εκκλησιας βασκαινων αſαθοις κατειργαζετο. Hæc livor invidiæ, et malignus dæmon eccleſiæ felicitatem ſemper ægre ferens, in noſtram perniciem machinatus eſt. Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 73.

(9) Interea comes Stilicho, Vandalorum inbellis, avaræ, perfidæ et doloſæ gentis genere editus, parvipendens quod ſub imperatore imperabat, Eucherium filium ſuum, ſicut a pleriſque traditur, jam inde Chriſtianorum

and others of the ſame ſtamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with hereſies and ſchiſms; he ſtirred up the favorers of the Arians, and eſpecially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to perſecute and deſtroy the orthodox Chriſtians. Theſe things, as (8) Euſebius ſaith upon one of theſe occaſions, ſome malicious and wicked demon, envying the proſperity of the church, effected. But the church was ſtill under the protection of the empire, (ver. 14.) "and to the woman "were given two wings of a great eagle." As God ſaid to the children of Iſrael, (Exod. XIX. 4.) "Ye have ſeen what I did unto the Egyptians, "and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myſelf;" ſo the church was ſupported and carried as it were on eagles wings: but the ſimilitude is the more proper in this caſe, an "eagle" being the Roman enſign, and the "two wings" alluding probably to the diviſion that was then made of the eaſtern and the weſtern empire. In this manner was the church protected, and theſe wings were given, "that ſhe might fly into the wilderneſs," into a place of retirement and ſecurity, "from the face of the ſerpent." Not that ſhe fled into the wilderneſs at this time, but ſeveral years afterwards; and there "ſhe is nouriſhed for a time, and times, and half a time," that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the ſame period with the "thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days" or years before-mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a deſolate and afflicted ſtate, during the reign of Antichriſt; as Elijah, (1 Kings XVII. XVIII. Luke IV. 25, 26.) while idolatry and famin prevailed in Iſrael, was ſecretly fed and nouriſhed three years and ſix months in the wilderneſs. But before the woman fled into the wilderneſs, "the ſerpent caſt out "of his mouth water as a flood," (ver. 15.) with intent to waſh her away. "Waters" in the ſtile of the Apocalyps (XVII. 16.) ſignify "peoples" and "nations;" ſo that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppreſs and overwhelm the Chriſtian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the deſign of the dragon, when (9) Stilicho,

Chriſtianorum perſecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem, in imperium quoquo modo ſuſtinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, &c.—Eucherius, qui ad conciliandum ſibi favorem Paganorum, reſtitutione templorum et everſione eccleſiarum imbuturum ſe regni primordia

Stilicho, prime miniſter of the emperor Honorius, firſt invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raiſe his ſon Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Chriſtians, and threatened to ſignalize the beginning of his reign with the reſtoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Chriſtian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter ſubverſion of the Chriſtian church, than the irruptions of ſo many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; "the earth ſwallowed up the "flood;" (ver. 16.) the Barbarians were rather ſwallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors inſtead of impoſing their own, ſubmitted to the religion of the conquered Chriſtians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the cuſtoms, the language, and the very name of Romans, ſo that the victors were in a manner abſorbed and loſt among the vanquiſhed. This courſe not ſucceeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore deſiſt from his purpoſe, (ver. 17.) but only took another method of perſecuting the true ſons of the church, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. It is ſaid that he "went to make war with the remnant of her ſeed, who keep "the commandments of God, and have the teſtimony of Jeſus;" which implies that at this time there was only a "remnant," that corruptions were greatly increaſed, and "the faithful were miniſhed from among "the children of men."

CHAP. XIII.

1 AND I ſtood upon the ſand of the ſea, and ſaw a beaſt riſe up out of the ſea, having ſeven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blaſphemy.

2 And the beaſt which I ſaw was like unto a leopard, and his feet

mordia minabatur, &c. Oroſii Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 38. p. 571. Edit. Havercamp. Vide etiam Jornandem

feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his ſeat, and great authority.

3 And I ſaw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beaſt.

4 And they worſhipped the dragon which gave power unto the beaſt: and they worſhipped the beaſt, ſaying, Who *is* like unto the beaſt? who is able to make war with him?

5 And there was given unto him a mouth ſpeaking great things, and blaſphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty *and* two months.

6 And he opened his mouth in blaſphemy againſt God, to blaſpheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7 And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the world.

9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10 He that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity: He that killeth with the ſword, muſt be killed with the ſword. Here is the patience and the faith of the ſaints.

Here "the beaſt" is deſcribed at large, who was only mentioned before: (XI. 7.) and a "beaſt" in the prophetic ſtile is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Chriſt is never repreſented under the image of a "beaſt." As Daniel (VII. 2, 3.) beheld "four great beaſts," repreſenting the four great empires, "come up "from" a ſtormy "ſea," that is from the commotions of the world; ſo St. John (ver. 1.) ſaw this "beaſt" in like manner "riſe up out of "the ſea." He was ſaid before (XI. 7.) to aſcend εκ της αβυσσε, "out "of

dem de Rebus Geticis et de Regn. Succeſſ. et Paulum Diaconum. Lib. 13.

(1) Urbem

" of the abyſs" or "bottomleſs pit," and it is ſaid afterwards (XVII. 8.) that he ſhall aſcend εκ της αβυσσου, "out of the abyſs" or "bottomleſs pit;" and here he is ſaid to aſcend εκ της θαλασσης, "out of the ſea;" ſo that "the ſea" and "abyſs" or "bottomleſs pit" are in theſe paſſages the ſame. No doubt is to be made, that this beaſt was deſigned to repreſent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papiſts, and proteſtants are agreed: the only doubt and controverſy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Chriſtian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the ſequel.

St. John ſaw this beaſt "riſing" out of the ſea, but the Roman empire was riſen and eſtabliſhed long before St. John's time; and therefore this muſt be the Roman empire, not in its then preſent, but in ſome future ſhape and form; and it aroſe in another ſhape and form, after it was broken to pieces by the incurſions of the northern nations. The beaſt hath "ſeven heads and ten horns," which are the well known marks and ſignals of the Roman empire, the "ſeven heads" alluding to the ſeven mountains whereon Rome was ſituated, and to the ſeven forms of government which ſucceſſively prevailed there, and the "ten horns" ſignifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable, that the dragon had "ſeven crowns upon his heads," but the beaſt hath "upon his horns ten crowns;" ſo that there had been in the mean while a revolution of power from the "heads" of the dragon to the "horns" of the beaſt, and the ſovranty, which before was exerciſed by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Chriſtian. Altho' the heads had loſt their crowns, yet they ſtill retained "the name of blaſphemy." In all its heads, in all its forms of government Rome was ſtill guilty of

(1) Urbem æternam. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. p. 19. Edit. Valeſii. Paris 1681. Urbis ab æternæ, &c. Auſonii Epigram. 3 de Faſtis. ερανοπολει Ρωμη. Athenæi Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Caſaubon. Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma. Cui par eſt nihil, et nihil ſecundum. Martial. Lib. 12. Epigram. 8. Ita Romam, orbis caput, tanquam cæleſte aliquod numen, ſeu *terrarum deam gentiumque* a Bilbilitano vate dictam, divinis honoribus, templis, ſacerdotibus, ædituis, ipſa ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ appellatione, quod plures Græcarum illarum civitatum nummi oſtendunt, ſibi condecorandam exiſtimarunt. Quo autem referendum mihi videtur illud *nomen blaſphemiæ*, quod ſeptem capitibus inſcriptum geſtâſſe legitur beſtia in ſacro Revelationum libro, et quod Hieronymus ac Proſper ad *urbis æternæ* appellationem retulerunt, Romæ cum alibi, tum in nummis ejus itidem familiarem. Spanhemii Differt. Tertia de Præſtant. et Uſu Numm. Ant. Sect. 3. p. 138. Vol. 1.

(2) Imperium

of idolatry and blaſphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called, (1) *the eternal city*, *the heavenly city*, *the goddeſs of the earth*, *the goddeſs*; and had her temples and altars with incenſe and ſacrifices offered up to her: and how papal Rome likewiſe hath arrogated to herſelf divine titles and honors, there will be a fitter occaſion of ſhowing in the following part of this deſcription.

As Daniel's fourth beaſt (VII. 7.) was without a name, and "devoured and brake in pieces" the three former: ſo this beaſt (ver. 2.) is alſo without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having "the body of a leopard," which was the third beaſt or Grecian empire, and "the feet of a bear," which was the ſecond beaſt or Perſian empire, and "the mouth of a lion," which was the firſt beaſt or Babylonian empire: and conſequently this muſt be the ſame as Daniel's fourth beaſt, or the Roman empire. But ſtill it is not the ſame beaſt, the ſame empire entirely, but with ſome variation; "and" (2) "the dragon gave him his power" δυναμιν or his armies, "and his ſeat" θρονον or his imperial throne, "and great authority" or juriſdiction over all the parts of his empire. "The beaſt" therefore is the ſucceſſor and ſubſtitute of "the dragon" or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power hath ſucceeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witneſs. "The dragon" having failed in his purpoſe of reſtoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to "the beaſt," and thereby introduces a new ſpecies of idolatry, nominally different, but eſſentially the ſame, the worſhip of angels and ſaints inſtead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark, whereby the beaſt was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, was (ver. 3.) "one of his heads as it were wounded to death." It will ap-

(2) Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur, quum papam omnium eccleſiarum caput eſſe dixit Juſtinianus. V. Cod. L. 1. T. 1. A. D. 533, et 534. idque non verbo tantum ſignificavit ſed miſſis ad eum epiſcopis, quaſi legatis. Id Gregorius I. in fine ſeculi ſexti in epiſcopos Hiſpaniæ, Galliæ, &c. ſatis ſuperbe exercuit; ſucceſſores ſeculi ſeptimi multo etiam magis. In utroque ſeculo faventibus papis invaluere imaginum cultus, et ſanctorum invocatio: nam hic ipſe Gregorius litaniis inſeruit nomen beatæ virginis Mariæ. En igitur blaſphemias. Seculo octavo A. D. 727. imperium civile Romæ, et ducatûs Romani, excommunicato pulſoque imperatore Græco, arripuit papa (teſte Anaſtaſio et Sigonio de Regno Italiæ L. 3.) Gregorius II. Interea non orthodoxi, i. e. papis diſſentientes, infames, extorres, inteſtabiles impp. legibus facti ſunt. V. Cod. in quo canones æquantur legibus, &c. Nonne hæc omnia ſatis clare præſtant *magnam illam beſtiæ jam ortæ poteſtatem a dracone traditam*, &c. Mr. Mann's M. S.

(3) —regnum

pear hereafter, that this head was the ſixth head, for "five were fallen" (XVII. 10.) before St. John's time: and the ſixth head was that of the Cæſars or emperors, there having been before kings, and conſuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with conſular authority. The ſixth head was "as it were wounded to death," when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, and an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Auguſtulus: or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was (3) much the ſame as that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually "wounded to death," when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the beſt of theſe times and of theſe affairs, includes the hiſtory of the Gothic kings in his hiſtory *of the weſtern empire*. But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but "his "deadly wound was healed." If it was the ſixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the riſing of the ſeventh head, as interpreters commonly conceive; the ſame head which was wounded, muſt be healed: and this was effected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the great Auguſtus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was "healed" again, and hath ſubſiſted ever ſince. At this time, partly thro' the pope, and partly thro' the emperor, ſupporting and ſtrengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: "and all the world wondered after the beaſt, and" (ver. 4.) "they "worſhipped the dragon which gave power unto the beaſt, and they "worſhipped the beaſt, ſaying; Who is like unto the beaſt? Who is "able to make war with him?" No kingdom or empire was "like" that of the beaſt, it had not a parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to reſiſt or oppoſe it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and "all the world" in ſubmitting thus to the religion of the beaſt, did in effect ſubmit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry

(3) —regnum veteris imperii ex omni parte ſimillimum. Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

(4) See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy.

(5) והעשתה והצליחה και εποιησε, και ευοδωθη. et

try with only new names. The worſhipping of demons and idols is in effect the worſhipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beaſt was, his words and actions (ver. 5—8.) are no leſs wonderful. He perfectly reſembles "the little horn" in Daniel. As the little horn (Dan. VII. 8, 25.) had "a mouth ſpeaking great things," and "ſpake great words againſt the moſt High;" ſo "there was given "unto the beaſt a mouth ſpeaking great things, and he opened his "mouth in blaſphemy againſt God." As the little horn (Dan. VII. 21.) "made war with the ſaints, and prevailed againſt them;" ſo "it "was given unto the beaſt to make war with the ſaints and to overcome "them." As the little horn proſpered (Dan. VII. 25.) "until a time, "and times, and the dividing of time," that is three prophetic years and a half; ſo "power was given unto the beaſt to continue," to practiſe and proſper, "forty and two months," which is exactly the ſame portion of time as three years and a half. We ſee that not only the ſame images, but almoſt the ſame words are employed; and the portraits being ſo perfectly alike, it might fairly be preſumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the ſame perſon: and having before clearly diſcovered who ſat for the one, we cannot now be at any loſs to determin who ſat for the other. It is the Roman beaſt in his laſt ſtate or under his ſeventh head: and he hath "a mouth ſpeak-"ing great things and blaſphemies;" and what can be "greater "things and blaſphemies," than the (4) claims of *univerſal biſhop*; *infallible judge of all controverſies*, *ſovran of kings*, and *diſpoſer of kingdoms*, *vice-gerent of Chriſt*, and *God upon earth!* He hath alſo "power" ποιησαι "to continue" or rather to practiſe, to prevail, and proſper, "forty and two months." Some read ποιησαι πολεμον, to *make war*, not rightly underſtanding, I ſuppoſe, what was meant by ποιησαι alone; but it ſignifies to *practiſe*, to *prevail*, and *proſper*, as the words עשה and ποιησαι are (5) uſed by Daniel and the Greek tranſlators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beaſt is *to continue to exiſt* for no longer a term, but he is *to practiſe*, *to proſper and prevail*

et faciet, et proſperabitur. *and it practiſed, and proſpered.* Dan VIII. 12. והצליח ועשה. και κατευθυνει, και ποιησει. et proſperabitur. et faciet. *and ſhall proſper, and practiſe*, ver. 24. ועשה בהם והחזיק. και ποιησει εν αυτοις, και κατισχυσει. et faciet in eis, et confortabitur, *and ſhall deal againſt them, and ſhall prevail.* Dan. XI. 7. ועשה. και ποιησει. et faciet. *and he ſhall do exploits.* ver. 28. See alſo ver. 30.

(6) Prima

prevail forty and two months; as " the holy city" (XI. 2.) " is to " be troden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months" which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichriſt. But if by " the " beaſt" be underſtood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, inſtead of ſubſiſting 1260, did not ſubſiſt 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blaſphemies and exploits of the beaſt, there follows a ſpecification of the particulars. " He opened his mouth " in blaſphemy againſt God." Blaſphemy againſt God may be ſaid to be of two kinds, not only ſpeaking diſhonourably of the ſupreme Being, but likewiſe attributing to the creature what belongs to the creator, as in idolatry; which is often the ſenſe of the word in ſcripture; as in Iſaiah (LXV. 7.) " They have burnt incenſe upon the mountains, and " blaſphemed me upon the hills;" and in ſeveral other places. He " blaſphemes the name of God" by aſſuming the divine titles and honors to himſelf, and as it is expreſſed in the Wiſdom of Solomon, (XIV. 21.) by " aſcribing unto ſtones and ſtocks the incommunica- " ble name." He " blaſphemes the tabernacle of God," his temple and his church, by calling true Chriſtians, who are the houſe of God, ſchiſmatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly: or as you may underſtand it, by perverting the places dedicated to the worſhip of God to the worſhip of ſaints and angels. He " blaſphemes them that " dwell in heaven," angels and glorified ſaints, by idolatrous worſhip and impious adoration; and diſgraces their acts, and viliſies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blaſphemies; nor are his exploits leſs extraordinary. " It was given unto him to make war with the ſaints and to overcome " them:" And who can make any computation, or even frame any conception of the numbers of pious Chriſtians, who have fallen a ſacrifice to the bigottry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place (6) hath obſerved from good authorities, that in the war with the Albigenſes and

(6) Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenſes et Waldenſes, et ſi quo alio nomine tunc appellati ſint veri Chriſti cultores: quorum tanta ſtrages edita fuit ut per Galliam ſolam, ſi P. Perionius in ejus belli hiſtoria rectè calculum inierit, occiſa ſint ad *decies centena hominum millia*.—Ab origine Jeſuitarum, ad annum 1480, hoc eſt, paulo pluribus quam 30 annis, orthodoxorum *nongenta* fere *millia* fuiſſe trucidata, notat Balduinus de Antichriſto. In Belgio ſolo, idque manu ſolum carnificis, ſævus ille pugil Romanæ ſedis dux Albanus, ad 36 animarum millia, ſe authore, intra paucos annos ſublata gloriatus eſt. Teſtatur

and Waldenſes there periſhed of theſe poor creatures in France alone *a million*. From the firſt inſtitution of the Jeſuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thouſand* orthodox Chriſtians were ſlain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boaſted, that within a few years he had diſpatched to the amount of *thirty ſix thouſand* ſouls, and thoſe all by the hand of the common executioner. In the ſpace of ſcarce thirty years, the Inquiſition deſtroyed by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thouſand* Chriſtians. Sanders himſelf confeſſes, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet he ſays were not put to death by the pope and biſhops, but by the civil magiſtrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of "the ſecular beaſt" it is ſaid, that he ſhould "make war with the "ſaints, and overcome them." No wonder that by theſe means he ſhould obtain an univerſal authority "over all kindreds, and tongues, "and nations," and eſtabliſh his dominion in all the countries of the weſtern Roman empire: and that they ſhould not only ſubmit to his decrees, but even adore his perſon, except the faithful few, whoſe names, as citizens of heaven, were inrolled in the regiſters of life. Let the Romaniſts boaſt therefore that theirs is the *catholic church* and *univerſal empire*; this is ſo far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the Spirit of prophecy.

It was cuſtomary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been ſaying, to add "He who "hath ears to hear, let him hear." St. John repeats the ſame admonition at the end of each of the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches of Aſia, and here in the concluſion of his deſcription of the beaſt, (ver. 9.) "If any man have an ear, let him hear:" and certainly the deſcription of the beaſt is deſerving of the higheſt attention upon many accounts, and particularly becauſe the right interpretation of the Apocalyps turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added by way of conſolation

Teſtatur Vergerius, qui optime novit, Inquiſitionem, ut vocant, hæreticæ pravitatis vix triginti annorum ſpatio, *centum quinquaginta* Chriſtianorum *millia* diverſis afflictionum generibus conſumpſiſſe. Fatetur Sanderus infinitos Lolhardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignibus traditos fuiſſe; quos tamen ait ille non a papa et epiſcopis, ſed a politicis magiſtratibus neci datos fuiſſe. Nimirum ſic juxta prophetiam rem geri oportuit: nam de *ſæculari beſtia* dicitur, quod ſanctis bellum faceret, eoſque vinceret. Mede, p. 503, 504.

(7) Whiſton's

conſolation to the church, that theſe enemies of God and of Chriſt, repreſented under the character of the beaſt, ſhall ſuffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably puniſhed and tormented themſelves, as they puniſhed and tormented others. (ver. 10.) "He who leadeth into cap-"tivity, ſhall go into captivity; He who killeth with the ſword, muſt "be killed with the ſword." Such a promiſe might adminiſter ſome comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and the faith of the ſaints would be tried to the utmoſt during the reign of the beaſt. "Here is the patience and the faith of the ſaints." Of all the trials and perſecutions of the church this would be the moſt ſevere, and exceed thoſe of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11 And I beheld another beaſt coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he ſpake as a dragon.

12 And he exerciſeth all the power of the firſt beaſt before him, and cauſeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed.

13 And he doeth great wonders, ſo that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the ſight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means* of thoſe miracles which he had power to do in the ſight of the beaſt, ſaying to them that dwell on the earth, that they ſhould make an image to the beaſt which had the wound by a ſword, and did live.

15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beaſt, that the image of the beaſt ſhould both ſpeak, and cauſe that as many as would not worſhip the image of the beaſt, ſhould be killed.

16 And he cauſeth all, both ſmall and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:

17 And that no man might buy or ſell, ſave he that had the mark, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name.

18 Here is wiſdom. Let him that hath underſtanding count the number of the beaſt: for it is the number of a man; and his number is ſix hundred threeſcore *and* ſix.

From

From the deſcription of " the ten-horned beaſt" or Roman ſtate in general, the prophet paſſeth to that of " the two-horned beaſt" or Roman church in particular. " The beaſt with ten crowned horns" is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms; " the beaſt with " two horns like a lamb" is the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy regular and ſecular. This beaſt is otherwiſe called " the falſe " prophet," as we ſhall ſee in ſeveral inſtances; than which there cannot be a ſtronger or plainer argument to prove, that falſe doctors or teachers were particularly deſigned. For " the falſe prophet" no more than " the beaſt" is a ſingle man, but a body or ſucceſſion of men propagating falſe doctrins, and teaching lies for ſacred truths. As the firſt beaſt " roſe up out of the ſea," that is out of the wars and tumults of the world; ſo this beaſt (ver. 11.) " groweth up out of the " earth" like plants ſilently and without noiſe; and the greateſt prelates have often been raiſed from monks and men of the loweſt birth and parentage. " He had two horns like a lamb;" he had, both regular and ſecular, the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb, and pretended to be like the lamb all meekneſs and mildneſs. But " he ſpake as a dragon, he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors, in uſurping divine titles and honors, in commanding idolatry, and in perſecuting and ſlaying the true worſhippers of God and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt. He is an eccleſiaſtical perſon, but intermixeth himſelf much in civil affairs. He is the prime miniſter, adviſer and mover of " the firſt beaſt," or the beaſt before mentioned. (ver. 12.) " He exerciſeth all the power of the firſt beaſt before him." He holdeth *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal authority as well as a ſpiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his ſervice, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate. As the firſt beaſt concurs to maintain his authority, ſo he in return confirms and maintains the ſovranty and dominion of the firſt beaſt over his ſubjects; " and cauſeth the earth, and them who dwell " therein, to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed." He ſupports tyranny, as he is by tyranny ſupported. He inſlaves the conſciences, as the firſt beaſt ſubjugates the bodies of men. As Mr. Whiſton

Whiſton well (6) obſerves, " He is the common center and cement " which unites all the diſtinct kingdoms of the Roman empire; and " by joining with them procures them a blind obedience from their " ſubjects: and ſo he is the occaſion of the preſervation of the old " Roman empire in ſome kind of unity, and name, and ſtrength; which " otherwiſe had been quite diſſolved by the inundations and wars ſuc- " ceeding the ſettlement of the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beaſt, and now we ſhall ſee what courſes he purſues to confirm and eſtabliſh it. He pretends, like other falſe prophets, (ver. 13.) to ſhow " great ſigns and wonders" and even to call for " fire from heaven," as Elias did. His impoſtures too are ſo ſucceſsful, that (ver. 14.) " he deceiveth them that dwell on " the earth, by the means of thoſe miracles which he hath power to " do." In this reſpect he perfectly reſembles St. Paul's " man of " ſin," (2 Theſſ. II. 9.) " whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, " with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceiva- " bleneſs of unrighteouſneſs:" or rather they are one and the ſame character repreſented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther obſervable, that he is ſaid to perform his miracles, " in " the ſight of men" in order to deceive them, and " in the ſight of " the beaſt" in order to ſerve him: but not " in the ſight of God" to ſerve his cauſe, or promote his religion. Now miracles, viſions, and revelations are the mighty boaſt of the church of Rome; the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impoſe upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even " fire" is pretended to " come down from heaven," as in the caſe of St. Anthony's fire, and other inſtances cited by (8) Brightman and other writers on the Revelation; and in ſolemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of caſting down burning torches from on high, as ſymbols and emblems of " fire from heaven." Miracles are thought ſo neceſſary and eſſential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church; and they are alleged principally in ſupport of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worſhip of ſaints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrins. But if theſe

(7) Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part. 3. Viſion 5.
(8) Vide Brightman. et Poli Synopſ. in locum.
(9) Limborch. Theol. Chriſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect.

theſe miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what then ſhall we ſay, if they are all fictions and counterfeits? They are indeed ſo far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a falſe one; they are, as we ſee, the diſtinguiſhing mark of Antichriſt.

The influence of the two-horned beaſt or corrupted clergy is farther ſeen in perſuading and inducing mankind (ver. 14.) to "make an image "to the beaſt, which had the wound by a ſword and did live;" that is an image and repreſentative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the ſword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the weſt. "He had" alſo "power" (ver. 15.) "to give "life" and activity "unto the image of the beaſt." It ſhould not be a dumb and lifeleſs idol, but ſhould "ſpeak" and deliver oracles, as the ſtatues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and ſhould "cauſe to "be killed as many as would not worſhip" and obey it. Some by this "image of the beaſt" (9) underſtand "the riſe of the new empire of "Charlemain, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is "now become the empire of Germany:" but this is "the beaſt" himſelf, "who had the wound by a ſword and did live," and not "the "image of the beaſt;" the riſe of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably (1) conceive, that this "image of the beaſt" is "the office of inquiſi-"tion, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular "ſcheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciſ-"can monks, at firſt without any *voice* of command, or *power* of "execution; till courts were erected independent of biſhops; and "judges, officers, familiars, priſons, and tormenters were appointed, "who ſhould put to exquiſite puniſhments, and deliver over to a cruel "death all that would not ſubmit with an implicit obedience:" but the office of inquiſition is eſtabliſhed only in ſome particular popiſh countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. "As many "as would not worſhip the image of the beaſt, the image of the beaſt "ſhould cauſe to be killed:" but there are many papiſts who do not

Sect. 16. Lord Napier in locum. Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part 3. Viſion 6.

(1) Vitring. in locum. Mann's Critical notes on ſome Paſſages of Scripture, p. 121.

(2) Bonanni

receive and own the authority of the inquiſition, and yet the inquiſition doth not attempt to deſtroy and extirpate all ſuch papiſts. What appears moſt probable is, that this "image" and repreſentative "of the "beaſt" is the Pope. He is properly "the idol" of the church. He repreſents in himſelf the whole power of the beaſt, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as ſpiritual. He is nothing more than a private perſon, without power and without authority, till the two-horned beaſt or the corrupted clergy by chooſing him pope "give life" unto him, and enable him to "ſpeak" and utter his decrees, and to perſecute even to death as many as refuſe to ſubmit to him and "to worſhip him." As ſoon as he is choſen pope, he is cloathed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiſs his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration*. They firſt elect, and then they worſhip him; as in the (2) medals of Martin V, where two are repreſented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him, with this inſcription *Quem creant adorant*, *Whom they create they adore*. He is the principle of unity to the ten kingdoms of the beaſt, and cauſeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowlege his ſupremacy, to be put to death. In ſhort he is the moſt perfect likeneſs and reſemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Chriſtian world as they were in the Heathen world, preſides in the ſame city, uſurps the ſame powers, affects the ſame titles, and requires the ſame univerſal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy deſcends more and more into particulars, from the Roman ſtate or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and ſtill more particularly to the perſon of the pope, the head of the ſtate as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as biſhop of biſhops.

Other offices the falſe prophet performs to the beaſt in ſubjecting all ſorts of people to his obedience, by impoſing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the leaſt article to diſſent from

(2) Bonanni Numiſmat. Pontific. Romanor. Daubuz. p. 582.

(3) Vide Grot. in locum. Cleric. in Levit. XIX. 28. et ſupra omnes Spencerum de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Sect. 1, 3, 4.

(4) Ut neminem in ſua poteſtate aliquid *emere aut vendere* permiſerit, quem apoſtolicæ ſedi deprehenderit inobedientem. Ex Uſſerio de ſucceſſ. Eccleſ. Cap.

from them. (ver. 16. 17.) " He cauſeth all, both ſmall and great, " rich and poor, free and bond," of whatſoever rank and condition they be, " to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads :" And he will not permit any man to " buy or ſell," or partake of the common intercourſes of life, who hath not " the mark, or the name " of the beaſt, or the number of his name." We muſt underſtand, that it was (3) cuſtomary among the ancients, for ſervants to receive the mark of their maſter, and ſoldiers of their general, and thoſe who were devoted to any particular deity of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. Theſe marks were uſually impreſſed " on their right " hand or on their foreheads ;" and conſiſted of ſome hieroglyphic character, or of the name expreſſed in vulgar letters, or of the name diſguiſed in numerical letters according to the fancy of the impoſer. It is in alluſion to this ancient practice and cuſtom, that the ſymbol and profeſſion of faith in the church of Rome, as ſubſerving to ſuperſtition, idolatry and tyranny, is called " the mark" or " character of the beaſt ;" which character is ſaid to be received " in their forehead," when they make open and public declaration of their faith, and " in their right hand," when they live and act in conformity to it. If any diſſent from the ſtated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics ; and in conſequence of that they are no longer ſuffered to " buy or ſell ;" they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil ſociety. So Roger Hoveden (4) relates of William the conqueror, that he was ſo dutiful to the pope, that ' he would not ' permit any one in his power *to buy or ſell* any thing, whom he ' found diſobedient to the apoſtolic ſee.' So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made againſt the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, (5) injoins upon pain of anathema, that ' no man ' preſume to entertain or cheriſh them in his houſe or land, or *exerciſe* ' *traffic* with them.' The ſynod of Tours in France under the ſame

Cap. 7. Sect. 7. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 599.

(5) Ne quis eos in domo vel in terra ſua tenere, vel fovere, vel *negotiationem* cum iis *exercere* præſumat. Ex. Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Rom. A. 1612. p. 37. apud Medum. p. 509. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 598.

(6) Ne

pope (6) orders under the like intermination, that ‘ no man ſhould ‘ preſume to receive or aſſiſt them, no not ſo much as to hold any ‘ communion with them in *ſelling or buying*, that being deprived of ‘ the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the ‘ error of their way.’ Pope Martin V in his bull ſet out after the council of Conſtance (7) commands in like manner, that ‘ they per- ‘ mit not the heretics to have houſes in their diſtricts, or enter into ‘ contracts, or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity ‘ with Chriſtians.’ In this reſpect, as Mede (8) obſerves, the falſe prophet “ ſpake as the dragon.” For the dragon Diocletian publiſhed a like edict, that no one ſhould ſell or adminiſter any thing to the Chriſtians, unleſs they had firſt burnt incenſe to the gods, as Bede alſo rehearſeth in the hymn of Juſtin Martyr; ‘ They had not the power of ‘ buying or ſelling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of draw- ‘ ing water itſelf, before they had offered incenſe to deteſtable idols.’ Popiſh excommunications are therefore like heathen perſecutions: and how large a ſhare the corrupted clergy, and eſpecially the monks of former, and the Jeſuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing ſuch cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to ſo ſervile a ſtate of ſubjection, no man of the leaſt reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of “ the number of the beaſt,” or “ the “ number of his name,” (for they are both the ſame) the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name. (ver. 18.) “ Here is wiſdom. Let him that hath “ underſtanding count the number of the beaſt.” It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to ſearch into this myſtery, but on the contrary

(6) Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæreſeos ſectatores, receptaculum iis quiſquam in terra ſua præbere, aut præſidium impertiri præſumat; ſed nec in *venditione aut emptione* aliqua cum iis communio habeatur, ut ſolatio ſaltem humanitatis amiſſo, ab errore viæ ſuæ reſipiſcere cogantur. Ex Uſſerio de ſucceſſ. Eccleſ. Cap. 8. Sect. 26. apud Medum et Vitring. et Daubuz. ibid.

(7) Ne hereticos in ſuis diſtrictibus domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis ſolatia cum Chriſtianis habere permittant. Ex Pareo apud Daubuz. p. 598.

(8) Et quid? nonne hic quoque loquitur pſeudopropheta *ut draco?* Draco enim Diocletianus ſimile edictum edidit, ne quis quidquam Chriſtianis venderet aut ſubminiſtraret, niſi prius thura diis adoleviſſent: de quo in hymno Juſtini Martyris ita canit Beda;

Non illis emendi quidquam
Aut vendendi copia:
Nec ipſam haurire aquam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Deteſtandis idolis.

Mede, p. 509.

(9) Vide

trary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apoſtle. " For it is " the number of a man;" it is a method of numbering practiſed among men; as " the meaſure of a man" (XXI. 17.) is ſuch a meaſure as men commonly make uſe of in meaſuring. It was a method practiſed among the ancients, to denote names by numbers; as the (9) name of *Thouth* or the Egyptian Mercury was ſignified by the number 1218; the name of Jupiter, as Η Αρχη or the beginning of things, by the number 717; and the name of the ſun, as ηυς good, or υης the author of rain, by the number 608. St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, in his (1) epiſtle diſcovers in like manner the name of Jeſus crucified in the number 318: and other inſtances might be produced, if there was occaſion. It hath been the uſual method in all God's diſpenſations for the holy Spirit to accommodate his expreſſions to the cuſtoms, faſhions, and manners of the ſeveral ages. Since then this art and myſtery of numbers was ſo much uſed among the ancients, it is leſs wonderful that the beaſt alſo ſhould have his number, " and his number is ſix hundred " and ſixty ſix." Here only the number is ſpecified; and from the number we muſt, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names poſſibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident, that it muſt be ſome Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name alſo the other qualities and properties of the beaſt muſt all agree. The name alone will not conſtitute an agreement; all other particulars muſt be perfectly applicable, and the name alſo muſt comprehend the preciſe number of 666. No name appears more proper and ſuitable than that famous one mentioned by Irenæus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was the diſciple of Polycarp, the diſciple of John. He (2) ſaith,

(9) Vide Martiani Capellæ de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii. Lib. 2 et 7 in init. Daubuz, p. 605. Selden's Works, Vol. 3. Part 2. Col. 1402. Of the number 666.

Θ—9	Η—8	η—8
ω—800	Α—1	υ—400
υ—400	ρ—120	ς—200
θ—9	χ—60	
	η—8	608
1218		
	737	

(1) Vide S. Barnabæ Epiſt. Cap. 9. Edit. Cotelerii et Clerici. The name of Jeſus was wrote thus abbreviated I H T, I H the two firſt letters of the name, and T as the mark of his croſs.

Ι	10
Η	8
Τ	300
	318

(2) Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet ſexcentorum ſexaginta ſex numerum: et valde veriſimile eſt, quoniam noviſſimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim ſunt qui nunc regnant: ſed non in hoc nos gloriabimur. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

(3) So

ſaith, that ‘ the name *Lateinos* contains the number of 666; and it is ‘ very likely, becauſe the laſt kingdom is ſo called, for they are Latins ‘ who now reign; but in this we will not glory:’ that is, as it becomes a modeſt and pious man in a point of ſuch difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication. Lateinos with ei is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long i of the Latins, and as the Latins themſelves (3) wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the ſpelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the diviſion of the empire, the Greeks and other orientaliſts called the people of the weſtern church or church of Rome *Latins:* and as Dr. Henry Moore (4) expreſſeth it, they *latinize* in every thing. Maſs, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls are conceived in Latin. The papal councils ſpeak Latin. Women themſelves pray in Latin. Nor is the ſcripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic verſion. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itſelf, which was written by the prophets and apoſtles. In ſhort all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They themſelves indeed chooſe rather to be called *Romans*, and more abſurdly ſtill *Roman Catholics:* and probably the apoſtle, as he hath made uſe of ſome Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon* (IX. 11.) and *Armageddon*, (XVI. 16.) ſo might in this place likewiſe allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the (5) Hebrew name for the *Roman beaſt* or *Roman kingdom:* and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*, contains the juſt and exact number of 666. It is really ſurpriſing that there ſhould be ſuch a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages.

Mr.

(3) So Ennius Lib. VI. 26.

Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,
Horundem me leibertatei parcere certum eſt:

and there are infinite examples beſides.

(4) Moore's Myſtery of Iniquity. Part 2. B. 1. Chap. 15. Sect. 8. et Petri Molinæi Vates. p. 500 &c. Miſſa, preces, hymni, litaniæ, canones, decreta, bullæ, Latine conceptæ ſunt. Concilia papalia Latine loquuntur. Ipſæ Mulierculæ precantur Latine. Nec alio ſermone ſcriptura legitur ſub papiſmo quam Latino. Quapropter Concilium Tridentinum juſſit ſolam verſionem vulgatam Latinam eſſe authenticam. Nec dubitant doctores eam præferre ipſi textui Hebraico et Græco, ab ipſis apoſtolis et prophetis exarato. Denique ſunt omnia Latina; nempe Papa populis a ſe ſubactis dedit ſuam linguam, ut ſui imperii notam et characterem.

(5) רומי *Romi* maſc. רומיית Romiith fem. to agree with היה *beaſt* or מלכות *kingdom.*

Mr. Pyle (6) aſſerts, and I believe he may aſſert very truly, that "no "other word, in any language whatever, can be found to expreſs both "the ſame *number*, and the ſame *thing*."

CHAP. XIV.

1 AND I looked, and lo, a Lamb ſtood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thouſand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they ſung as it were a new ſong before the throne, and before the four beaſts, and the elders; and no man could learn that ſong, but the hundred and forty *and* four thouſand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4 Theſe are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins: theſe are they which follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth: theſe were redeemed from among men, *being* the firſt-fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.

5 And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the riſe and reign of the beaſt, the Spirit of prophecy delineates, by way of oppoſition, the ſtate of the true church during the ſame period, its ſtruggles and conteſts with the beaſt, and the judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is en-

Α	30	ר	200
Α	1	ו	6
Τ	300	מ	40
Ε	5	י	10
Ι	10	י	10
Ν	50	ן	400
Ο	70		666
Σ	200		
	666		

(6) See Pyle's Paraphraſe, p. 104.

(7) Fred.

ſeen (ver. 1.) as the true "Lamb" of God, not only with horns like a lamb, "ſtanding on the mount Sion," the place of God's true worſhip; "and with him an hundred forty and four thouſand," the ſame ſelect number that was mentioned before, (VII. 4.) the genuin ofspring of the twelve apoſtles apoſtolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beaſt; and as the followers of the beaſt have the name of the beaſt, ſo theſe have "the "name of God," and as ſome copies add "of Chriſt, written in their "foreheads," being his profeſſed ſervants, and the ſame as "the wit-"neſſes," only repreſented under different figures. The angels and heavenly quire (ver. 2, 3.) with loud voices and inſtruments of muſic ſing the ſame "new ſong" or Chriſtian ſong that they ſung before: (Chap. V.) "and no man could learn that ſong, but the hundred and "forty and four thouſand;" they alone are the worſhippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jeſus Chriſt; all the reſt of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. "Theſe are they which were not defiled with women; "for they are virgins;" (ver. 4.) they are pure from all the ſtains and pollutions of ſpiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miſerably debauched and corrupted. "Theſe are they "which follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth;" they adhere conſtantly to the religion of Chriſt in all conditions and in all places, whether in adverſity or proſperity, whether in conventicles and deſerts, or in churches or cities. "Theſe were redeemed from among men," reſcued from the corruptions of the world, and are conſecrated as "the firſt fruits unto God and the Lamb," an earneſt and aſſurance of a more plentiful harveſt in ſucceeding times. "And in their mouth "was found no guile; (ver. 5.) they "handle not the word of God "deceitfully," they preach the ſincere doctrin of Chriſt, they are as free from hypocriſy as from idolatry; "for they are without fault be-"fore the throne of God," they reſemble their bleſſed redeemer, "who," (1 Pet. II. 22.) "did no ſin, neither was guile found in his "mouth;" and are, as the apoſtle requires Chriſtians to be, (Philip. II. 15.) "blameleſs and harmleſs, the ſons of God without rebuke in the "midſt of a crooked and perverſe nation." But poſſibly it may be aſked,

Where

Where did ſuch a church ever exiſt, eſpecially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not exiſted only in idea; hiſtory demonſtrates, as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been ſome true worſhippers of God, and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt; and as Elijah did not know the ſeven thouſand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, ſo there may have been more true Chriſtians than were always viſible.

6 And I ſaw another angel fly in the midſt of heaven, having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,

7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains of waters.

Such is the nature and character of the true Chriſtian church in oppoſition to the wicked Antichriſtian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, repreſented by three angels appearing one after another. "Another "angel," (ver. 9.) beſides thoſe who were employed in ſinging, (ver. 3.) is ſeen "flying in the midſt of heaven," and "having the everlaſt-"ing goſpel to preach unto every nation and people;" ſo that during this period the goſpel ſhould ſtill be preached, which is ſtiled "the "everlaſting goſpel," being like its divine author (Heb. XIII. 8.) "the "ſame yeſterday, and to day, and for ever," in oppoſition to the novel doctrins of the beaſt and the falſe prophet, which (Matt. XV. 13.) "ſhall be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting." This angel is farther repreſented (ver. 7.) "ſaying with a loud voice, "Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is "come." Prophecy mentions things as "come," which will certainly come: and ſo our Saviour ſaid (John XII. 31.) "now is the judgment "of this world;" it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly recommends, is the worſhip of the great creator of the univerſe; "Wor-"ſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains

" of waters." It is a ſolemn and emphatic exhortation to forſake the reigning idolatry and ſuperſtition, and ſuch exhortations were made even in the firſt and earlieſt times of the beaſt. Beſides ſeveral of the Greek emperors who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the worſhip of images, Charlemain himſelf (7) held a council at Francfort in the year 794, conſiſting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spaniſh, and Britiſh biſhops, who condemned all ſort of adoration or worſhip of images, and rejected the ſecond council of Nice, which had authorized and eſtabliſhed it. At the ſame time *the Carolin books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himſelf or by his authority, proving the worſhip of images to be contrary to the ſcripture and to the doctrin and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and tranſmitted to the pope. Lewis the pious, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Charles, (8) held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ratified the acts of the council of Francfort and the Carolin books, and affirmed that according to the ſcripture and the fathers adoration was due to God alone. Several private perſons alſo taught and aſſerted the ſame ſcriptural doctrins. Claud, biſhop of Turin, (9) declares that 'we are not commanded to 'go to the creature, that we may be made happy, but to the creator 'himſelf: and therefore we ſhould not worſhip dead men; they are to 'be imitated, not to be adored: let us together with the angels wor-'ſhip one God.' Agobard, archbiſhop of Lyons, (1) wrote a whole book againſt images, and ſays that 'angels or ſaints may be loved and 'honored, but not be ſerved and worſhipped: let us not put our truſt 'in man, but in God, leſt that prophetic denunciation ſhould redound 'on us, " Curſed is the man, who truſteth in man." Many other (2) biſhops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, profeſſed the ſame ſentiments; and this public oppoſition of emperors and biſhops to the worſhip of ſaints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries appears to be meant particularly by the " loud voice of" this firſt " angel flying aloft," and calling upon the world " to worſhip " God."

(7) Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian Sæc. 8. Cap. 7 et 9. Dupin. Bib. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. 6. paſſim. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire. Ann. 794.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Sæc. 9. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. et Hiſt. Imag. Reſt. Sect. 9. Dupin. ibid. Tom. 7. Chap. 1.

(9) Non jubemur ad creaturam tendere, ut efficiamur beati, ſed ad ipſum creatorem. Et ideo non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; honorandi ſunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem: Unum cum angelis colamus Deum. Apud Spanhem. ibid. Sæc. 9. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. Vide

" God." In another reſpect too theſe emperors and biſhops reſemble this " angel having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto every nation;" for in their time, and greatly by their means, (3) the Chriſtian religion was propagated and eſtabliſhed among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

8 And there followed another angel, ſaying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, becauſe ſhe made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

As the admonitions of the firſt angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beaſt, the ſecond angel is commiſſioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city. (ver. 8.) " And there followed ano-" ther angel, ſaying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city." By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree: but it was not prudent to denounce the deſtruction of Rome in open and direct terms: it was for many wiſe reaſons done covertly under the name of Babylon, which was the great idolatreſs of the earth, and enemy of the people of God in former, as Rome hath been in later times. By the ſame figure of ſpeech, that the firſt angel cried that " the hour of " his judgment is come," this ſecond angel proclaims that " Babylon " is fallen;" the ſentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice " Babylon is fallen, is " fallen;" as Joſeph ſaid (Gen. XLI. 32.) " that the dream was " doubled unto Pharaoh twice, becauſe the thing is eſtabliſhed by God, " and God will ſhortly bring it to paſs." The reaſon then is added of this ſentence againſt Babylon, " becauſe ſhe made all nations drink of " the wine of her wrath," or rather " of the inflaming wine of her " fornication." Hers was a kind of a Circéan cup with poiſoned liquor to intoxicate and inflame mankind to ſpiritual fornication. St. John

7. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. et Cave Hiſt. Litt. ad Ann. 820.

(1) Angeli, vel homines ſancti, amentur, honorentur, charitate, non ſervitute: Non ponamus ſpem noſtram in homine, ſed in Deo, ne forte redundet in nos illud propheticum, Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. Lib. de Imag. Cap. 30. apud Spanhem. ibid. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. Cave. ibid. an Ann. 813.

(2) Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 3. Uſſerius de Eccleſ. Chriſtian. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 8 et 9.

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 2.

(4) Mede

in theſe figures copies the ancient prophets. In the ſame manner, and in the ſame words, did Iſaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, (XXI. 9.) " Babylon is fallen, is fallen:" And Jeremiah hath aſſigned much the ſame reaſon for her deſtruction, (LI. 7.) " Babylon hath been " a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: " the nations have drunken of her wine: therefore the nations are mad." As by the firſt angel calling upon men to worſhip God, we underſtand the oppoſers of the worſhip of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, ſo by this ſecond angel proclaiming the fall of myſtic Babylon or Rome, we underſtand particularly (4.) Peter Valdo and thoſe who concurred with him the Waldenſes and Albigenſes; who were the firſt heralds, as I may ſay, of this proclamation, as they firſt of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic " Baby- " lon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;" and for this cauſe not only departed from her communion themſelves, but engaged great numbers alſo to follow their example, and laid the firſt foundation of the Reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, ſo likewiſe will that of Rome; and theſe holy confeſſors and martyrs firſt paved the way to it.

9 And the third angel followed them, ſaying with a loud voice, If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive *his* mark in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The ſame ſhall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he ſhall be tormented with fire and brimſtone, in the preſence of the holy angels, and in the preſence of the Lamb:

11 And the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no reſt day nor night, who worſhip the beaſt and his image, and whoſoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the ſaints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jeſus.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven, ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed

(4) Mede p. 517, 722, &c. Fred. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. 12. Cap. 6.—receſſiſſe a doctrina et praxi recepta Romanæ eccleſiæ, nuncupaſſe eam *Babylonem*, ac confuſionis omnis matrem; &c. Sect. 4. Thuani

Bleſſed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labors, and their works do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry ſhall be deſtroyed; the commiſſion of the third angel reacheth farther, and extends to all the ſubjects of the beaſt, whom he conſigns over to everlaſting puniſhment. (ver. 9, 10, 11.) "And the "third angel followed them, ſaying with a loud voice, If any man "worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead "or in his hand," if any man embrace and profeſs the religion of the beaſt, or what is the ſame, the religion of the pope; "the ſame ſhall "drink of the wine of the wrath of God," or rather "of the poiſonous "wine of God." His puniſhment ſhall correſpond with his crime. As he drank of the "poiſonous wine" of Babylon, ſo he ſhall be made to drink of "the poiſonous wine" of God, τȣ κεκερασμενȣ ακρατȣ, "which is "poured out without mixture," or rather "which is mixt unmixt," the poiſonous ingredients being ſtronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, "in the cup of his indignation; and he ſhall be tormented day "and night for ever and ever." By this "third angel following the "others with a loud voice" we underſtand principally Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who "with a loud voice" proteſted againſt all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be deſtructive of ſalvation to all who ſtill obſtinately continue in the practice and profeſſion of them. This would be a time of great trial. (ver. 12.) "Here is the patience of the ſaints; here are they who keep "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus." And it is very well known, that this was a time of great trial and perſecution; the Reformation was not introduced and eſtabliſhed without much bloodſhed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a ſolemn declaration from heaven. (ver. 13.) "And I heard "a voice from heaven ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed are the dead "who die in the Lord, from henceforth," if they die in the faith and obedience

Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 16. Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Eccleſiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Chriſti fidei renunciaverit, *Babylonicam meretricem eſſe*, &c. p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

(5) Sleidan's

obedience of Chriſt, and more eſpecially if they die martyrs for his ſake: "Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labors," for immediately upon their deaths they enter into reſt; "and their "works do follow them," they enjoy now ſome recompenſe, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they ſhall receive the full reward of their good works. It is moſt probable that St. John alluded to a paſſage in Iſaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; (LVII. 1, 2.) "The righteous periſheth, and no man layeth it to heart; "and merciful men are taken away, none conſidering that the righteous "is taken away from the evil to come: He ſhall enter into peace: they "ſhall reſt in their beds, each one walking in his uprightneſs." But the greateſt difficulty of all is to account for the words "from hence-"forth;" for why ſhould "the bleſſedneſs of the dead who die in the "Lord" be reſtrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally bleſſed, and not more ſince this time than before? Commentators are here very much at a loſs, and offer little or nothing that is ſatisfactory: but the difficulty in great meaſure ceaſes, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it ſhould be applied, to the Reformation. For from that time, tho' "the bleſſedneſs of the dead who die in the "Lord" hath not been inlarged, yet it hath been much better underſtood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrin of purgatory hath been exploded and baniſhed from the belief of all reaſonable men. This truth was moreover one of the leading principles of the Reformation. What firſt provoked Luther's ſpirit was the ſcandalous ſale of indulgences; and the doctrin of indulgences having a cloſe connexion with the doctrin of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his (5) firſt work of reformation was his 95 theſes or poſitions againſt indulgences, purgatory, and the dependent doctrins. So that he may be ſaid litterally to have fulfilled the command from heaven, of *writing*, "Bleſſed are the dead who die in the Lord, from hence-"forth:" and from that time to this this truth hath been ſo clearly aſſerted,

(5) Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reform. B. 1. Ann. 1517. Father Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent. B. 1.

aſſerted, and ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers theſe three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and ſuppoſes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichriſt and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me thro' both parts of the Revelation is following the ſeries of hiſtory and the ſucceſſive order of events. After the deſcription of the two beaſts, ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, whoſe power was eſtabliſhed according to my hypotheſis in the eighth century, but according to moſt commentators much ſooner, there would be a very large chaſm without the prediction of any memorable events, if theſe prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichriſt and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterwards? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewiſe of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters, muſt be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium. I can hardly frame, even in imagination, any events which can anſwer more exactly to theſe proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deſerve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very ſtrange that there ſhould be ſo many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and yet none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be repreſented in ſuch an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and perſecuted during the reign of the beaſt. But the church of this period is not drawn in ſuch an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagins; there are ſome intimations of its ſuffering perſecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagins, yet why may not the true church be repreſented like the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians as "ſorrowful yet always rejoicing," as "rejoicing in tribu-"lation," as "exceeding joyful in tribulation," &c? He farther conceives, that the dead are "bleſſed from henceforth," becauſe they will remain a ſhorter time in the ſeparate ſtate, and be ſooner raiſed again.

B. 1. Sect. 18. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. 16. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

(6) In

again. But why then is not that reaſon aſſigned but quite different ones, " that they may reſt from their labors, and their works do follow " them?" Theſe are reaſons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be reſtrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words " from henceforth" relate not ſo much to " the bleſſedneſs of the dead," which is always the ſame, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrin by Luther and the proteſtant reformers.

14 And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* ſat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a ſharp ſickle.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that ſat on the cloud, Thruſt in thy ſickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harveſt of the earth is ripe.

16 And he that ſat on the cloud, thruſt in his ſickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he alſo having a ſharp ſickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the ſharp ſickle, ſaying, Thruſt in thy ſharp ſickle, and gather the cluſters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thruſt in his ſickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and caſt *it* into the great wine-preſs of the wrath of God.

20 And the wine-preſs was troden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-preſs, even unto the horſe-bridles, by the ſpace of a thouſand *and* ſix hundred furlongs.

But ſtill the voices of theſe three warning angels not having their due influence

(6) In Taanith Fol. 69. Col. 1. Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. in locum. Vide etiam Echa R. II. 2. Tribus annis cum dimidio obſedit Adrianus Bitterem,—nec ceſſarunt in ea interficientes, donec mergeretur equus in ſanguine uſque ad os, &c. apud Wetſtein in locum.

(7) Sil. Ital. III. 705.
—multoque fluentia ſanguine lora.

(8) —In

influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beaſt, which judgments are repreſented under the figures of "harveſt" and "vintage," (ver. 14—20.) figures not unuſual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments againſt the enemies of his people in the like terms; (III. 13.) "Put ye in the ſickle, for the harveſt is "ripe; come, get you down, for the preſs is full, the fats overflow, "for their wickedneſs is great." What particular events are ſignified by this "harveſt" and "vintage," it appears impoſſible for any man to determin, time alone can with certainty diſcover, for theſe things are yet in futurity. Only it may be obſerved, that theſe two ſignal judgments will as certainly come, as harveſt and vintage ſucceed in their ſeaſon; and in the courſe of providence the one will precede the other, as in the courſe of nature the harveſt is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly ſurpaſs the former, and be attended with a more terrible deſtruction of God's enemies. It is ſaid (ver. 20.) that "the "blood came even unto the horſe-bridles," which is a ſtrong hyperbolical way of ſpeaking to expreſs vaſt ſlaughter and effuſion of blood; a way of ſpeaking not unknown to the Jews, for (6) the Jeruſalem Talmud deſcribing the woful ſlaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the deſtruction of the city of Bitter, ſaith that *the horſes waded in blood up to the noſtrils*. Nor are ſimilar examples wanting even in the claſſic authors; for (7) Silius Italicus, ſpeaking of Annibal's deſcent into Italy, uſeth a like expreſſion of *the bridles flowing with much blood*. The ſtage where this bloody tragedy is acted, is "without the city, by the ſpace of a thouſand and "ſix hundred furlongs," which, as Mr. Mede (8) ingeniouſly obſerves, is the meaſure of ſtate della chieſa, or the ſtate of the Roman church, or St. Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marſhes of Verona, contains the ſpace of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

(8) —In vicino item locus eſt cui dictus ſtadiorum numerus perinde convenit: puta *ſtato della chieſa*, ſeu eccleſiæ Romanæ latifundium, quod ab urbe Roma uſque ad ultimum Padi oſtium et Paludes Veronenſes porrigitur ſpatio milliarium Italicorum ducentorum, id eſt, ſtadiorum 1600. Mede p. 522.

(9) Imò

CHAP. XV.

1 AND I ſaw another ſign in heaven, great and marvellous, ſeven angels having the ſeven laſt plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I ſaw as it were a ſea of glaſs, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beaſt, and over his image, and over his mark, *and* over the number of his name, ſtand on the ſea of glaſs, having the harps of God.

3 And they ſing the ſongs of Moſes the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God almighty; juſt and true *are* thy ways, thou king of ſaints.

4 Who ſhall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations ſhall come and worſhip before thee; for thy judgments are made manifeſt.

5 And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the teſtimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the ſeven angels came out of the temple, having the ſeven plagues, cloathed in pure and white linen, and having their breaſts girded with golden girdles.

7 And one of the four beaſts gave unto the ſeven angels, ſeven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 And the temple was filled with ſmoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the ſeven plagues of the ſeven angels were fulfilled.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beaſt, or Antichriſtian empire, are hitherto denounced, and deſcribed in general terms under the figures of "harveſt" and "vintage." A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of "ſeven vials" which are called (ver. 1.) "the ſeven laſt plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of "God." Theſe ſeven laſt plagues muſt neceſſarily fall under the ſeventh

ſeventh and laſt trumpet, or the third and laſt woe-trumpet; ſo that as the ſeventh ſeal contained the ſeven trumpets, the ſeventh trumpet comprehends the ſeven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwiſe there would be great confuſion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, ſome falling under one trumpet, and ſome under another: but moreover, if theſe ſeven laſt plagues and the conſequent deſtruction of Babylon be not the ſubject of the third woe, the third woe is no where deſcribed particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the ſeven trumpets had ſounded, it was declared (VIII. 13.) "Woe, woe, woe to the inha-"bitants of the earth, by reaſon of the other voices of the trumpet of "the three angels which are yet to ſound." Accordingly at the ſounding of the "fifth" trumpet (IX. 1.) commences the woe of the Saracen or Arabian locuſts; and in the concluſion is added (ver. 12.) "One "woe is paſt, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter." At the ſounding of the "ſixth" trumpet (IX. 13.) begins the plague of the Euphratéan horſemen or Turks; and in the concluſion is added (XI. 14.) "The ſecond woe is paſt, and behold, the third woe com-"eth quickly." At the ſounding of the "ſeventh" trumpet therefore (XI. 15, &c.) one would naturally expect the deſcription of the "third "woe" to ſucceed: but as it was before obſerved, there follows only a ſhort and ſummary account of the ſeventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's "taking unto him his great power," and "deſtroying "them who deſtroy the earth:" but the particulars are reſerved for this place; and if theſe laſt plagues coincide not with the laſt woe, there are other plagues and other woes after the laſt; and how can it be ſaid that "the wrath of God is filled up in them," if there are others beſides them? If then theſe ſeven laſt plagues ſynchronize with the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the ſixth trumpet is not yet paſt, nor the woe of the Turkiſh or Othman empire yet ended: and conſequently there is no poſſibility of explaining them in ſuch a manner as when the prophecies may be parallelled with hiſtories, or evinced by ocular demonſtration. The many fruitleſs attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the beſt interpreters having failed and ſound-

ered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the ſcene opens with a preparatory viſion, which is the ſubject of this chapter.

As ſeven angels ſounded the ſeven trumpets, ſo ſeven angels are appointed to pour out the ſeven vials, angels being always the miniſters of providence; and in order to ſhow that theſe judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beaſt, the true worſhippers of God and faithful ſervants of Jeſus, who had eſcaped "victors from the beaſt," νικωντες εκ του θηριου, and had never ſubmitted to his tyranny or religion, are deſcribed (ver. 2, 3, 4.) like unto the children of Iſrael after their deliverance and eſcape out of Egypt. For as the children of Iſrael, (Exod. XV.) having paſſed through the red ſea, ſtood on the ſhore, and ſeeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, ſung the triumphant ſong of Moſes: ſo theſe having paſſed through the fiery trials of this world, "ſtand on the ſea of glaſs mingled with fire," which was mentioned before, (IV. 6.) and ſeeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, ſing a ſong of triumph for the manifeſtation of the divine judgments; which is called "the ſong of Moſes and the ſong "of the Lamb," the words in great meaſure being taken from the ſong of Moſes and other parts of the Old Teſtament, and applied in a chriſtian ſenſe. After this "the moſt holy place of the temple is "opened, (ver. 5.) and "the ſeven angels come out of the temple," (ver. 6.) to denote that their commiſſion is immediately from God, "cloathed" like the high prieſt but in a more auguſt manner, "in "pure and white linen," to ſignify the righteouſneſs of theſe judgments, "and having their breaſts girded," to ſhow their readineſs to execute the divine commands, "with golden girdles," as emblems of their power and majeſty. A vial then is given unto each of the ſeven angels (ver. 7.) by "one of the four living creatures," the repreſentatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is in vindication of the church and true religion that theſe plagues are inflicted. Moreover "the temple is filled with ſmoke from the glory of "God and from his power," ſo that "no man is able to enter into it;" (ver. 8.) in the ſame manner as the tabernacle, when it was conſecrated by Moſes, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, (Exod. XL. 34, 35. 1 Kings VIII. 10, 11.) were both filled with a cloud and the glory

glory of the Lord, ſo that neither Moſes nor the prieſts could enter therein: a farther proof of the majeſtic preſence and extraordinary interpoſition of God in the execution of theſe judgments.

CHAP. XVI.

1 AND I heard a great voice out of the temple, ſaying to the ſeven angels, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command (ver. 1.) the ſeven angels come forth "to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:" and as the "trumpets" were ſo many ſteps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, ſo the "vials" are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the ſyſtem of the world, and hath her "earth," and "ſea," and "rivers," and "ſun," as well as the other; and this is the reaſon of the ſimilitude and reſemblance of the judgments in both caſes. Some reſemblance too there is between theſe plagues, and thoſe of Egypt. Rome papal hath already (XI. 8.) been diſtinguiſhed by the title of "ſpiritual Egypt," and reſembles Egypt in her puniſhments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedneſs.

2 And the firſt went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noiſome and grievous ſore upon the men which had the mark of the beaſt, and *upon* them which worſhipped his image.

Vial the firſt (ver. 2.) is "poured out upon the earth;" and ſo the hail and fire of the firſt trumpet (VIII. 7.) "were caſt upon the earth." It produceth "a noiſome and grievous ſore;" and in this reſpect reſembleth the ſixth plague of Egypt, (Exod. IX. 10.) which was "boils "breaking forth with blains." This plague is inflicted "upon the "men who had the mark of the beaſt, and upon them who worſhip-

"ped

" ped his image ;" which is to be underſtood of the others alſo, where it is not expreſſed. Whether theſe " ſores" and " ulcers" are natural or moral, the event muſt ſhow.

3 And the ſecond angel poured out his vial upon the ſea ; and it became as the blood of a dead man : and every living ſoul died in the ſea.

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters ; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters ſay, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and waſt, and ſhalt be, becauſe thou haſt judged thus :

6 For they have ſhed the blood of ſaints and prophets, and thou haſt given them blood to drink ; for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar ſay, Even ſo, Lord God almighty, true, and righteous *are* thy judgments.

Vial the ſecond (ver. 3.) is " poured out upon the ſea," and the ſea becomes " as the blood of a dead man," or as congealed blood : and in like manner under the ſecond trumpet (VIII. 8.) the burning mountain " was caſt into the ſea, and the ſea became blood." Vial the third (ver. 4.) is " poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and " they became blood :" and in like manner under the third trumpet (VIII. 10.) the burning ſtar " fell upon the rivers and fountains of " waters." There is a cloſe connexion between theſe two vials ; and the effects are ſimilar to the firſt plague of Egypt, (Exod. VII. 19.) when " the waters of Egypt," and " their ſtreams," and " their rivers," and " their ponds," and " their pools of water became blood. Seas" and " rivers of blood" manifeſtly denote great ſlaughter and devaſtation : and hereupon (ver. 5, 6.) " the angel of the waters," for it was a prevailing opinion in the eaſt, that a (9) particular angel preſided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before (XIV. 18.) of " the angel who had power " over fire ;" this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments

(9) Imò Perſæ exiſtimant peculiari angelo demandatum eſſe eſſe tueri aquas, &c. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſarum,

ments of God in adapting and proportioning the puniſhment of the followers of the beaſt to their crime; for no law is more juſt and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of "ſhedding the blood of "ſaints and prophets," ſhould be puniſhed in the effuſion of their own blood. "Another angel out of the altar" (ver. 7.) for (VI. 9.) "under the altar were the ſouls of them who were ſlain for the word "of God and for the teſtimony which they held," declares his aſſent in the moſt ſolemn manner, "Even ſo, Lord God almighty, true and "righteous are thy judgments."

8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the ſun; and power was given unto him to ſcorch men with fire.
9 And men were ſcorched with great heat, and blaſphemed the name of God, which hath power over theſe plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected "the ſun;" (VIII. 12.) ſo likewiſe the fourth vial (ver. 8, 9.) is "poured out upon the ſun." An intenſe heat enſues; "and men blaſpheme the name of God, and repent not "to give him glory." Whether by this intenſe heat of the ſun, be meant litterally, uncommon ſultry ſeaſons, ſcorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing peſtilential fevers and inflammations; or figuratively, a moſt tyrannical and exorbitant exerciſe of arbitrary power by thoſe who may be called *the ſun* in the firmament of the beaſt, the pope or emperor; time muſt diſcover. Men ſhall be tormented, and complain grievouſly; they ſhall like the rebellious Jews (Iſ. VIII. 21.) "fret themſelves, and curſe their king, and their God, "and look upward," look upward not to pray but only to blaſpheme; they ſhall not have the ſenſe or courage to repent, and forſake their idolatry and wickedneſs. When the events ſhall take place, and theſe things ſhall all be fulfilled, not only theſe prophecies of the vials ſhall be better underſtood, but alſo thoſe of the trumpets, to which they bear ſome analogy and reſemblance.

10 And

Perſarum, Cap. 6. p. 139. Vide etiam Cap. 19.

(1) The

10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the ſeat of the beaſt; and his kingdom was full of darkneſs, and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11 And blaſphemed the God of heaven, becauſe of their pains and their ſores, and repented not of their deeds.

Vial the fifth (ver. 10, 11.) is "poured out upon the ſeat" or "throne of the beaſt, and his kingdom" becomes "full of darkneſs," as Egypt did (Exod. X. 21.) under her ninth plague. This is ſome great calamity which ſhall fall upon Rome itſelf, and ſhall "darken" and confound the whole Antichriſtian empire. But ſtill the conſequences of this plague are much the ſame as thoſe of the foregoing one; for the ſufferers, inſtead of "repenting of their deeds," are hardened like Pharaoh, and ſtill perſiſt in their blaſphemy and idolatry, and obſtinately withſtand all attempts of reformation.

12 And the ſixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the eaſt might be prepared.

13 And I ſaw three unclean ſpirits like frogs *come* out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe prophet.

14 For they are the ſpirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God almighty.

15 Behold, I come as a thief. Bleſſed *is* he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, leſt he walk naked, and ſee his ſhame.

16 And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the ſixth (ver 12.) is "poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up," to prepare a paſſage "for "the kings of the eaſt." Whether by "Euphrates" be meant the river ſo called, or only a myſtic Euphrates, as Rome is myſtic "Babylon;" and

(1) The *three unclean ſpirits like frogs* Mr. Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciſcans, and Jeſuits.

and whether "by the kings of the eaſt" be meant the Jews in particular, or any eaſtern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and aſſurance till the event ſhall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and deſtruction of the kingdom of the beaſt: and therefore (1) the agents and emiſſaries of popery, (ver. 13, 14.) "of the dragon," the repreſentative of the devil, "and of the beaſt," the repreſentative of the antichriſtian empire, "and of the falſe prophet," the repreſentative of the antichriſtian church, as diſagreeable, as loquacious, as ſordid, as impudent (2) as "frogs," are employed to oppoſe them, and ſtir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and laſt effort in a religious war. Of neceſſity theſe muſt be times of great trouble and affliction; ſo that an exhortation is inſerted (ver. 15.) by way of parentheſis, of the "ſuddenneſs" of theſe judgments, and of the "bleſſedneſs" of "watching," and of being "cloathed" and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verſe was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it ſhould be ſubjoined to the 18th verſe: but the 3d chapter and the 16th chapter are at too great a diſtance for ſuch a tranſpoſition to be made. However it is certain that this inſertion hath in ſome meaſure diſturbed the ſenſe, and broken the connection of the diſcourſe; for our tranſlators as well as ſeveral others render the following words (ver. 16.) "And he gathered them toge-"ther," when the true conſtruction is, "And they gathered them to-"gether," the evil ſpirits and agents before mentioned gather all the forces of the popiſh princes together, "into a place called in the He-"brew tongue Armageddon," that is *the mountain of deſtruction.*

17 And the ſeventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, ſaying, It is done.

18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, ſuch as was not ſince men were upon the earth, ſo mighty an earthquake *and* ſo great.

Jeſuits. Dominicani, Franciſcani, et Loyolitæ *tres impuros ſpiritus ranis ſimiles* non male referunt. M. S. Cap. 4.

(2) Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. Poſt. Lib. 5.

(3) καὶ

19 And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceneſs of his wrath.

20 And every iland fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, *every ſtone* about the weight of a talent: and men blaſphemed God becauſe of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the ſeventh (ver. 17.) is "poured out into the air," the ſeat of Satan's reſidence, who is emphatically ſtiled (Eph. II. 2.) "the prince "of the power of the air," and is repreſented (ver. 13.) as a principal actor in theſe latter ſcenes; ſo that this laſt period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beaſt, but will alſo ſhake the kingdom of Satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial a ſolemn proclamation is made "from the throne" of God himſelf, "It "is done;" in the ſame ſenſe as the angel before affirmed (X. 7.) that "in the days of the ſeventh trumpet the myſtery of God ſhould be "finiſhed." Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and conſequences are (ver. 18—21.) "voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great "hail." Theſe portend great calamities. "Voices, and thunders, and "lightnings," are the uſual attendents of the deity, eſpecially in his judgments. "Great earthquakes" in prophetic language ſignify great changes and revolutions; and this is ſuch an one as men never felt and experienced before, "ſuch as was not ſince men were upon the earth." Not only "the great city is divided into three parts" or factions, but "the cities of the nations fall" from their obedience to her. Her ſins are "remembered before God," and like another "Babylon" ſhe will ſoon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay not

(3) και χαλαζης απιστου το μεγεθος· μναααιαι γαρ επιπλον, εστι δ' ὁτε και μειζους. Et magnitudinis incredibilis grando: minæ enim pondo, et quandoque majores, decidebant. Diodorus Sic. Lib. 19. de Rhodiorum diluvio. p. 695. Edit. Steph. p. 689. Edit. Rhodomani. Philoſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

(4) Certiſſimum

not only the works of men, " the cities fall;" but even the works of nature, " the ilands fly away, and the mountains are not found;" which is more than was ſaid before (VI. 14.) that they " were moved " out of their places," and can import no leſs than an utter extirpation of idolatry. " Great hail" too often ſignifies the judgments of God, and theſe are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave hiſtorian, (3) ſpeaketh of hailſtones, which weighed a pound and more; Philoſtorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but theſe are " about the weight of a talent," or about a hundred pounds, a ſtrong figure to denote the greatneſs and ſeverity of theſe judgments. But ſtill the men continue obſtinate, " and blaſpheme God becauſe of the " plague of the hail;" they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and ſhall be deſtroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the " ſeventh ſeal," and the " ſeventh trumpet," contained many more particulars, than any of the former ſeals, and former trumpets: ſo the " ſeventh vial" contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you conſider, the more admirable you will find the ſtructure of this book in all its parts. The deſtruction of the Antichriſtian empire is a ſubject of ſuch importance and conſequence, that the holy Spirit hath thought fit to repreſent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of " ſpiritual Egypt" and " Babylon:" and having ſeen how her plagues reſemble thoſe of " Egypt," we ſhall now ſee her fall compared to that of " Babylon." It was declared before in general (XIV. 8.) " Babylon is fallen, is " fallen;" but this is a cataſtrophe deſerving of a more particular deſcription, both for a warning to ſome, and for a conſolation to others. But before the deſcription of her fall and deſtruction, there is premiſed an account of her ſtate and condition, that there may be no miſtake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both (4) papiſts

(4) Certiſſimum eſt nomine Babylonis Romam urbem ſignificari. Baronius ad Ann. 45. Johannes in Apocalypſi paſſim Romam vocat Babylonem.—Et aperte colligitur ex Cap. 17. Apocalypſeως. Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. &c. &c. &c.

(5) Vitring.

and proteſtants agree; and I think it appears almoſt to demonſtration, that not Pagan but Chriſtian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the Biſhop of Meaux himſelf, the beſt and ableſt advocate for popery, prove nothing ſo much as the weakneſs and badneſs of the cauſe, which they are brought to defend.

1 AND there came one of the ſeven angels which had the ſeven vials, and talked with me, ſaying unto me, Come hither, I will ſhew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that ſitteth upon many waters:

2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3 So he carried me away in the ſpirit into the wilderneſs: and I ſaw a woman ſit upon a ſcarlet-coloured beaſt, full of names of blaſphemy, having ſeven heads, and ten horns.

4 And the woman was arrayed in purple, and ſcarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious ſtone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthineſs of her fornications.

5 And upon her forehead *was* a name, written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I ſaw the woman drunken with the blood of the ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus: and when I ſaw her, I wondered with great admiration.

"One of the ſeven angels, who had the ſeven vials," (ver. 1.) calleth to St. John. Moſt probably this was "the ſeventh angel;" for under the ſeventh vial "great Babylon came in remembrance before God," and now St. John is called upon to ſee her condemnation and execution. "Come hither, I will ſhow unto thee the judgment of the great whore, "that ſitteth upon many waters." So ancient Babylon, which was ſeated on the great river Euphrates, is deſcribed by Jeremiah (LI. 13.) as "dwelling upon many waters:" and from thence the phraſe is borrowed,

rowed, and ſignifies, according to the angel's own explanation, (ver. 15.) ruling over many "peoples" and "nations." Neither was this an ordinary proſtitute; ſhe was "the great whore," (ver. 2.) "with whom "the kings of the earth have committed fornication:" as Tyre (Iſ. XXIII. 17.) "committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the "world upon the face of the earth." Nay not only "the kings," but inferior perſons, "the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk "with the wine of her fornication;" as it was ſaid of ancient Babylon, (Jer. LI. 7.) "the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the "nations are mad." "Fornication" in the uſual ſtile of ſcripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even litterally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practiſes the other. Ancient Rome doth in no reſpect ſo well anſwer the character; for ſhe ruled more with a rod of iron, than with "the wine of her fornication." What, and where were the kings, whom ſhe courted and debauched to her communion? What, and where were the people, whom ſhe inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their anceſtors, and to worſhip their own gods after their own rituals. She may be ſaid rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and ſuperſtitions, than to have eſtabliſhed her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldæa, was conveyed by the ſpirit to Jeruſalem, (Ezek. VIII. 3.) ſo St. John (ver. 3.) is "carried "away in the ſpirit into the wilderneſs;" for there the ſcene is laid, being a ſcene of deſolation. When the woman, the true church, was perſecuted and afflicted, ſhe was ſaid (XII. 14.) "to fly into the wil-"derneſs:" and in like manner, when the woman, the falſe church, is to be deſtroyed, the viſion is preſented "in the wilderneſs." For they are by no means, as ſome have imagined, the ſame woman under various repreſentations. They are totally diſtinct and different characters, and drawn in contraſt to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from theſe two circumſtances; that during the 1260 years while the woman is "fed in the wilderneſs," the beaſt and the ſcarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end, the whore is "burnt with fire," when the woman as

"his

" his wife, hath made herſelf ready for the marriage of the lamb." " A woman ſitting upon a beaſt" is a lively and ſignificative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and ſculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often repreſented in the form of women: and Rome herſelf is exhibited (5) in ancient coins as a woman ſitting upon a lion. Here the beaſt is " a ſcarlet-" colored beaſt," for the ſame reaſon that the dragon was (XII. 3.) " a red dragon ;" to denote his cruelty, and in alluſion to the diſtinguiſhing color of the Roman emperors and magiſtrates. The beaſt is alſo " full of names of blaſphemy, having ſeven heads and ten horns ;" ſo that this is the very ſame beaſt which was deſcribed in the former part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in ſome meaſure anſwers to the two-horned beaſt or falſe prophet: and conſequently the woman is Chriſtian, and not Pagan Rome; becauſe Rome was become Chriſtian, before the beaſt had completely " ſeven heads and ten horns," that is before the Roman empire experienced its laſt form of government, and was divided into ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too (ver. 4.) " in purple and ſcarlet color," this being the color of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and ſenators of Rome. Nay the mules and horſes, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with ſcarlet cloth, ſo that they may properly be ſaid to ride " upon a ſcar-" let colored beaſt." The woman is alſo " decked with gold and pre-" cious ſtone, and pearls:" and who can ſufficiently deſcribe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her veſtments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus (6) hath drawn a compariſon between ancient and modern Rome, and aſſerts the ſuperiority of his own church in the pomp and ſplendor of religion. You have a remarkable inſtance in Paul II, of whom (7) Platina relates, that " in his pontifical veſtments he outwent all his predeceſſors, eſpecially " in his *regno* or mitre, upon which he had laid out a great deal of " money in purchaſing at vaſt rates, diamonds, ſaphirs, emeralds, " chry-

(5) Vitring. p. 757. Emmeneſs. ad Virg. Æn. VI. 854.

(6) Vitring. p. 759. Donat. de Urbe Roma. Lib. 1. Cap. 29.

(7) Platina's Lives of the Popes tranſlated by Sir Paul Rycaut. p. 414.

(8) See Wright's Travels. p. 123. Addiſon's Travels. p. 93.

(9) γυνη πεπλασμενη τῳ ειδει, και πιθανη φαινομενη, και εν τη χειρι εχουσα ποτηριον τι—Απατη καλειται, ἡ παντας τους ανθρωπους

" chryſoliths, jaſpers, unions, and all manner of precious ſtones, where-
" with adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad ſomewhat
" more auguſt than a man, delighting to be ſeen and admired by every
" one. But leſt he alone ſhould ſeem to differ from the reſt, he made a
" decree, that none but cardinals ſhould under a penalty wear red
" caps; to whom he had in the firſt year of his popedom given cloth
" of that color, to make horſe-cloths or mule-cloths of when they
" rode." You have another conſpicuous inſtance in the Lady of Loretto; the (8) riches of whoſe holy image, and houſe, and treaſury; the golden angels, the gold and ſilver lamps; the vaſt number, variety, and richneſs of the jewels, of the veſtments for the holy image, and for the prieſts; with the prodigious treaſure of all ſorts; are far beyond the reach of deſcription; and as Mr. Addiſon ſays, " as much ſurpaſ-
" ſed my expectation, as other ſights have generally fallen ſhort of it.
" Silver can ſcarce find an admiſſion, and gold itſelf looks but poorly
" amongſt ſuch an incredible number of precious ſtones." Moreover the woman, like other harlots who give philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath " a golden cup in her hand, full of abomina-
" tions and filthineſs of her fornication;" to ſignify the ſpecious and alluring arts, wherewith ſhe bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is " abomination and ſpiritual fornication." It is an image copied from Jeremiah, (LI. 7.) " Babylon hath been a golden cup in the
" Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken:" and in that excellent little moral treatiſe, (9) intitled the Table of Cebes, there is a like picture of Deceit or Impoſture; ' a fair, beautiful, and falſe wo-
' man, and having a cup in her hand; ſhe is called Deceit, and ſe-
' duceth all mankind.' And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to diſtinguiſh the woman, ſhe has her " name" inſcribed " upon her forehead," (ver. 5.) in alluſion to the practice of ſome notorious proſtitutes, who had their names written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may (1) collect from ancient authors. The inſcription is

γυναικὸς πλανωσα. Mulier ficto vultu, argutaque ſpecie, et manu poculum quoddam tenens. Impoſtura vocatur, quæ omnes homines ſeducit. Tab. Cebetis non longe ab initio.

(1) Nomen tuum pependit in fronte: pretia ſtupri accepiſti; &c. Seneca. Lib. 1. Controverſ. 2. Juvenal. Sat. VI. 122.

—tunc nuda papillis
Conſtitit auratis, titulum mentita Lyciſcæ.

(2) Macrobii

is ſo very particular, that we cannot eaſily miſtake the perſon; "My-
"ſtery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots," or rather "of
"fornications, and abominations of the earth." Her name "Myſtery" can imply no leſs, than that ſhe dealeth in "myſteries;" her religion is "a myſtery, a myſtery of iniquity;" and ſhe herſelf is "myſtically "and ſpiritually Babylon the great." But the title of "myſtery" is in no reſpect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city: and neither is there any myſtery in ſubſtituting one heathen, idolatrous, and perſecuting city for another; but it is indeed a myſtery, that a chriſtian city, profeſſing and boaſting herſelf to be the city of God, ſhould prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic*, and well therefore may ſhe be called "Babylon the great." She affects the ſtile and title of *our holy mother the church*, but ſhe is in truth "the mother of fornications "and abominations of the earth." Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for ſhe was rather a learner of foreign ſuperſtitions, than the miſtreſs of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various inſtances, and particularly from (2) that ſolemn form of adjuration, which the Romans uſed when they laid ſiege to a city, calling forth the tutelary deities of the place, and promiſing them temples, and ſacrifices, and other ſolemnities at Rome. It may be concluded therefore that this part of the prophecy is ſufficiently fulfilled, tho' there ſhould be reaſon to queſtion the truth of what is aſſerted by ſome writers, that the word "myſtery" was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forepart of the pope's mitre. Scaliger (3) affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus (4) confirm it, appealing to ocular inſpection; and when King James objected this, Leſſius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may ſee the authors

(2) Macrobii Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

(3) Feu Monſieur de Montmorency eſtant à Rome du temps qu' on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme digne de foy, qu' à la verité le tiare pontifical avoit eſcript au frontal en lettres d'or *Myſterium*. Scal. in locum apud Critic. Sacr.

(4) Idem quoque confirmant Franc le Moyne et Jacobus Brocardus in h. l. ad αντοψιαν provocantes, non diſſimulante Leonardo Leſſio. Wolfius in locum. In tiara, in mitra papæ haves hoc verbum *Myſterium* ſcriptum;

authors on both ſides in (5) Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were uſually adorned with inſcriptions. One particularly (6) there is "preſerved "at Rome as a precious relic of pope Sylveſter I, richly but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and "holding a little Chriſt, and theſe words in large capitals underneath, "AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail queen of heaven*, in the front; "of which father Angelo Rocca, keeper of the pope's ſacriſty, and an "eminent antiquary has given a copper-plate in the third vol. p. 490 "of the works of pope Gregory I. and it ſeems more probably to have "belonged to Gregory; becauſe he is ſaid to have firſt inſtituted at "Rome the litanies to the virgin Mary." An inſcription this directly contrary to that on the forefront of the high prieſt's mitre, (Exod. XXVIII. 36.) HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, ſhe is no leſs deteſtable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteriſtics of the Antichriſtian empire. She is (ver. 6.) "drunken with the blood of the "ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus:" which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Chriſtian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly perſecuted "the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſus;" but the latter is more deſerving of the character, as ſhe hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her perſecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath ſlain her thouſands of innocent Chriſtians, Rome Chriſtian hath ſlain her ten thouſands. For not to mention other outrageous ſlaughters and barbarities; the croiſades againſt the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the maſſacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Chriſtians ſlain in all the ten perſecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St. John's *admiration* alſo plainly evinces, that Chriſtian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of ſurpriſe to

ſcriptum: ut non ſit tibi opus longius interpretationem quærere. Brocard in locum apud Vitring. p. 763. Romanus pontifex, in ſua tiara, hoc ipſum nomen inſcriptum habuit *Myſterium*, quod αὐτοπλαι ipſi teſtati ſunt: et cum id Jacobus Rex objiceret, Leſſius negare non potuit. Downam. apud Poli Synopſ. in locum.

(5) Jo. Chriſtophori Wolfii Curæ Philolog. et Criticæ. Tom. 5.

(6) See Mann's Critical Notes on ſome paſſages of Scripture. p. 112.

(7) Quæ

him, that a Heathen city ſhould perſecute the Chriſtians, when he himſelf had ſeen and ſuffered the perſecutions under Nero; but that a city, profeſſedly Chriſtian, ſhould wanton and riot in the blood of Chriſtians, was a ſubject of aſtoniſhment indeed; and well might he, as it is emphatically expreſſed, "wonder with great wonder."

7 And the angel ſaid unto me, Wherefore didſt thou marvel? I will tell thee the myſtery of the woman, and of the beaſt that carrieth her, which hath the ſeven heads and ten horns.

8 The beaſt that thou ſaweſt, was, and is not; and ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth ſhall wonder, (whoſe names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beaſt that was, and is not, and yet is.

9 And here *is* the mind which hath wiſdom. The ſeven heads are ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth.

10 And there are ſeven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace.

11 And the beaſt that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the ſeven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou ſaweſt, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beaſt.

13 Theſe have one mind, and ſhall give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt.

14 Theſe ſhall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, *are* called, and choſen, and faithful.

15 And he ſaith unto me, The waters which thou ſaweſt, where the whore ſitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou ſaweſt upon the beaſt, theſe ſhall hate the whore, and ſhall make her deſolate, and naked, and ſhall eat her fleſh, and burn her with fire.

17 For

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beaſt, until the words of God ſhall be fulfilled.

18 And the woman which thou ſaweſt, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

It was not thought ſufficient to repreſent theſe things only in viſion; and therefore the angel, like the αγγελος, nuncius, or meſſenger in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain (ver. 7.) " the myſtery," the myſtic ſcene or ſecret meaning, " of the woman, and of the beaſt that " carrieth her:" and the angel's interpretation is indeed the beſt key to the Revelation, the beſt clue to direct and conduct us thro' this intricate labyrinth.

" The myſtery of the beaſt" is firſt explained; and " the beaſt" is conſidered firſt in general (ver. 8.) under a threefold ſtate or ſucceſſion, as exiſting, and then ceaſing to be, and then reviving again, ſo as to become another and the ſame. He " was, and is not," και παρεστιν " and " yet is," or according to other copies και παρεσται " and ſhall come, " ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit." A " beaſt" in the prophetic ſtile, as we before obſerved, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire; and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceaſed to be ſo for ſome time under the Chriſtian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs, and ſo hath continued ever ſince. It is the ſame idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whoſe names are not inrolled as good citizens in the regiſters of heaven, are pleaſed at the revival of it: but in this laſt form it " ſhall go into " perdition;" it ſhall not, as it did before, ceaſe for a time, and revive again, but ſhall be deſtroyed for ever.

After this general account of the beaſt, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a ſhort preface intimating that they are deſerving of the deepeſt attention, and are a proper exerciſe and trial of the underſtanding. " Here is the mind which hath wiſdom;" (ver. 9.) as it was ſaid upon a former occaſion, (XIII. 18.) " Here is wiſdom; " let him that hath underſtanding count, &c." The " ſeven heads" have a double ſignification. They are primarily " ſeven mountains on

" which the woman ſitteth," on which the capital city is ſeated; which all who have the leaſt tincture of letters know to be the ſituation of Rome. Hiſtorians, geographers, and poets, all ſpeak of " the " city with ſeven hills;" and paſſages might be quoted to this purpoſe without number and without end. It is obſerved too, that new Rome or Conſtantinople is ſituated on ſeven mountains: but theſe are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obſcure authors, in compariſon of the others; and beſides the ſeven mountains, other particulars alſo muſt coincide, which cannot be found in Conſtantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city " ſeated on ſeven mountains" muſt be Rome; and a plainer deſcription could not be given of it, without expreſſing the name, which there might be ſeveral wiſe reaſons for concealing.

As " the ſeven heads" ſignify " ſeven mountains," ſo they alſo ſignify " ſeven kings," reigning over the ſeven mountains. (ver. 10, 11.) Και βασιλεις επτα εισιν, " And they are ſeven kings" or *kingdoms*, or *forms of government*, as the word imports, and hath been ſhown to import in former inſtances. " Five are fallen," five of theſe forms of government are already paſt; " and one is," the ſixth is now ſubſiſting. The " five fallen" are *kings*, and *conſuls*, and *dictators*, and *decemvirs*, and *military tribunes with conſular authority*; as they are enumerated and diſtinguiſhed by thoſe who ſhould beſt know, the two greateſt Roman hiſtorians, (7) Livy and Tacitus. The " ſixth" is the power of the *Cæſars* or *emperors*, which was ſubſiſting at the time of the viſion. An end was put to the imperial name (8) in the year 476 by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who having taken Rome depoſed Momyllus Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the weſt. He and his ſucceſſors the Oſtrogoths aſſumed the title of Kings of Italy: but tho' the name

(7) Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani ſub *regibus* primum, *conſulibus* deinde ac *dictatoribus*, *decemviriſque* ac *tribunis conſularibus* geſſere. Livii Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Urbem Romam a principio *reges* habuere. Libertatem et *conſulatum* L. Brutus inſtituit. *Dictaturæ* ad tempus ſumebantur: neque *Decemviralis poteſtas* ultra biennium, neque *tribunorum militum conſulare jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio: et Pompeii Craſſique potentia, cito in Cæſarem; Lepidi atque Antonii arma, in Auguſtum ceſſere: qui cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, nomine *principis* ſub *imperium* accepit. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. in initio.

(8) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14, &c. Petavii Rat. Temp. Partis 1. Lib. 6. Cap. 18.

(9) Sigonius de Regno Ital. Lib. 1. Petav. Rat. Temp. Par. 1. Lib. 7. Cap. 10.

(1) Sigon. ibid. Lib. 3.

(2) Mr. Mann explains the *ſeventh* and *eighth* otherwiſe. Quis igitur rex ſeptimus erit? Nimirum ipſe

name was changed, the power ſtill continued much the ſame. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be conſidered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Conſuls* are reckoned but one form of government, tho' their office was frequently ſuſpended, and after a time reſtored again: and in the ſame manner *kings* may be counted but one form of government, tho' the name was reſumed after an interval of ſo many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eaſtern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, diſſolved all the former magiſtracies, and conſtituted a Duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before: and this I conceive to be "the other," which in the apoſtle's days "was not yet come, and when "he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace." For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by Longinus, who was ſent exarch (9) in the year 566 according to ſome accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and (1) the city revolted from the eaſtern emperor to the pope in the year 727: which is "a ſhort ſpace" in compariſon of the imperial power, which preceded, and laſted above 500 years; and in compariſon of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thouſand years. But ſtill poſſibly you may heſitate, whether this is poſſibly a new form of government, Rome being ſtill ſubject to the imperial power, by being ſubject to the Greek emperor's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determin this point, "the beaſt that was and is not, was" while idolatrous, and "was not" while not idolatrous, will appear to be "the ſeventh" or "eighth." If you reckon this a new form of government, (2) the beaſt that

ipſe papa. Nam ex quo A. D. 534 eum eccleſiarum omnium caput declaravit Juſtinianus, alii omnium judicem, ipſum a nullo judicandum, tanta reverentia et obſequio ab Impp. ipſis cultus eſt, tanta authoritate ipſos ſubinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathemate perculit, ut non minus dicendus ſit regnaſſe in ſpiritualibus, quamvis ſe ſubditum ſemper ſervumque ſervorum diceret, quam in temporalibus imperatores. Tunc igitur papa e *ſeptem illis*, id eſt ex genere atque ordine illorum principum qui præceſſerant, eſſe dicendus erat, donec A. D. 727 Leonis imp. jugum, quem anno ſuperiore excommunicarat, prorſus excuſſit Gregorius II, Romamque et regiones vicinas ſibi ſubjecit. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus merito haberi poteſt, cum gladio ſpirituali temporalem quoque dehinc adeptus. Scio eſſe, qui pulſo Leone imp. negent Romam papæ ſubjectam fuiſſe, ſed a Pipino A. D. 752. Exarchatum Ravennæ &c. papæ datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipſam Romam; ſed mihi videntur non de re, ſed umbra tantum certare. M. S.

(3) *Uno*

that now is is " the eighth;" if you do not reckon this a new form of government, the beaſt is " of the ſeven;" but whether he be " the " ſeventh" or " eighth," he is the laſt form of government, " and goeth " into perdition." It appears evidently, that the ſixth form of government, which was ſubſiſting in St. John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath ſucceeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for " a long ſpace" of time, but the papal? The beaſt therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its laſt form: and this, all muſt acknowlege, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the myſtery of " the ſeven heads," the angel proceeds to the explanation of " the ten horns" (ver. 12, 13, 14.) " The " ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:" and conſequently they were not in being at the time of the viſion; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till ſome time after it was become Chriſtian. " But they receive power as kings " one hour" (3) μιαν ὡραν, at the ſame time, or for the ſame length of time, " with the beaſt:" It is true in both ſenſes, they riſe and fall together with the beaſt: and conſequently they are not to be reckoned before the riſe and eſtabliſhment of the beaſt; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of theſe ten kings or kingdoms in a diſſertation upon Daniel, they were exhibited as they ſtood in the eighth century, which is the time of the riſe and eſtabliſhment of the beaſt. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or " horns" of the beaſt, till they embraced his religion, and ſubmitted to his authority; and the beaſt ſtrengthened them, as they again ſtrengthened the beaſt. It is upon the ſeventh or laſt head of the beaſt that the horns are ſeen growing together, that is upon the Roman empire in its ſeventh or laſt form of government; and they are not, like the " heads," ſucceſſive, but contemporary kingdoms. " Theſe have one mind, and ſhall " give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt;" which is eaſily underſtood

(3) *Uno eodemque tempore.* Vitring. Malim, ad unum idemque tempus, ut cum identitate temporis durationem complectatur. Mr. Mann's M. S.

(4) Idque hoc loco tanto magis appoſite, quod ex populi reverentia et favore primò excrevit poteſtas illa papalis, et per decem aut plura ſæcula populi Romani ſuffragiis creati ſunt papæ. Mr. Mann's M. S.

(5) Prima Nota, eſt ipſum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ et Chriſtianorum

derſtood and applied to the princes and ſtates in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other reſpects, yet they agree in ſubmitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives againſt all oppoſers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their ſubmiſſions to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed "their power and ſtrength," their forces and riches to ſupport and maintain it? "Theſe ſhall make war with the "Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them;" they perſecute the true church of Chriſt, but the true church ſhall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accompliſhed hereafter.

In the former part of this deſcription (ver. 1.) "the whore" is repreſented like ancient Babylon, "ſitting upon many waters:" and theſe waters are here (ver. 15.) ſaid expreſly to (4) ſignify "peoples, "and multitudes, and nations, and tongues." So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extenſiveneſs of her power and juriſdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate ſubjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries profeſſing the ſame religion. She herſelf glories in the title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal (5) Bellarmin's firſt note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church:* and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers*; for the truly catholic church, ſays he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewiſe all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithſtanding the general current in her favor, the tide ſhall turn againſt her; and the hands which helped to raiſe her, ſhall alſo pull her down. (ver. 16.) "The ten horns "ſhall hate the whore;" that is by a common figure of the whole for a part,

Chriſtianorum nomen. Bellar. de Notis Eccleſiæ, Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Quarta Nota, eſt amplitudo, ſive multitudo et varietas credentium. Eccleſia enim vere catholica, non ſolum debet amplecti omnia tempora, ſed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnium hominum genera. Ibid. Cap. 7.

(6) Vide

a part, " ſome" of the ten kings, for others (XVIII. 9.) " ſhall bewail " her and lament for her," and (XIX. 19.) ſhall fight and periſh in the cauſe of the beaſt. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown ſenſible of her exorbitant exactions and oppreſſions, ſhall " hate her," ſhall ſtrip, and expoſe, and plunder her, and utterly conſume her with fire. Rome therefore will finally be deſtroyed by ſome of the princes, who are reformed, or ſhall be reformed from popery: and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impoſſible, nor improbable, that ſome time or other they may alſo be the principal authors of her deſtruction. France hath already ſhown ſome tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accompliſh it. Nay even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their moſt *catholic* and *faithful* Majeſties as they are ſtiled, have reſtrained the power of the Pope, and the Inquiſition, and have not only baniſhed the Jeſuits from their reſpective kingdoms, but have likewiſe inſiſted upon the ſuppreſſion of that order, which may be conſidered as leading ſteps to ſome farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reaſonably be expected, becauſe (ver. 17.) this infatuation of popiſh princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, " until the words of God ſhall be fulfilled," and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, (VII. 25, 26.) " They ſhall be given into " his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time:" " But" then, as it immediately follows, " the judgment ſhall ſit, and they " ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume, and to deſtroy it unto " the end."

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by " the whore of Babylon:" But for the greater aſſuredneſs it is added by the angel, (ver. 18.) " The woman which thou ſaweſt is " that great city." The angel had undertaken to " tell the myſtery of " the woman, and of the beaſt." He hath explained the myſtery of the beaſt, and of his ſeven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the myſtery of the woman is " that great city, which reigneth over " the kings of the earth." And what city at the time of the viſion " reigned over the kings of the earth," but Rome? She hath too ever ſince " reigned over the kings of the earth," if not with temporal, yet at leaſt with ſpiritual authority. In the arts of government ſhe hath far

exceeded

exceeded all the cities both of ancient and of modern times: as if ſhe had conſtantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes.
>
> VIRGIL.

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably "this great city;" and that Chriſtian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in ſeveral inſtances, and will appear in ſeveral more.

CHAP. XVIII.

1 AND after theſe things I ſaw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a ſtrong voice, ſaying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul ſpirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, ſaying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5 For her ſins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as ſhe rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which ſhe hath filled, fill to her double.

7 How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly,

ſo much torment and ſorrow give her: for ſhe ſaith in her heart, I ſit a queen, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.

8 Therefore ſhall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and ſhe ſhall be utterly burnt with fire: for ſtrong *is* the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the ſtate and condition of ſpiritual Babylon, there follows a deſcription of her fall and deſtruction, in the ſame ſublime and figurative ſtile as Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of this ſpiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel deſcends from heaven, (ver. 1, 2, 3.) and proclaims, as before, (XIV. 8.) the fall of Babylon, and together with her puniſhment the crimes which deſerved it, her idolatry and wickedneſs. It is farther added, that after her fall ſhe ſhall be made a ſcene of deſolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beaſts of prey; as Iſaiah alſo predicted concerning ancient Babylon, (XIII. 21.) "Wild beaſts of the deſerts ſhall lie there, and "their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell "there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there:" where the word that we tranſlate *ſatyrs*, the Seventy tranſlate δαιμονια, *demons* or *devils*, who (6) were ſuppoſed ſometimes to take the ſhape of goats or ſatyrs, and to haunt forlorn and deſolate places: and it is from the tranſlation of the Seventy that the apoſtle hath borrowed his images and expreſſions. But if this fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Oſtrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Viſigoths, as the Biſhop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be ſaid ever ſince to have been "the "habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul ſpirit, and a cage of "every unclean and hateful bird," unleſs they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit theſe appellations?

"Another voice" is alſo "heard from heaven," (ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.) exhorting all Chriſtians to forſake the communion of ſo corrupt a church, leſt

(6) Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 53. Col. 643.

(7) It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Obeliſcus Pamphilius: In *urbis æternæ* ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont. Max. apud Daubuz. p. 812.

(8) Tertia die barbari, quam ingreſſi fuerant urbem, ſponte diſcedunt, facto quidem *aliquantarum ædium incendio*, &c. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 39. Edit. Havercam. Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invaſit, *partemque ejus cremavit incendio*, &c. Marcellini Chron. Indict. 8. p. 38. Edit. Scaligeri. Quinetiam

leſt they ſhould be " partakers of her ſins and of her plagues," and at the ſame time denouncing that her puniſhment ſhall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any ſuch neceſſity of forſaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas, before ſhe had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deſerving of ſuch exemplary puniſhment, unleſs Rome Chriſtian was to ſuffer for the ſins of Rome Pagan? " She " ſaith in her heart," like ancient Babylon, (Iſ. XLVII. 7, 8.) " I ſit " a queen, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow;" She glories like ancient Rome, in the name (7) of *the eternal city:* but notwithſtanding " ſhe ſhall be utterly burnt with fire; for ſtrong is the " Lord God who judgeth her." Theſe expreſſions can imply no leſs than a total deſtruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally deſtroyed by fire. The moſt that (8) Alaric and (9) Totilas did, was burning ſome parts of the city: but if only ſome parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be aſcribed to " the Lord " God" particularly, and to be conſidered as a " ſtrong" exertion of his judgment.

9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciouſly with her, ſhall bewail her, and lament for her, when they ſhall ſee the ſmoke of her burning.

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 And the merchants of the earth ſhall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandiſe any more:

12 The merchandiſe of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and ſilk, and ſcarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner veſſels of ivory, and all manner veſſels of moſt precious wood, and of braſs, and iron, and marble,

netiam *ædificia quædam incenſa*, aliáque opera temerè furore barbarico deturbata ſunt. Sigonii Hiſt. de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 10. in fine.

(9) Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. 3. Cap. 22. Ρωμην δε ϑτε καθελειν ϑτε απολιπειν τολοιπον Τωτιλας ηθελεν. Porro Totilas Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit. Ibid. Cap. 36. Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 22. Totilas dolo Iſaurorum ingreditur Romam die XVI. Kal. Jan. ac evertit muros, *domos aliquantas igni comburens*, &c. Marcellini Chron. p. 54. ibid. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 19.

(1) See

13 And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincenſe, and wine, and oyl, and fine flour, and wheat, and beaſts, and ſheep, and horſes, and chariots, and ſlaves, and ſouls of men.

14 And the fruits that thy ſoul luſted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou ſhalt find them no more at all.

15 The merchants of theſe things which were made rich by her, ſhall ſtand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing,

16 And ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was cloathed in fine linen, and purple, and ſcarlet, and decked with gold, and precious ſtones, and pearls! for in one hour ſo great riches is come to nought.

17 And every ſhip-maſter, and all the company in ſhips, and ſailers, and as many as trade by ſea, ſtood afar off,

18 And cried when they ſaw the ſmoke of her burning, ſaying, What *city* is like unto this great city?

19 And they caſt duſt on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ſhips in the ſea, by reaſon of her coſtlineſs! for in one hour is ſhe made deſolate.

20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apoſtles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.

In this ſolemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her deſtruction by fire: and then are ſet forth the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome, and the rejoicings of others. "The kings" of her communion, "who have "committed fornication, and lived deliciouſly with her, bewail and "lament for her:" (ver. 9, 10.) but what kings were they who "lived "deliciouſly" with old Rome, and had reaſon to lament her fall? "The merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her;" (ver. 11—17.) for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether ſpiritual or temporal; for it is intimated (ver. 13.) that they make merchandiſe of the "ſouls" as well as of the "bodies" of men. "The "ſhip

" ſhip maſters, and failers, and as many as trade by ſea, weep and " wail:" (ver. 17, 18, 19.) for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey ſtrangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her " coſtlineſs." Theſe lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the moſt mournful ſtrains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they " ſtand afar off," (ver. 10, 15, 17.) as if they were unable or afraid to help and aſſiſt her. In all they cry ωαι, ωαι, " alas, alas," (ver. 10, 16, 19.) which is the " third woe" ωαι before mentioned; (VIII. 13. XI. 14.) for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of " the ſecond woe," ſo the fall of Rome is the completion of " the third woe." In all they lament the ſuddenneſs of her fall; (ver. 10, 17, 19.) " for in one hour" is her deſtruction come. At the ſame time her deſtruction is matter of joy and triumph (ver. 20.) to " the holy apoſtles and prophets, for God hath avenged them on " her:" but what reaſon had the Chriſtians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themſelves were the principal ſufferers? and how were theſe calamities any vindication of their cauſe, or of the cauſe of true religion?

21 And a mighty angel took up a ſtone like a great milſtone, and caſt it into the ſea, ſaying, Thus with violence ſhall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and ſhall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and muſicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, ſhall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftſman, of whatſoever craft *he be*, ſhall be found any more in thee; and the ſound of a milſtone ſhall be heard no more at all in thee;

23 And the light of a candle ſhall ſhine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride ſhall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy ſorceries were all nations deceived:

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.

Yet farther to confirm the ſudden fall and irrecoverable deſtruction

of

of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah; (LI. 63, 64.) "a mighty angel" (ver. 21.) "caſteth a milſtone into the ſea," declaring that "with the ſame violence this great city ſhall be thrown "down," and ſhall never riſe again. Her utter deſolation is farther deſcribed (ver. 22, 23.) in phraſes and expreſſions borrowed from the ancient prophets. (Iſ. XXIV. 8. Jer. VII. 34. XVI. 9. XXV. 10. Ezek. XXVI. 13.) There ſhall be no more "muſicians" for the entertainment of the rich and great; no more "tradeſmen" or "artiſi-"cers" to furniſh the conveniencies of life; no more "ſervants" or "ſlaves" to grind at the mill, and to ſupply the neceſſaries of life. Nay, there ſhall be no more "lights," no more "bridal ſongs;" the city ſhall never be peopled again by new marriages, but ſhall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter deſolation there are aſſigned theſe reaſons, (ver. 23, 24.) her "pride" and "luxury" her "ſuper-"ſtition" and "idolatry," her "tyranny" and "cruelty." Her puniſhment ſhall be as ſevere and exemplary, as if ſhe had been guilty of all the perſecutions that ever were upon account of religion; for by her conduct ſhe hath approved, and imitated, and ſurpaſſed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and deſolated in this manner. She hath been taken indeed and plundered (1) by Alaric king of the Viſigoths in the year 410, by Genſeric king of the Vandals in the year 455, by Totilas king of the Oſtrogoths in the year 546, and by others ſince that time: but yet ſhe is ſtill ſtanding and floriſhing, and is honored by many nations as the metropolis of the Chriſtian world; ſhe ſtill reſounds with "ſingers" and "muſicians;" ſhe ſtill excels in "arts" which ſerve to pomp and luxury; ſhe ſtill abounds with "candles," and "lamps," and "torches," burning even by day as well as by night: and conſequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP.

(1) See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Blair's Chron. Tables.

(2) R.

CHAP. XIX.

1 AND after theſe things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, ſaying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous *are* his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his ſervants at her hand.

3 And again they ſaid, Alleluia. And her ſmoke roſe up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders, and the four beaſts fell down and worſhipped God that ſat on the throne, ſaying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, ſaying, Praiſe our God, all ye his ſervants, and ye that fear him, both ſmall and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, ſaying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made her ſelf ready.

8 And to her was granted, that ſhe ſhould be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteouſneſs of ſaints.

9 And he ſaith unto me, Write, Bleſſed *are* they which are called unto the marriage-ſupper of the Lamb. And he ſaith unto me, Theſe are the true ſayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worſhip him: And he ſaid unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy brethren that have the teſtimony of Jeſus: worſhip God: for the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy.

Hereupon the whole church, (ver. 1—4.) agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, (XVIII. 20.) join praiſes and thankſgivings to almighty God for his "truth" and "righteouſneſs" in judging this idolatrous

latrous city, his " truth" in fulfilling his promiſes and threatnings, and his " righteouſneſs" in proportioning her puniſhment to her crimes. " And her ſmoke roſe up for ever and ever ;" which intimates that ſhe ſhould be made as ſignal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Iſaiah, who hath ſaid much the ſame thing of Edom, and by Edom (2) the Jews underſtand Rome. (Iſ. XXXIV. 9, 10.) " And the ſtreams thereof ſhall be turned into pitch ;" in the genuin (3) editions of the Chaldee paraphraſe it is, " And the rivers" " of Rome ſhall be turned into pitch, and the duſt thereof into brim-" " ſtone, and the land thereof ſhall become burning pitch. It ſhall not " be quenched night nor day ; the ſmoke thereof ſhall go up for ever." This tradition of the rabbins may receive ſome confirmation from theſe words of the apoſtle : and ſuch an event may appear the more probable, becauſe the adjacent countries are known to be of a ſulphureous and bituminous ſoil ; there have even at Rome been (4) eruptions of ſubterraneous fire, which have conſumed ſeveral buildings ; ſo that the fuel ſeemeth to be prepared, and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praiſed not only for the deſtruction of the great ſeat of idolatry, but alſo (ver. 5—8.) for the manifeſtation of his kingdom, as before, (XI. 17.) and for the happy and glorious ſtate of the reformed Chriſtian church. She is no " harlot" tainted with idolatry, but a " ſpouſe" prepared for her Lord Chriſt ; ſhe is not arrayed, like an harlot, " in purple and ſcarlet color," but like a decent bride, " in " fine linen, clean, and white" as the propereſt emblem of her purity and ſanctity. Chriſt hath now, as St. Paul expreſſeth it, (Eph. V. 26, 27.) " ſanctified and cleanſed his church with the waſhing of water, " by the word, That he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious church, " not having ſpot or wrinkle or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be " holy, and without blemiſh." So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it (ver. 9.) to be particularly noted : and bleſſed and happy are they who ſhall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feaſt. It is a matter of conſolation to all good Chriſtians,

(2) R. David in principio Obadiæ, *Quod autem dicunt prophetæ de vaſtatione Edom in extremitate dierum, de Roma dixerunt.* Buxtorf. Chald. Lex. in voce רומא.

(3) *Et convertentur flumina* Romæ *in picem, &c.*

Poſteriores

Chriſtians, and they may aſſuredly depend upon it, as the never-failing word of God. St. John was in ſuch rapture and extaſy at theſe diſcoveries, that (ver. 10.) not knowing or not conſidering what he did, he "fell down at the angel's feet to worſhip him:" but the angel prohibits all manner of worſhip, for he was no more than "a fellow "ſervant" of the apoſtle's, and of all true prophets, of all "who "have the teſtimony of Jeſus," and "the teſtimony of Jeſus is the "ſpirit of prophecy." Worſhip not me then, ſays the angel, but "God" whoſe ſervants we both are, and who inſpires us both with the ſame ſpirit of prophecy.

11 And I ſaw heaven opened, and behold a white horſe; and he that ſat upon him *was* called faithful and true, and in righteouſneſs he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himſelf:

13 And he *was* cloathed with a veſture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horſes, cloathed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the nations: and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine-preſs of the fierceneſs and wrath of almighty God.

16 And he hath on his veſture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I ſaw an angel ſtanding in the ſun; and he cried with a loud voice, ſaying to all the fowls that fly in the midſt of heaven, Come and gather yourſelves together unto the ſupper of the great God;

18 That ye may eat the fleſh of kings, and the fleſh of captains,

Poſteriores editiones vocem *Romæ* omiſerunt. Buxtorf. ibid.

(4) Vide Dionis. Hiſt. Lib. 66. in Tito. πυρ δε δη ἑτερον επιγειον τῳ ἑξης ἑτει πολλα σαυ της Ρωμης επενειματο. κ. τ. λ. Ignis autem alius ſupra terram exortus anno inſequenti magnam admodum Romæ partem abſumſit, &c. p. 756. Edit. Leunclav.

(5) *Artaxerxes*

tains, and the fleſh of mighty men, and the fleſh of horſes, and of them that ſit on them, and the fleſh of all men, both free and bond, both ſmall and great.

19 And I ſaw the beaſt and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war againſt him that ſat on the horſe, and againſt his army.

20 And the beaſt was taken, and with him the falſe prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beaſt, and them that worſhipped his image. Theſe both were caſt alive into a lake of fire burning with brimſtone.

21 And the remnant were ſlain with the ſword of him that ſat upon the horſe, which *ſword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their fleſh.

It was ſaid by the angel, ſpeaking of the kings ſubject to the beaſt, (XVII. 14.) "Theſe ſhall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb "ſhall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; "and they that are with him, are called, and choſen, and faithful:" And this viſion (ver. 11—21.) is added by way of inlargement and explanation of that great event. "Heaven" is "opened," and our Saviour cometh forth riding "upon a white horſe," as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is deſcribed in ſuch characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. "On his head" alſo "were many crowns," to denote his numerous conqueſts and kingdoms, which were now (XI. 15.) "become the "kingdoms of our Lord and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever "and ever." As the Jewiſh high-prieſt wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, ſo he had "a name written," which none could perfectly comprehend but himſelf; "and his name is called "The Word of God. He had likewiſe another "name written" on that part of his veſture which covered his thigh, "King of kings, and "Lord of lords; a title much affected by the (5) eaſtern monarchs, and by

(5 *Artaxerxes king of kings.* Ezra VII. 12. Rex regum Sapor. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 17. Cap. 5. p. 163. Edit. Valeſii. Paris 1681. βασιλευς βασιλεων και δεσποτης δεσποτων Σισωσις. Rex regum, et dominus dominorum

by Antichriſt himſelf. The pope is (6) ſtiled "King of kings, and "Lord of Lords;" but what he is only in pretence, Chriſt is in reality. His armies are mounted "upon white horſes" as well as himſelf, and are "cloathed in fine linen, white and clean," as emblems of their victory and ſanctity. "An angel ſtanding in the ſun," and ſo conſpicuous to all, in lofty ſtrains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, (XXXIX. 17, 18.) calleth the fowls to the great ſlaughter of Chriſt's enemies. Theſe enemies are "the beaſt "and the falſe prophet," the Antichriſtian powers civil and eccleſiaſtical, with "their armies gathered together," their adherents and followers combined and determined to ſupport idolatry, and oppoſe all reformation. But the principals, as deſerving of the greateſt puniſhment, are "taken, and caſt alive into a lake of fire burning with brimſtone:" and their followers are "ſlain" with the word of Chriſt, "the ſword "which proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls are filled with "their fleſh;" their ſubſtance is ſeiſed for other perſons, and for other uſes. In a word, the deſign of this ſublime and figurative deſcription is to ſhow the downfall of popery, and the triumph of Chriſtianity: the true word of God will prevail over ſuperſtition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichriſt ſhall be completely ſubdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herſelf, be totally deſtroyed.

CHAP. XX.

1 AND I ſaw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old ſerpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thouſand years,

3 And caſt him into the bottomleſs pit, and ſhut him up, and ſet a ſeal upon him, that he ſhould deceive the nations no more,

dominorum Seſooſis, vel Seſoſtris. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 35. Edit. Steph. p. 51. Edit. Rhodomani.

(6) See Jewel's Defenſe of his Apology. Part 5. and Barrow's Introduction to his Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy.

(7) Non

till the thouſand years ſhould be fulfilled: and after that, he muſt be looſed a little ſeaſon.

4 And I ſaw thrones, and they ſat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and *I ſaw* the ſouls of them that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, and for the word of God, and which had not worſhipped the beaſt, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years.

5 But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed. This *is* the firſt reſurrection.

6 Bleſſed and holy *is* he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection: on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power, but they ſhall be prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.

After the deſtruction of the beaſt and of the falſe prophet, there ſtill remains "the dragon," who had delegated his power to them, "that old ſerpent, which is the devil and Satan:" but he is bound by "an angel," an eſpecial miniſter of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the ſaints upon earth for a thouſand years. (ver. 1—6) "Binding him with a great chain, caſting him "into the bottomleſs pit, ſhutting him up, and ſetting a ſeal upon "him," are ſtrong figures to ſhow the ſtrict and ſevere reſtraint which he ſhould be laid under, "that he might deceive the nations no more" during this whole period. Wickedneſs being reſtrained, the reign of righteouſneſs ſucceeds, and the adminiſtration of juſtice and judgment is given to the ſaints of the moſt High: and the martyrs and confeſſors of Jeſus, not only thoſe who "were beheaded" or ſuffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but alſo thoſe who refuſed to comply with the idolatrous worſhip "of the beaſt and of his image," are raiſed from the dead, and have the principal ſhare in the felicities of Chriſt's kingdom upon earth. "But the reſt of the dead lived not "again until the thouſand years were finiſhed;" ſo that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confeſſors above the reſt of mankind. "This is the firſt reſurrection," a particular reſurrection preceding

(7) Non moriatur morte ſecunda. Onk. Nec moriatur morte qua moriuntur improbi in futuro ſeculo.

ceding the general one at leaſt a thouſand years. " Bleſſed and holy" too " is he who hath part in the firſt reſurrection;" he is " holy" in all the ſenſes of the word, " holy" as ſeparated from the common lot of mankind, " holy" as indowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but ſuch are admitted to partake of this bleſſed ſtate. " On ſuch " the ſecond death had no power. The ſecond death" is a Jewiſh phraſe for the puniſhment of the wicked after death. So the (7) Chaldee paraphraſe of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy (XXXIII. 6.) " Let Reuben live, and not die," hath " Let him not die the ſecond " death;" and the other paraphraſes of Jonathan Ben Uziel and of Jeruſalem have " Let him not die the ſecond death by which the wicked " die in the world to come." It is a familiar phraſe in the Chaldee paraphraſes and Jewiſh writings, and in this very book (XX. 14. XXI. 8.) it is declared to be the ſame as " the lake burning with fire and brim- " ſtone." The ſons of the reſurrection therefore ſhall not die again, but ſhall live in eternal bliſs, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, " be prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and reign with him a " thouſand years."

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the firſt reſurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even tho' the reſurrection be taken in a figurative ſenſe. For reckon the thouſand years with Uſher from the time of Chriſt, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Conſtantine, yet neither of theſe periods, nor indeed any other, will anſwer the deſcription and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holineſs and happineſs of that bleſſed ſtate. Before Conſtantine indeed the church was in greater purity, but was groaning under the perſecutions of the heathen emperors. After Conſtantine the church was in greater proſperity, but was ſoon ſhaken and diſturbed by hereſies and ſchiſms, by the incurſions and devaſtations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing impoſture of the Saracens and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedneſs, the uſurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then " bound," when can he be ſaid to be " looſed?" Or how could " the ſaints" and " the beaſt," Chriſt and Antichriſt,

ſeculo. Jonath. Neque moriatur morte ſecunda qua moriuntur improbi in futuro ſeculo. Hieroſ.

(8) Burnet's

Antichriſt, reign at the ſame period? This prophecy therefore remains yet to be fulfilled, even tho' the reſurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greateſt torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be ſaid, that ſome of the dead "who were beheaded lived and reigned with Chriſt a "thouſand years, but the reſt of the dead lived not again until the "thouſand years were finiſhed," unleſs "the dying" and "living "again" be the ſame in both places, a proper death and reſurrection? Indeed the "death" and "reſurrection" of the witneſſes before mentioned (Chap. XI.) appears from the concurrent circumſtances of the viſion to be figurative, but the "death" and "reſurrection" here mentioned muſt for the very ſame reaſons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs riſe only in a ſpiritual ſenſe, then "the reſt of the dead" riſe only in a ſpiritual ſenſe; but if "the reſt of the dead" really riſe, the martyrs riſe in the ſame manner. There is no difference between them; and we ſhould be cautious and tender of making the firſt reſurrection an allegory, leſt others ſhould reduce the ſecond into an allegory too, like thoſe whom St. Paul mentions (2 Tim. II. 17, 18.) "Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, ſaying "that the reſurrection is paſt already, and overthrow the faith of ſome. It is to this firſt reſurrection that St. Paul alludes, when he affirms (1 Theſ. IV. 16.) that "the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt," and (1 Cor. XV. 23.) that "every man ſhall be made alive in his own "order, Chriſt the firſt fruits, afterward they that are Chriſt's at his "coming, and then cometh the end," after the general reſurrection.

In the general that there ſhall be ſuch a happy period as the millennium, that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the "kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of "the ſaints of the moſt High," (Dan VII. 27.) that Chriſt ſhall have "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth "for

(8) Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6. Mede Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Magno die Judicii. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. p. 892, &c. &c.

(9) Dixit Rabbi Ketina, Sex annorum millibus ſtat mundus, et uno (millenario) vaſtabitur; de quo dicitur, *Et exaltabitur Dominus ſolus die illo.* Traditio adſtipulatur R. Ketinæ: Sicut ex ſeptenis annis ſeptimus quiſque annus remiſſionis eſt, ita ex ſeptem millibus annorum mundi ſeptimus millenarius millenarius remiſſionis erit, ut *Dominus ſolus exaltetur in die illo.* In Gemara Sanhedrim, apud Mede. p. 535, et p. 893.

(1) Traditio domûs Eliæ: Sex mille annos durat mundus: bis mille annis inanitas; bis mille annis Lex; denique bis mille annis dies Chriſti. apud Mede.

" for his poſſeſſion," (Pſal. II. 8.) that " the earth ſhall be full of the " knowlege of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea, (Iſ. XI. 9.) " that " the fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and all Iſrael ſhall be " ſaved," (Rom. XI. 25, 26.) in a word that the kingdom of heaven ſhall be eſtabliſhed upon earth, is the plain and expreſs doctrin of Daniel and all the prophets as well as of St. John: and we daily pray for the accompliſhment of it in praying " Thy kingdom come." But of all the prophets St. John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in expreſs terms, that the martyrs ſhall riſe to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it ſhall continue upon earth a thouſand years: and the Jewiſh church before him, and the Chriſtian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that theſe thouſand years will be the ſeventh millennary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpoſe both from Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers: but I chooſe to ſelect only a few of the moſt material of each ſort; you may find a great number (8) in Dr. Burnet and other authors who have treated of this ſubject.

Of the Jewiſh writers (9) Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gemara or gloſs of their Talmud, ſaid that 'the world endures ſix thouſand years, 'and one thouſand it ſhall be laid waſte, (that is the enemies of God ſhall 'be deſtroyed) whereof it is ſaid,' (Iſ. II. 11.) " The Lord alone ſhall " be exalted in that day." 'Tradition aſſents to Rabbi Ketina: As out 'of ſeven years every ſeventh is the year of remiſſion, ſo out of the 'ſeven thouſand years of the world the ſeventh millennary ſhall be the 'millennary of remiſſion, that' " God alone may be exalted in that " day." It was (1) the tradition of the houſe of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Chriſt, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tiſhbite, that 'the world endures 'ſix thouſand years, two thouſand before the Law, two thouſand under 'the Law, and two thouſand under the Meſſiah.' It was alſo (2) the tradition

Mede. p. 536, et p. 894. Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5.

(2) Traditio domûs Eliæ: Juſti quos reſuſcitabit Deus non redigentur iterum in pulverem. Si quæras autem, Mille annis iſtis quibus Deus ſanctus benedictus renovaturus eſt mundum ſuum, de quibus dicitur *Et exaltabitur Dominus ſolus in die illo*, quid juſtis futurum ſit; ſciendum, quod Deus ſanctus benedictus dabit illis alas quaſi aquilarum, ut volent ſuper facie aquarum; unde dicitur (Pſal. XLVI. 2.) *Propterea non timebimus, cum mutabitur terra.* At forte (inquies) erit ipſis dolori ſeu afflictioni. Sed occurrit illud (Iſ. XL. 31.) *Exſpectantibus Dominum innovabuntur vires, efferentur alâ inſtar aquilarum.* apud Mede p. 776.

(3) Ken

tradition of the houſe of Elias, that ‘ the juſt whom God ſhall raiſe ‘ up (meaning in the firſt reſurrection) ſhall not be turned again into ‘ duſt. Now if you inquire, how it ſhall be with the juſt in thoſe ‘ thouſand years wherein the holy bleſſed God ſhall renew his world, ‘ whereof it is ſaid' “ And the Lord alone ſhall be exalted in that “ day;” ‘ you muſt know that the holy bleſſed God will give them ‘ the wings as it were of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the ‘ waters; whence it is ſaid' (Pſal. XLVI. 2.) “ Therefore will we not “ fear, when the earth ſhall be changed.” ‘ But perhaps you will ſay, ‘ it ſhall be a pain and affliction to them. Not at all, for it is ſaid' (Iſ. XL. 31.) “ They that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength, “ they ſhall mount up with wings as eagles.”

Of the Chriſtian writers St. Barnabas in the firſt century (3) thus comments upon thoſe words of Moſes, “ And God made in ſix days “ the works of his hands, and he finiſhed them on the ſeventh “ day, and he reſted in it, and ſanctified it.” Conſider, children, ‘ what that ſignifies, “ he finiſhed them in ſix days.” This it ſigni- ‘ fies, that the Lord God will finiſh all things in ſix thouſand years. ‘ For a day with him is a thouſand years; as he himſelf teſtifieth ſaying, “ Behold this day ſhall be as a thouſand years.” Therefore, children, ‘ in ſix days that is in ſix thouſand years ſhall all things be conſum- ‘ mated. “ And he reſted the ſeventh day:” this ſignifies, that when his ‘ ſon ſhall come, and ſhall aboliſh the ſeaſon of the wicked one, and ‘ ſhall judge the ungodly, and ſhall change the ſun, and the moon, ‘ and the ſtars, then he ſhall reſt glorioufly in that ſeventh day.’ Juſtin Martyr in the ſecond century (4) declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrin of his time. ‘ I, and as many as are orthodox Chriſtians

(3) Και εποιησεν ὁ Θεος εν ἑξ ἡμεραις τα εργα των χειρων αυτου, και συνετελεσεν εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ, και κατεπαυσεν εν αυτῃ, και ἡγιασεν αυτην. Προσεχετε, τεκνα, τι λεγει, το συνετελεσεν εν ἑξ ἡμεραις· τουτο λεγει. ὁτι συντελει ὁ Θεος κυριος εν ἑξακισχιλιοις ετεσι τα παντα. Ἡ γαρ ἡμερα παρ' αὐτῳ χιλια ετη, αυτος δε μαρτυρει, λεγων, ἰδου σημερον ἡμερα εστι ὡς χιλια, ετη. Ουκουν, τεκνα, εν ἑξ ἡμεραις εν τοις ἑξακισχιλιοις ετεσι συντελεσθησεται τα παντα. Και κατεπαυσε τῃ ἡμερα τῃ ἑβδομῃ· τουτο λεγει, ὁταν ελθων ὁ ὑιος αυτου, και καταργησει τον καιρον ανομιας, και κρινει τους ασεβεις, και αλλαξει τον ἡλιον, και την σελῆνην, και τους ἀστερας, τοτε καλως κατα παυσεται εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ. *Fecitque Deus in ſex diebus opera manuum ſuarum, et conſummavit in die ſeptima, et in ea requievit, et ſanctificavit eam.* Advertite, filii, quid dicat; *conſummavit in ſex diebus:* id ait; omnia conſummabit Dominus Deus in ſex millibus annorum. Nam apud illum dies æquiparatur mille annis, ut ipſemet teſtatur dicens. *Ecce hodiernus dies erit tanquam mille anni.* Itaque, filii, in ſex diebus, hoc eſt, in ſex annorum millibus conſummabuntur univerſa. *Et requievit die ſeptima:* hoc ait; quando veniens ejus filius tempus Iniqui abolebit, ac judicabit impios, et mutabit ſolem ac lunam, ſtellaſque, tunc pulcre requieſcet in die ſeptima. S. Barnabæ Epiſt.

'ſtians in all reſpects, do acknowlege that there ſhall be a reſurrection 'of the fleſh, (meaning the firſt reſurrection) and a thouſand years in 'Jeruſalem rebuilt, and adorned, and inlarged, (that is in the new Je-'ruſalem) as the prophets Ezekiel, and Iſaiah, and others unanimouſly 'atteſt.' Afterwards he ſubjoins, 'A certain man among us, whoſe 'name was John, one of the apoſtles of Chriſt, in a revelation made 'to him did propheſy that the faithful believers in Chriſt ſhould live a 'thouſand years in the new Jeruſalem, and after theſe ſhould be the ge-'neral reſurrection and judgment:' which is an early atteſtation to the genuinneſs and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Juſtin was converted to Chriſtianity about thirty years after the death of St. John, at which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apoſtle. Dr. Middleton in his Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. has done great injuſtice to Juſtin Martyr as well as to ſeveral of the fathers. In treating of the millennium (p. 26.) he repreſents Juſtin as ſaying, "that all the ſaints ſhould be raiſed in "the fleſh, and reign with Chriſt in Jeruſalem, inlarged and beautified "in a wonderful manner for their reception, in the enjoyment of all "ſenſual pleaſures, for a thouſand years before the general reſurrection." But in the original there is no ſuch clauſe as that, *in the enjoyment of all ſenſual pleaſures*; it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not poſſibly have made it by miſtake, he muſt have done it deſignedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clauſe, and there ſtopping ſhort has concealed the reſt with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole ſentence (as I have done above) he was ſenſible that every ſcholar muſt have detected the impoſition. It is ſeriouſly to be lamented, that ſo learned

Epiſt. Cap. 15. Edit. Cotelerii, et Clerici.

(4) εγω δε, και ει τινες εισιν ορθογνωμονες κατα παντα χριστιανοι, και Ⓒαρκⓞ· αναςασιν γενησεσθαι επιςαμεθα, και χιλια ετη εν Ιερυσαλημ, οικοδομηθειση, και κοσμηθειση, και πλατυνθειση, [ὡς] οἱ προφηται Ιεζεκιηλ, και Ησαϊας, και οἱ αλλοι ὁμολογυσιν. Ego autem, et ſi qui rectæ per omnia ſententiæ Chriſtiani ſunt, et carnis reſurrectionem futuram novimus, et mille annos in Hieruſalem inſtaurata, et exornata, et dilatata, ſicut prophetæ, Ezechiel, et Eſaias, et alii promulgant. Και επειδη και παρ ἡμιν ανηρ τις, ᾧ ονομα Ιωαννης, εἱς των αποςολων τυ Χριςυ, εν αποκαλυψει γενομενη αυτῳ χιλια ετη ποιησειν εν Ιερυσαλημ τυς τῳ ἡμετερῳ Χριςῳ πιςευσαντας προεφητευσε, και μετα ταυτα την καθολικην και, ζυνελοντι φαναι, αιωνιαν ὁμυθυμαδον ἁμα παντων αναςασιν γενησεσθαι και κρισιν. Et vir apud nos quidam, cui nomen erat Joannes, e duodecim apoſtolis Chriſti unus, in ea quæ illi exhibita eſt revelatione Chriſti fideles noſtri annos mille Hieroſolymis peracturos eſſe prælocutus eſt, et poſtea univerſalem et (ut ſemel dicam) ſempiternam omnium unanimiter ſimul reſurrectionem et judicium futurum. Juſt. Mart. Dial. cum Tryphone Pars Secunda, p. 307 et 308. Edit. Paris. p. 313 et 315. Edit. Thirlbii.

(5) Nam

and ingenious a man and ſo very fine a writer as Dr. Middleton was, ſhould in ſupport of any argument have been guilty of ſo many falſe quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery ſhould be deemed a capital offenſe in litterary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Juſtin to have his ſenſe miſrepreſented by others as well as by Dr. Middleton. For he has been made to ſay that the doctrin of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained univerſal reception, but that *many Chriſtians of pure and pious principles rejected it*, it ſhould have been ſaid, *did not acknowlege it*, τϰτο μη γνωριζειν. But Juſtin could not ſo palpably contradict himſelf. The whole context evidently demonſtrates, that we ſhould read, with Mede and Tillotſon, the paſſage with a negative, ϰ της καθαρας και ευτεβϰς that *many* not *of pure and pious principles did not acknowlege it*. *For ſome*, ſays he, *are called Chriſtians, but are atheiſtical and ungodly heretics.* τϰς γαρ λεγομενϰς μεν χριϛιανϰς, οιτας δε αθεϰς και αϲεβεις αιρεϲιωτας. A manifeſt proof, that they were men *not of pure and godly principles*. A little after he ſubjoins, that *ſome are called Chriſtians, and do not confeſs this, and deny the reſurrection of the dead*; τιϲι λεγομενοις χριϛιανοις, και τϰτο μη ϲμολογϰϲιν, και λεγϰϲι μη ειναι νεκρων αναϛαϲιν. And then after all follows what was cited before, "But I, and as many as are ortho-'dox Chriſtians in all reſpects, do acknowlege that there ſhall be a re-'ſurrection of the fleſh and a thouſand years in Jeruſalem, &c.' He thought the doctrin of the millennium of ſuch conſequence that he has joined it all along with that of the reſurrection of the dead. It is evident therefore that he never meant to ſay, that they who rejected this doctrin were Chriſtians *of pure and pious principles*, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century (5) profeſſeth his belief of the kingdom promiſed to the ſaints upon earth, of their reſurrection for a thouſand years, of their living in the new Jeruſalem, and therein enjoying all ſpiritual delights, and of the deſtruction of the world and the

(5) Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromiſſum; &c. Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 3. Cap. 24. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris 1675.

(6) Quoniam ſex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta ſunt; per ſæcula ſex, id eſt annorum ſex millia, manere hoc ſtatu mundum neceſſe eſt.—Et rurſus, quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die ſeptimo, eumque benedixit; neceſſe eſt, ut in fine ſexti milleſimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur è terra, et regnet per annos mille juſtitia. Cap. 14. Verum ille, cum deleverit injuſtitiam,—ac juſtos, qui a principio fuerunt, ad vitam reſtauraverit, mille annis inter homines verſabitur, eoſque juſtiſſimo imperio reget.—Sub idem tempus etiam princeps dæmonum—catenis vincietur, et erit in cuſtodia mille annis cæleſtis imperii, quo juſtitia in orbe regnabit, ne quod malum adverſus populum

the general judgment after the thouſand years: and his books *of Paradiſe and of the hope of the faithful*, if they had not been loſt or ſuppreſſed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all theſe particulars. Lactantius at the beginning of the fourth century (6) is very copious upon this ſubject in the ſeventh book of his Divine Inſtitutions. He ſaith, 'Becauſe all the works of God were finiſhed in ſix days, it is neceſſary that the world ſhould remain in this ſtate ſix ages, that is ſix thouſand years.' And again, 'becauſe having finiſhed the works he reſted on the ſeventh day, and bleſſed it; it is neceſſary that at the end of the ſix thouſandth year all wickedneſs ſhould be aboliſhed out of the earth, and juſtice ſhould reign for a thouſand years.' He ſaith, 'When the Son of God ſhall have deſtroyed injuſtice, and ſhall have reſtored the juſt to life, he ſhall be converſant among men a thouſand years, and ſhall rule them with moſt juſt government. At the ſame time the prince of devils ſhall be bound with chains, and ſhall be in cuſtody the thouſand years of the heavenly kingdom, while juſtice ſhall reign in the world, leſt he ſhould attempt any evil againſt the people of God.' He ſaith, 'When the thouſand years of the kingdom, that is ſeven thouſand years ſhall draw towards a concluſion, Satan ſhall be looſed again: and when the thouſand years ſhall be completed, then ſhall be that ſecond and public reſurrection of all, wherein the unjuſt ſhall be raiſed to everlaſting torments.' And having inlarged upon theſe topics he concludes, 'This is the doctrin of the holy prophets which we Chriſtians follow; this is our wiſdom.' In ſhort the doctrin of the millennium was generally believed in the three firſt and pureſt ages; and this belief, as the (7) learned Dodwell hath juſtly obſerved, was one principal cauſe of the fortitude of the primitive Chriſtians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the firſt reſurrection.

pulum Dei moliatur. Cap. 24. Sed idem, cum mille anni regni, hoc eſt ſeptem millia cæperint terminari; ſolvetur denuo, &c. Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni,—fiet, ſecunda illa, et publica omnium reſurrectio, in qua excitabuntur injuſti ad cruciatus ſempiternos.—Hæc eſt doctrina ſanctorum prophetarum, quam Chriſtiani ſequimur; hæc noſtra ſapientia. Cap. 26.

(7) Jam in millennii regno primam fere reſurrectionem corporum crediderunt primævi Chriſtiani. Et ut juſtorum propriam eam crediderunt reſurrectionem, ita martyrum in ea portionem longe eſſe præcipuam. —Hæc cum ita crederentur, dici nequit quantum martyres illius ætatis martyrii ſtudio inflammarint. Dodwelli Diſſert. Cyprian. XII. De Martyrum fortitudine. Sect. 20, 21.

(8) See

Afterwards this doctrin grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some both Jewish and Christian writers have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitely worse) the doctrin itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscretions of its friends; many, like (8) Jerome, have charged the millennarians with absurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth of the doctrin, they have not scrupled to call in question the genuinness of the book of the Revelation. It hath been abused even to worse purposes; it hath been made an engin of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of saints, have aspired to dominion, and disturbed the peace of civil society. Besides wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, she hath endevored by all means to discredit this doctrin; and indeed not without sufficient reason, this kingdom of Christ being founded on the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist. No wonder therefore that this doctrin lay depressed for many ages, but it sprang up again at the Reformation, and will florish together with the study of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one side, of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other, of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness, and judgment are required, to keep the middle course. We should neither with some interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the litteral sense of scripture without absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of scripture, or to fair deductions from scripture; and to rest contented with the general account, till time shall accomplish and eclaircise all the particulars.

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters

(8) See Mede's Works, B. 5. Chap. 5. D. Hieronymi Pronunciata de Dogmate millennariorum, p. 897.

(9) Burnet's

quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom *is* as the ſand of the ſea.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compaſſed the camp of the ſaints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them, was caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone, where the beaſt and the falſe prophet *are*, and ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thouſand years (ver. 7—10.) the reſtraint ſhall be taken off from wickedneſs, and for "a little ſeaſon" as it was ſaid before, (ver. 3.) "Satan ſhall be looſed out of his priſon," and make one effort more to re-eſtabliſh his kingdom. As he deceived our firſt parents in the paradiſiacal ſtate, ſo he ſhall have the artifice "to "deceive the nations" in this millennial kingdom, to ſhow that no ſtate or condition upon earth is exempted and ſecured from ſinning. The nations, whom he ſhall deceive, are deſcribed as living in the remoteſt parts of the world; "in the four quarters of the earth," εν ταις τεσσαρσι γωνιαις της γης, "in the four angles" or "corners of the earth;" and they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Gog and Magog," and are ſaid to be as numerous "as the ſand of the ſea." "Gog and Magog" ſeem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Aſia, as *the Scythians* have been ſince, and *the Tartars* are at preſent. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning "Gog and "Magog," and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St. John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be abſolutely certain that they may not both relate to the ſame event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after, the millennium. "Gog and "Magog" in Ezekiel are ſaid expreſly (XXXVIII. 6, 15. XXXIX. 2.) to come from "the north-quarters" and "the north-parts," but in St. John they come from "the four quarters" or "corners of the "earth." "Gog and Magog" in Ezekiel bend their forces againſt the Jews reſettled in their own land, but in St. John they march up againſt "the ſaints" and church of God in general. "Gog and Magog" in

Ezekiel

Ezekiel are with very good reaſon ſuppoſed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of "the ſecond woe," and "the ſecond woe" (XI. 14.) "is paſt" before "the third woe," and "the third woe" long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and preſignifies the deſtruction of the Othman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well as *Ethiopia*, *Libya*, and other nations. If "Gog and Magog" in St John are the ſame with thoſe in Ezekiel, then we muſt ſuppoſe the Othman empire to ſubſiſt throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that "Gog and Magog" as well as "Sodom," and "Egypt," and "Babylon," are myſtic names in this book; and the laſt enemies of the Chriſtian church are ſo denominated, becauſe "Gog and Magog" appear to be the laſt enemies of the Jewiſh nation. Who they ſhall be, we cannot pretend to ſay with any the leaſt degree of certainty. It is a ſtrange whimſical abſurd paradox of (9) Dr. Burnet, but his hypotheſis betrayed him into it, that they ſhall be "ſons of the earth, generated "from the ſlime of the ground and the heat of the ſun, as brute creatures were at firſt." Mr. Mede's (1) conjecture is much more rational, that they ſhall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or deſcendents from the Scythians, that is from "Gog and Magog." Whoever they ſhall be, they ſhall come up from "the four corners of the earth on the breadth of the earth," and ſhall "compaſs the camp of the ſaints about, and the beloved city," the new Jeruſalem with the ſaints incamped around it, as the Iſraelites incamped around the tabernacle in the wilderneſs. But they ſhall not ſucceed and proſper in their attempts; they ſhall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but ſhall be deſtroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by "fire from heaven:" and "the devil" himſelf, the promoter and leader of this new apoſtaſy and rebellion againſt God and his Chriſt, ſhall not only be confined as before, but ſhall be "caſt into the "lake of fire and brimſtone," where he ſhall be puniſhed together with

(9) Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 10.

(1) De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypſi Conjectura,

with "the beaſt and the falſe prophet" who were caſt in before him, "and ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

11 And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſat on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12 And I ſaw the dead, ſmall and great, ſtand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life: and the dead were judged out of thoſe things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the ſea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were caſt into the lake of fire: This is the ſecond death.

15 And whoſoever was not found written in the book of life, was caſt into the lake of fire.

After this laſt conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows (ver. 11—15.) the general reſurrection and judgment, repreſented in a viſion of "a great white throne," "great" to ſhow the largeneſs and extent, "white" to ſhow the juſtice and equity of the judgment, and "one ſitting on it," who can be none other than the Son of God, for (John V. 22.) "the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; "from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was "found no place for them," ſo that this is properly the end of the world. "The dead," both "ſmall" and "great," of all ranks and degrees, as well thoſe who periſhed at ſea and were buried in the waters, as thoſe who died at land and were buried in graves, are all raiſed, and ſtand before the judgment ſeat of God, where "they are "judged every man according to their works," as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be inrolled in the regiſters of heaven are "caſt into the lake of fire;" whither

ra, in Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 574. Fulleri Miſcell. Sacra. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. in fine.

(2) Burnet's

whither alſo were caſt "death and hell" or "the grave," who are here perſonified, as they are likewiſe in other places of holy ſcripture. It may ſeem ſtrange that "death" ſhould be "caſt into the lake of fire which "is the ſecond death;" but the meaning is that *temporal death*, which hitherto had exerciſed dominion over the race of men, ſhall be totally aboliſhed, and with reſpect to the wicked be converted into *eternal death*. "Then," as St. Paul ſaith, (1 Cor. XV. 54, 26.) "ſhall be brought to paſs the ſaying that is written, Death is ſwallowed "up in victory:" for "the laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is "death."

CHAP. XXI.

1 AND I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth: for the firſt heaven and the firſt earth were paſſed away; and there was no more ſea.

2 And I John ſaw the holy city, new Jeruſalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her huſband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven, ſaying, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people, and God himſelf ſhall be with them, *and* be their God.

4 And God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying, neither ſhall there be any more pain: for the former things are paſſed away.

5 And he that ſat upon the throne, ſaid, Behold, I make all things new. And he ſaid unto me, Write: for theſe words are true and faithful.

6 And he ſaid unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirſt, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſon.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers,

murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all liers, ſhall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone: which is the ſecond death.

"A new heaven and a new earth" (ver. 1.) ſucceed in the room of "the firſt heaven and the firſt earth," which "paſſed away" (XX. 11.) at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkable property, that "there is no more ſea," which whether it ſhall be effected by the means which the (2) theoriſts of the earth have preſcribed or by any other, time muſt diſcover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not deſigned to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment (XX. 13.) "the ſea gave "up the dead which were in it." Many underſtand the expreſſion figuratively, that there ſhall be *no troubles* or *commotions* in this new world. In this new world too "the new Jeruſalem" appears (ver. 2.) in full glory and ſplendor. It is deſcribed as "coming down "from God out of heaven:" it is a city, whoſe builder and maker is God; and is "adorned as the bride for the Lamb," the true church of Chriſt: and the new Jeruſalem, the true church of Chriſt, ſubſiſts as well during the millennial kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was ſaid (XIX. 7.) "The marriage of the Lamb is "come, and his wife hath made herſelf ready." At the concluſion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up (XX. 9.) againſt "the beloved "city:" And here it is repreſented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jeruſalem ſhall be the habitation of the ſaints of the firſt reſurrection, and it ſhall alſo be the habitation of the ſaints of the general reſurrection. The church of Chriſt ſhall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewiſe in the world to come; it ſhall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and ſhall be more glorious ſtill in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth ſhall then become as heaven, or rather it ſhall be a heaven upon earth, (ver. 3.) God dwelling viſibly among men: and (ver. 4.) "there ſhall be no more death," which cannot come to paſs, till death ſhall be totally aboliſhed (XX. 14.) by being "caſt into the

(2) Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 2. Whiſton's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 5.

(3) yet-

" lake of fire," and till " the former things," the firſt heaven and the firſt earth, " are paſſed away." He " who ſat upon the throne" as judge of the world (XX. 11.) declares (ver. 5.) " Behold, I make all things " new:" He is the author of this ſecond as well as of the firſt creation, and he commands theſe things to be *written* for the edification and conſolation of his church with a firm aſſurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period (ver. 6, 7, 8.) to be " the conſummation" of all things, when the promiſes of God, and the deſires of his faithful ſervants ſhall all be fully accompliſhed; the righteous " ſhall inherit " all things," but the profligate and immoral " ſhall have their por- " tion in the lake of fire and brimſtone;" which is a farther demonſtration, that theſe things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium ſynchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and ſome latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in theſe myſterious points of futurity: but this order of things, and this interpretation of the words, appear to me moſt natural, and moſt agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium; but Gog and Magog are not inhabiters of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our buſineſs to frame theories and invent hypotheſes, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our ſureſt guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to ſhow that this is no novel opinion. As St. Barnabas (3) ſays, ' When the ' Lord ſhall make all things new, then ſhall be the beginning of the ' eighth day, which is the beginning of another world;' allowing ſix thouſand years to the duration of this world, the ſeventh thouſand to the millennium, and the eighth thouſand to the beginning of a bleſſed eternity: and you may find many more teſtimonies alleged to this purpoſe in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this paſſage of St.

(3) γεγονοτων δε καινων απαντων ὑπο κυριυ——αρχην ἡμερας ογδοης, ὁ εστιν αλλη κοσμυ αρχην. Novatis vero cunctis a Domino——octavi diei initium, hoc eſt initium alterius mundi. Sancti Barnab. Epiſt. Cap. 15. Vide etiam Notas Cotelerii, &c.

(4) Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni, renovabitur mundus a Deo, et cœlum complicabitur, et terra mutabitur; et transformabit Deus homines in ſimilitudinem angelorum; et erunt candidi, ſicut nix: et verſabuntur ſemper in conſpectu omnipotentis,

St. Barnabas. Lactantius (4) affirms, that 'when the thouſand years 'ſhall be completed, the world ſhall be renewed by God, and the 'heaven ſhall be folded up, and the earth ſhall be changed; and God 'ſhall transform men into the ſimilitude of angels; and they ſhall be 'white as ſnow, and ſhall be always converſant in the ſight of the Al-'mighty, and ſhall ſacrifice to their Lord, and ſerve him for ever.' St. Auſtin alſo (5) declares, that 'the judgment being finiſhed, then this 'heaven and this earth ſhall ceaſe to be, when the new heaven and the 'new earth ſhall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world 'will paſs away, not by an utter extinction. Whence alſo the apoſtle 'ſays' (1 Cor. VII. 31.) "that the faſhion of this world paſſeth away." And indeed why ſhould the new heaven and the new earth be deſtroyed, when there ſhall be no more ſin, when "there ſhall be no more curſe," when "there ſhall be no more death? The heaven and the earth of "old" (2 Pet. III. 5.) for the wickedneſs of man "periſhed by water:" "The heaven and the earth which are now, are reſerved unto fire "againſt the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men;" but why ſhould not "the new heaven and the new earth" be preſerved, "wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs?"

9 And there came unto me one of the ſeven angels, which had the ſeven vials full of the ſeven laſt plagues, and talked with me, ſaying, Come hither, I will ſhew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the ſpirit to a great and high mountain, and ſhowed me that great city, the holy Jeruſalem, deſcending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a ſtone moſt precious, even like a jaſper-ſtone, clear as cryſtal;

12 And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Iſrael.

tis, et domino ſuo ſacrificabunt, et ſervient in æternum. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

(5) Peracto quippe judicio tunc eſſe deſinet hoc cælum et hæc terra, quando incipiet eſſe cælum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu tranſibit hic mundus. Unde et Apoſtolus ait; *Præterit enim figura hujus mundi.* St. Auguſt. de Civitate Dei. Lib. 19. Cap. 14. p. 447. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antverp.

(6) Præſtet

13 On the eaſt, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the ſouth, three gates; and on the weſt, three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apoſtles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to meaſure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth four-ſquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he meaſured the city with the reed, twelve thouſand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the highth of it are equal.

17 And he meaſured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, according to the meaſure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jaſper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glaſs.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garniſhed with all manner of precious ſtones. The firſt foundation *was* jaſper; the ſecond, ſaphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, ſardonyx; the ſixth, ſardius; the ſeventh, chryſolyth; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chryſopraſus; the eleventh, a jacinct; the twelfth, an amethyſt.

21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every ſeveral gate was of one pearl: and the ſtreet of the city *was* pure gold, as it were tranſparent glaſs.

22 And I ſaw no temple therein: for the Lord God almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the ſun, neither of the moon to ſhine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are ſaved, ſhall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it ſhall not be ſhut at all by day: for there ſhall be no night there.

26 And

26 And they ſhall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there ſhall in no wiſe enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatſoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

A more particular deſcription is afterwards given of the new Jeruſalem. "One of the ſeven angels who had the ſeven vials," (ver. 9.) and moſt probably the ſame angel, who before had ſhowed to St. John (XVII. 1, &c.) the myſtic Babylon and her deſtruction, now ſhoweth by way of contraſt the new Jeruſalem and her glory. For this purpoſe (ver. 10.) "he carrieth him away in the ſpirit to a great and high "mountain;" in the ſame manner as Ezekiel (XL. 2.) "was brought "in the viſions of God, and ſet upon a very high mountain," to ſee the frame of the city and temple: and this deſcription of the new Jeruſalem is an aſſemblage of the ſublimeſt richeſt imagery of Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. "The glory of God," or the divine Shechinah, (ver. 11.) illuminates the city. It hath (ver. 12, 13, 14.) "a wall "great and high," to ſhow its ſtrength and ſecurity; "and twelve "gates" with "angels" for guards, "three on the eaſt, three on the "north, three on the ſouth, and three on the weſt," to ſhow that people of all climates and nations may have acceſs to it. On "the "twelve gates" are written "the names of the twelve tribes of the "children of Iſrael," as on "the twelve foundations" are inſcribed "the names of the twelve apoſtles of the Lamb," to ſignify that the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian church are now united, and (Eph. II. 20.) "built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt "himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone." The angel hath (ver. 15, 16, 17.) a meaſuring reed, as the angel had likewiſe in Ezekiel; (XL. 3.) and the meaſures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of "twelve," the number of the apoſtles. "The city lieth four-"ſquare, the length as large as the breadth," according to the pattern of Jeruſalem in Ezekiel; (XLVIII. 16.) and "the length and breadth "and highth" of the walls and buildings are every where of the ſame beauty, ſtrength, and proportion. It is "built and garniſhed with "gold and all manner of precious ſtones," (ver. 18—21.) as the richeſt

emblems

emblems of eaſtern wealth and magnificence; the ſtones reſembling thoſe on Aaron's breaſt-plate, to denote that the "Urim" and "Thum-"mim," the "light" and "perfection" of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity (ver. 22.) that there is "no temple "therein;" for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. "The glory of God and the Lamb" (ver. 23.) "ſhine in it" with a luſtre ſuperior to the ſun and moon. All they "who are ſaved" (ver. 24—27.) "walk" continually "in the light of it;" for "the gates "are never ſhut," and "no night is there." It is the center of "glory and honor;" all the wicked are excluded, and only good Chriſtians are admitted, "they who are written in the Lamb's book of "life."

CHAP. XXII.

1 AND he ſhowed me a pure river of water of life, clear as cryſtal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2 In the midſt of the ſtreet of it, and of either ſide of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.

3 And there ſhall be no more curſe: but the throne of God and of the Lamb ſhall be in it; and his ſervants ſhall ſerve him.

4 And they ſhall ſee his face; and his name *ſhall be* in their foreheads.

5 And there ſhall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the ſun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they ſhall reign for ever and ever.

The five firſt verſes of this chapter are a continuation of the deſcription of the new Jeruſalem. It is farther deſcribed with "the river of "life," and "the tree of life," as if paradiſe was reſtored and improved.

"A river

(6) Præſtet nobis hanc gratiam Dominus, qui operam aliquam in illius meditatione collocavimus, et aliqua

"A river flowing through the midſt of the ſtreets," and "trees grow-"ing on either ſide of the river" are wonderfully pleaſing and agreeable objects, eſpecially in the hot eaſtern countries. Of the fruits there is ſuch plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all ſeaſons; and the very "leaves are for the healing of the nations;" by all which is ſignified the bleſſedneſs of immortality without any infirmities. Then too "there ſhall be no more curſe," as there is in this preſent world ever ſince the fall of man: but the bleſſed inhabitants ſhall enjoy the ſo much talked of "beatific viſion, ſhall live in the light of God's countenance, and "ſerve him," and "reign for ever "and ever."

6 And he ſaid unto me, Theſe ſayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets ſent his angel to ſhow unto his ſervants the things which muſt ſhortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: bleſſed *is* he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the concluſion the angel (ver. 6, 7.) ratifies and confirms all theſe particulars by a repetition of the ſame ſolemn aſſurance which he had before given, (XIX. 9. XX. 5.) that "theſe ſayings are faithful and "true:" and he was commiſſioned by the ſame God, who had inſpired the ancient prophets, "to ſhow the things which muſt ſhortly "be done," which would very ſoon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in proceſs of time would all be completed. "Behold, I come quickly," ſaith he; for we may obſerve that the angel ſpeaketh ſometimes in his own perſon, and ſometimes in the perſon and character of Chriſt, whoſe embaſſador and repreſentative he was. Chriſt is ſaid to "come" upon any notable and illuſtrious manifeſtation of his providence; and all theſe are but ſo many ſteps to prepare the way for his laſt coming to judgment. A bleſſing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, (I. 3.) upon thoſe who "keep the ſayings of the prophecy of this book:" and as good Vitringa (6) devoutly wiſheth, May the Lord beſtow this grace and favor on us, who have employed ſome time and pains in the ſtudy

aliqua etiam nobis hujus *beatitatis* pars obtingat. Vitring. p. 909.

(7) Sir

ſtudy and explication of this "book," that ſome part of this "bleſſing" alſo may deſcend to us!

8 And I John ſaw theſe things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and ſeen, I fell down to worſhip before the feet of the angel, which ſhowed me theſe things.

9 Then ſaith he unto me, See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellow-ſervant and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the ſayings of this book: worſhip God.

10 And he ſaith unto me, Seal not the ſayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjuſt, let him be unjuſt ſtill: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous ſtill: and he that is holy, let him be holy ſtill.

12 And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work ſhall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the firſt and the laſt.

14 Bleſſed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without *are* dogs, and ſorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whoſoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jeſus have ſent mine angel to teſtify unto you theſe things in the churches. I am the root and the offſpring of David, *and* the bright and morning ſtar.

17 And the ſpirit and the bride ſay, Come. And let him that heareth ſay, Come. And let him that is athirſt, come: And whoſoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18 For I teſtify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man ſhall add unto theſe things, God ſhall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man ſhall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.

20 He

20 He which teſtifieth theſe things ſaith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even ſo, Come, Lord Jeſus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt *be* with you all. Amen.

St. John (ver. 8, 9.) teſtifieth himſelf to be the perſon who "ſaw and "heard theſe things:" and in his extaſy falling into the ſame miſtake that he had committed before, (XIX. 10.) he is gently corrected in the ſame manner by the angel: Who ordereth him (ver. 10.) "not to ſeal "up this prophecy," as Daniel's was, (XII. 4, 9.) "for the time is at "hand," ſome of the particulars would very ſoon be accompliſhed, as indeed all would in their due ſeaſon and order: Which he farther enforceth (ver. 11—15.) with promiſes and threatnings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought ſufficient to repreſent the angel ſpeaking in the perſon of Chriſt, but Chriſt himſelf alſo is introduced (ver. 16.) ſpeaking in his own perſon, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and atteſting it to be properly his revelation. "The ſpirit and the bride," (ver. 17.) that is, "the ſpiritual bride," the true church of Chriſt, therefore receives it, and ardently wiſheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a ſolemn adjuration is added by Chriſt himſelf, that no man preſume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it, (ver. 18, 19.) "For I teſtify unto every man "that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man ſhall "add unto theſe things, God ſhall add unto him the plagues that are "written in this book: And if any man ſhall take away from the "words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall take away his part "out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things "which are written in this book:" Which ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered by all viſionaries and enthuſiaſts on the one hand, who boaſt their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all ſceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of theſe predictions. "He who teſtifieth theſe things, ſaith, Surely I come quickly;" (ver. 20.) he not only atteſteth them to be true, but will alſo come ſpeedily to accompliſh them: to which St. John anſwers, and in him the whole church, "Amen; Even ſo, Come, Lord Jeſus." He cloſeth all with the uſual apoſtolical benediction (ver. 21.) wiſhing "the grace

" of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt" to the churches of Aſia in particular, and to all Chriſtians in general. The concluſion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave theſe things with a ſtronger impreſſion upon the mind of the readers. In the whole, from firſt to laſt, appears the majeſty of the divine revealer, " the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end, the author and " finiſher" of every good work, and of this more eſpecially.

This, as (Sir Iſaac Newton (7) hath hinted, and as Dr. Warburton hath fully proved in ſome diſcourſes, which it is hoped will be printed one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that " ſure word of " prophecy, whereunto" Chriſtians as St. Peter ſaith, " do well to " take heed" and attend. St. Peter (2 Pet. I. 16, &c.) is aſſerting and eſtabliſhing the truth of Chriſt's ſecond coming in power and great glory. " For we have not followed cunning deviſed fables, when we " made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his majeſty." One illuſtrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majeſty at his transfiguration. (ver. 17, 18.) " For he received from " God the Father honor and glory, when there came ſuch a voice to " him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I " am well pleaſed. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, " when we were with him in the holy mount." His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner: and that he not only may, but will, we have the farther aſſurance of prophecy. (ver. 19.) " We have alſo a more ſure word of " prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light " that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar " ariſe in your hearts." St. Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the ſecond coming of Chriſt, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Chriſt's ſecond coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, (I. 7.) " Behold, he cometh with clouds: " and every eye ſhall ſee him." With this it alſo concludes, (XXII. 20.) " He who teſtifieth theſe things, ſaith, Surely I come quickly." Nothing

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 240. The Biſhop hath ſince publiſhed a diſcourſe upon this ſubject in the third vol. of his

thing can better anſwer the character of the Revelation, eſpecially in St. Peter's time when as yet ſcarce any part of it was fulfilled, than "a light ſhining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-"ſtar ariſe in your hearts." It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is underſtood. Afterwards St. Peter proceeds, in the ſecond chapter, to deſcribe, out of this "ſure word of prophecy," the falſe prophets and falſe teachers, who ſhould infeſt the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Chriſt's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the preſent heavens and earth, and the ſtructure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St. Peter as well as of the writer St. John: and a double bleſſing, as we have ſeen in the book itſelf, is pronounced upon thoſe who ſhall ſtudy and obſerve it; firſt in the beginning, (I. 3.) "Bleſſed is he that readeth, and "they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things, "which are written therein;" and here again in the end, (XXII. 7.) "Bleſſed is he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this book." Emboldened by which bleſſings I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, (Nehem. XIII. 22.) "Remember me, O my God, concerning this alſo, "and ſpare me according to the greatneſs of thy mercy."

XXVI.

Recapitulation of the Prophecies relating to Popery.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greateſt, the moſt eſſential, and the moſt ſtriking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other paſſages, yet here the application is

 obvious

his ſermons; but his ſecond lecturer (Dr. Hallifax) contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St. Peter in the reign of Domitian.

(1) Sir

obvious and eaſy. Popery being the great corruption of Chriſtianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almoſt any other diſtant event. It is a great object of Daniel's, and the principal object of St. Paul's, as well as of St. John's prophecies; and theſe, conſidered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that ſuch a power as that of the pope ſhould be exerciſed in the Chriſtian church, and ſhould authorize and eſtabliſh ſuch doctrins and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that ſuch a power ſhould be exerciſed, but the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out, where and by whom it ſhould be exerciſed. Beſides the place and the perſons, the time alſo is ſignified when it ſhould prevail, and how long it ſhould prevail; and at laſt upon the expiration of this term it ſhall be deſtroyed for evermore. It is thought proper to repreſent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that like the rays of the ſun collected in a glaſs, they may appear with the greater luſtre, and have the ſtronger effect.

I. I ſay, the Spirit of prophecy hath ſignified beforehand, that there ſhould be ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome uſurped in the Chriſtian world: and theſe predictions are ſo plain and expreſs, that, was not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might ſeem to be penned after the event, and to deſcribe things paſt rather than to foretel things to come. For inſtance. Hath there now for many ages ſubſiſted, and doth there ſtill ſubſiſt a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blaſphemous power, in pretence Chriſtian, but in reality Antichriſtian? It is the very ſame power that is portrayed in "the little horn" and "the blaſphemous king" by Daniel, "in the man of ſin the ſon of "perdition" by St. Paul, and "in the ten-horned beaſt" and "the two-"horned beaſt" or "the falſe prophet" by St. John.—Hath the church apoſtatized or departed greatly from the purity of Chriſtian faith and worſhip? It is the very ſame thing that St. Paul hath foretold, (2 Theſ. II. 3.) "The day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there "come a falling away" or the apoſtaſy "firſt:" and he ſaith moreover in another place, (1 Tim. IV. 1.) that the Spirit of prophecy (meaning in Daniel) had in expreſs words teſtified the ſame thing before, "Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall

"depart

" depart from the faith," or rather " apoſtatize from the faith :" and St John foreſaw the church ſo far degenerated as to become (Rev. XVII. 5.) " the mother of harlots," or whoredoms, " and abo-
" minations of the earth."—Doth this apoſtaſy conſiſt chiefly in the worſhipping of " demons," angels and departed ſaints, and in honoring them with coſtly ſhrines and rich offerings, inſtead of the worſhip of " the one true God" thro' " the one true mediator between God and " men, the man Chriſt Jeſus?" Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St. Paul, (1 Tim. IV. 1.) " Some ſhall apoſtatize from the " faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrins concerning " demons;" and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blaſphemous king (XI. 38.) " in his eſtate ſhall honor Mahuzzim," Gods protectors or ſaints protectors, " and a god whom his fathers knew not, ſhall " he honor with gold, and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and plea-
" ſant things."—Is the ſame church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious alſo for injoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a ſingle life? doth ſhe make a vain diſtinction of meats, and command and inſtitute certain times and days of faſting, wherein to taſte fleſh is judged a mortal ſin? Nothing can more fully accompliſh the prediction of Daniel, (XI. 37.) that the blaſphemous king, who ſhall worſhip Mahuzzim, ſhall alſo " not regard " the deſire of wives;" and the prediction of St. Paul, (1 Tim. IV. 3.) that thoſe who ſhall apoſtatize from the faith by worſhipping of demons, ſhall no leſs diſtinguiſh themſelves by " forbidding to marry, and com-
" manding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be re-
" ceived with thankſgiving of them who believe and know the truth."
—Doth the pope make himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honors; in aſſuming a power of diſpenſing with the immutable laws of nature and the goſpel; in ſubſtituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footſtool, and in that poſture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, (VII. 25.) that the little horn " ſhall ſpeak " great words againſt the moſt High, and think to change times and " laws;" and (XI. 36.) " the king ſhall do according to his will, and " he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every god, and

" ſpeak

" ſpeak marvelous things againſt the God of gods :" and in like manner by St. Paul, (2 Theſ. II. 3, 4.) " The man of ſin ſhall be revealed, " the ſon of perdition ; Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all " that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he as God ſitteth in " the temple of God, ſhowing himſelf that he is God."—Have the biſhops of Rome extended their authority and juriſdiction over ſeveral countries and nations? have they uſurped a ſupremacy over all other biſhops? have they partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire aſcendency over Chriſtian princes ; ſo as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their intereſt, and ready upon all occaſions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets ; by Daniel when he ſaid (VII. 20.) that the little horn " had a mouth ſpeaking very great things, and a " look more ſtout than his fellows ;" and by St. John when he ſaid (XIII. 7.) that " power was given unto the beaſt over all kindreds, " and tongues, and nations ;" and (XVII. 2.) " the kings of the earth " have committed fornication," or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and (XVII. 13.) " have one mind, and ſhall give their power and " ſtrength unto the beaſt."—Hath the church of Rome inlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and ſecular, given them an almoſt abſolute authority over the purſes and conſciences of men, enriched them with ſumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choiceſt of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel ſpeaking of the blaſphemous king, as the paſſage ſhould be tranſlated ; (XI. 39.) " Thus ſhall he do ; to the defend- " ers of Mahuzzim, together with the ſtrange God whom he ſhall " acknowlege, he ſhall multiply honor, and he ſhall cauſe them to rule " over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain."—Is the church of Rome diſtinguiſhed above all churches by purple and ſcarlet color, by the richneſs and ſplendor of her veſtments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and oſtentation to join in her communion? This was particularly ſpecified by St. John ſpeaking of the myſtic whore of Babylon or the corrupted church, (XVII. 4.) " And the woman was arrayed in pur- " ple and ſcarlet color, and decked with gold and precious ſtone and " pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and

" filthineſs

" filthineſs of her fornication."---Have the biſhops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable for their policy? have they not ſcrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reſervation in oaths and promiſes, and with the appearance of " lambs," in meekneſs and ſanctity, acted like " ravening wolves," with fury and violence? Daniel hath given the ſame character of the little horn, (VII. 8.) " Behold, in this horn " were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things;" and St. Paul of the apoſtates in the latter times, (1 Tim. IV. 2.) " Speaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with a hot " iron;" and St. John of the two horned " beaſt," (XIII. 11.) " And " I beheld another beaſt coming up out of the earth, and he had two " horns like a lamb, and he ſpake as a dragon."——Doth the church of Rome boaſt of viſions and revelations, and make a ſhow of miracles in atteſtation of her doctrins? do her legends contain as many ſpurious and pretended wonders, as the ſcriptures do genuin and real? From St. Paul we learn, (2 Theſ. II. 9, 10.) that " the coming" of the man of ſin " is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and " lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs;" and from St. John, (XIII. 13, 14.) that the falſe prophet " doeth great " wonders in the ſight of men, and deceiveth them who dwell on the " earth by the means of thoſe miracles which he hath power to do."---Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourſes of life? So the falſe prophet in St. John (XIII. 16, 17.) " cauſeth all, both ſmall and great, rich and " poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in " their foreheads; and that no man might buy or ſell, ſave he that had " the mark of the beaſt."---Have the Roman pontiffs occaſioned the ſhedding of as much or more Chriſtian blood than the Roman emperors themſelves? have they all along maintained their ſpiritual ſovranty by ſecret plots and inquiſitions, by open dragoonings and maſſacres, and impriſoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worſhippers of God, and the faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt? This particular, as well as all the reſt, exactly anſwers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, (VII. 21, 25.) that he " ſhall make war with the ſaints, and ſhall prevail againſt them;

" ſhall

" ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear out the " ſaints of the moſt High:" and the woman in the Revelation, " Ba- " bylon the great, the mother of harlots," (XVII. 6.) is repreſented as " drunken with the blood of the ſaints, and with the blood of the " martyrs of Jeſus," and (XVIII. 24.) " in her was found the blood of " prophets, and of ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth."

Beſides theſe plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are ſeveral ſecret glances at them, ſeveral oblique intendments and intimations of them.—" Known " unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world:" (Acts XV. 18.) and when the holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in ſuch a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther view to this laſt and moſt tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the reſt, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and ſeveral of them have been applied accordingly by St. John. Jeremiah ſaid concerning ancient Babylon, (LI. 7, 45.) " Baby- " lon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the " earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the " nations are mad: My people, go ye out of the midſt of her, and " deliver ye every man his ſoul from the fierce anger of the Lord:" But how much more applicable are theſe expreſſions, as St. John hath applied them, to myſtic Babylon or Rome? (XVII. 4. XVIII. 3, 4.) She hath " a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations: All na- " tions have drunk of the poiſonous wine of her fornication: Come " out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and " that ye receive not of her plagues." The prophets themſelves might not underſtand this myſtical, and ſaw perhaps no farther than the litteral meaning; but they " ſpake as they were moved by the holy " Ghoſt," (2 Pet. I. 21.) who comprehends all events, the moſt remote as well as the moſt immediate.—But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Teſtament. Why was our bleſſed Saviour ſo very cautious in giving honor to the Virgin Mary, that he ſeemed to regard her leſs than the leaſt of his diſciples? (Matt. XII. 48.) " Who is my mother?"

(John

(John II. 4.) " Woman, what have I to do with thee?" (Luke XI. 27, 28.) " Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather bleſſed are they " who hear the word of God, and keep it." Why did he rebuke St. Peter more ſeverely than any other of the apoſtles, (Matt. XVI. 23.) " Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offenſe unto me, for thou " ſavoreſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men;" and eſpecially juſt after giving him that high encomium (ver. 18.) " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?" May we not reaſonably preſume that he ſpake and acted thus, as foreſeeing that divine worſhip which would idolatrouſly be paid to the one, that ſupremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance?——How came it to paſs that our Saviour in inſtituting his holy ſupper (Matt. XXVI. 26, 27.) ſaid of the bread, only " Take, eat," but of the cup more particularly, " Drink ye all of it?" May we not probably ſuppoſe that it was deſigned to prevent or obviate their ſacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *prieſts only* drink of the cup?—Why were the vices of the Scribes and Phariſees left ſo particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural iſſue and deſcendents, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d Chapter of St. Matthew, and you will find that there is not a ſingle woe denounced againſt the former, but as properly belongs, and is as ſtrictly applicable to the latter. " Binding " heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on mens " ſhoulders; doing all their works for to be ſeen of men; ſhutting up " the kingdom of heaven againſt men, neither going in themſelves, " neither ſuffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows " houſes, and for a pretence making long prayers; compaſſing ſea and " land to make one proſelyte, and when he is made, making him two- " fold more the child of hell than themſelves;" making uſeleſs and frivolous diſtinctions of oaths; obſerving poſitive duties, and " omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and " faith; making clean the outſide, but within being full of extortion " and exceſs; outwardly appearing righteous unto men, but within " being full of hypocriſy and iniquity; building the tombs of the " prophets, and garniſhing the ſepulchres of the righteous," honoring

the dead ſaints, and at the ſame time perſecuting the living; are as ſtrong marks and characters of the one ſect as they were of the other.—Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to men, (Matt. XXIII. 9.) "Call no man your Father upon the earth, for one is your Father "which is in heaven;" forbidding the worſhip of angels, (Col. II. 18.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, "and worſhipping of angels;" forbidding all pretences to works of merit and ſupererogation, (Luke XVII. 10.) "When ye ſhall have "done all thoſe things which are commanded you, ſay, We are unpro-"fitable ſervants, we have done that which was our duty to do;" forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, (1 Pet. IV. 3.) "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being enſamples to "the flock;" forbidding the ſervice of God in an unknown tongue, as St. Paul hath done at large in the 14th Chap. of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: Do not all theſe and ſuch like prohibitions, I ſay, neceſſarily ſuppoſe and imply, that one time or other theſe particular errors and abuſes would creep into the church? and in what church they are publicly taught and practiſed, no man can be inſenſible. Such texts of ſcripture are as much *predictions* that theſe things *would be*, as they are *arguments* that they *ſhould not be*. For laws divine and human are not leveled againſt chimerical and mere imaginary vices, ſuch as never are, never will be brought into practice; but are enacted by reaſon of thoſe enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wiſely foreſeeing are therefore willing to prevent.—Why doth St. Paul admoniſh the Romans particularly to beware of apoſtaſy? (Rom. XI. 20, 22.) "Be not high-minded, but "fear;—otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off. Surely this is a ſtrange way of addreſſing the Romans, if the church of Rome was deſigned to be the infallible judge of controverſies, the center of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St. Peter and St. Jude have drawn of falſe teachers, and conſider whom it moſt reſembles in all its features. (2 Pet. II. 1. &c.) "But there were falſe prophets "alſo among the people, even as there ſhall be falſe teachers among "you, who privily ſhall bring in damnable hereſies, even denying the "Lord that bought them; And many ſhall follow their pernicious "ways, by reaſon of whom the way of truth ſhall be evil ſpoken of;

"And

" And through covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned words make mer-
" chandize of you, &c." (Jude 4. &c.) " Ungodly men, turning
" the grace of our God into laſciviouſneſs, and denying the only Lord
" God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; Theſe filthy dreamers defile the
" fleſh, deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities; Theſe be they
" who ſeparate themſelves, ſenſual, having not the ſpirit; &c."——
What St. Paul hath predicted concerning the corruption of the laſt days, is too much the character of all ſects of Chriſtians, but the application more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome. (2 Tim. III. 1, &c.) " This know alſo, that in the laſt days perilous
" times ſhall come: For men ſhall be lovers of their own ſelves, cove-
" tous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthank-
" ful, unholy; Without natural affection, truce-breakers, falſe accu-
" ſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good; Traitors,
" heady, high-minded, lovers of pleaſure more than lovers of God;
" Having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power thereof.——
Such are the direct prophecies, and ſuch the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are ſo plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome ſhould be exerciſed in the Chriſtian world; but to prevent any miſtake in the application of theſe prophecies, the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out, where and by whom it ſhould be exerciſed. The prophet Daniel (Chap. VII.) hath deſcribed " four
" beaſts" or " four kingdoms:" and out of the fourth beaſt or kingdom, he ſaith, ſhall ariſe " ten horns" or " ten kings" or " king-
" doms;" and " among them" or " after them ſhall come up another
" little horn; and he ſhall be divers from the reſt;" and he ſhall have
" eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things, and
" a look more ſtout than his fellows; and he ſhall ſubdue and pluck
" up by the roots three of the firſt horns" or " kings; and ſhall ſpeak
" great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear out the ſaints of
" the moſt High, and think to change times and laws." Daniel's firſt kingdom is the Babylonian, the ſecond is the Perſian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its diſſolution, was divided into

" ten kings" or " kingdoms." It is in the weſtern or Latin empire that theſe ten kings or kingdoms are to be ſought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beaſt, the Greek or eaſtern empire belonged to the body of the third beaſt: and out of the weſtern Roman empire, by the incurſions of the northern nations, aroſe " ten " kings" or " kingdoms;" of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat them here. Now who is " the little horn" that was to ſpring up among theſe or after theſe; who as a politico-eccleſiaſtical power *differeth* from the other ten powers; who " hath " eyes like the eyes of a man," that is (1) is *a ſeer*, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſays, επισκοπος or biſhop in the litteral ſenſe of the word; who " hath " a mouth ſpeaking great things," bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who " hath a look more ſtout than his fellows," aſſuming a ſupremacy not only over other biſhops, but even a ſuperiority over kings and emperors themſelves; who " hath pluckt up by " the roots three of the firſt horns," the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the ſtate of Rome, and is diſtinguiſhed by *the triple crown*; who " ſpeaketh great words againſt the moſt " High," ſetting up himſelf above all laws divine as well as human; who " weareth out the ſaints of the moſt High," by wars and maſſacres, inquiſitions and perſecutions; who " changeth times and laws," inſtituting new religions, and teaching for doctrins the commandments of men; are queſtions which I think cannot admit of much diſpute; there is only one perſon in the world who can fully anſwer all theſe characters.

The blaſphemous king deſcribed in the 11th Chapter of Daniel, (ver. 36—39.) who " ſhall do according to his will, and ſhall exalt " himſelf and magnify himſelf above every god, and ſhall ſpeak mar- " velous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the in- " dignation be accompliſhed," who " ſhall not regard the God of his " fathers, nor the deſire of wives, but in his eſtate ſhall honor Mahuz- " zim, and the defenders of Mahuzzim ſhall increaſe with glory, and " ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for " gain;" is indeed a more general character comprehending the tyran-nical

(1) Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 75.

(2) Iren.

nical and corrupt power of the eaſtern church as well of the weſtern. But when we conſider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the ſupremacy, which was firſt claimed by the patriarch of Conſtantinople, hath been fully eſtabliſhed in the biſhop of Rome; how much more abſolute the "will" of the Roman pontiff hath been that of the Byzantine emperor; how the pope hath "exalted himſelf and magnified himſelf" as a god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the "religion" of their "fathers" than the Greeks; how "the deſire of ſingle life *and* the wor-"ſhip of the dead," which firſt began in the eaſtern parts, have been carried to the greateſt highth in the weſtern empire; how much the juriſdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded thoſe of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppreſſed for ſeveral centuries, the Roman hath ſtill "proſpered," and in all probability ſtill may "proſper till God's indignation" againſt the Jews "be accompliſhed;" in ſhort when we conſider, how entirely this character agrees with that of "the little horn," and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the biſhop of Rome may well be juſtified, eſpecially ſince St. Paul himſelf hath applied it in the ſame manner.

St. Paul hath drawn "the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition," (2 Theſ. II.) an exact copy and reſemblance of "the little horn" and "the blaſphemous king" in Daniel: and this "man of ſin" muſt neceſſarily be a *Chriſtian*, and not a *Heathen* or *infidel* power, becauſe he is repreſented as God "ſitting in the temple of God." He is deſcribed too as the head of "the apoſtaſy" or "the falling away" from the faith; and this "apoſtaſy" is afterwards (1 Tim. IV. 1.) defined by St. Paul to conſiſt in "worſhipping of demons," angels and deceaſed ſaints: and no man ſurely can have any reaſon to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apoſtaſy, the patron and authorizer of this worſhip. The apoſtle had communicated to the Theſſalonians what it was that hindered his appearing. (ver. 5, 6.) "Remember ye not that when I was "yet with you, I told you theſe things? And now ye know what "withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time." What this was the apoſtle hath no where expreſly informed us; but if tradition may be depended

depended upon in any caſe, it may certainly in this. For it is the conſtant and current tradition of the fathers, that "what withholdeth" is *the Roman empire:* and therefore the primitive Chriſtians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire ſhould be broken into pieces, the empire of "the man of ſin" would be raiſed on its ruins. They made no queſtion, they were fully perſuaded, that the ſucceſſor to the Roman emperor in Rome would be "the man of ſin:" and who hath ſucceeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determin.

St. John too hath copied after Daniel, and (Chap. XIII.) exhibits the Roman empire under the ſame emblem of "a beaſt with ten horns." It is evident that he deſigned the ſame as Daniel's fourth or laſt beaſt, becauſe he repreſents him as a compoſition of the three former, with "the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion." He deſcribes him too with the qualities and properties of "the little "horn," ſpeaking the ſame blaſphemies, acting the ſame cruelties: and having plainly ſeen what power was intended by the one, we have the leſs reaſon to heſitate about the other. But to diſtinguiſh him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be "ſix hundred and "ſixty ſix." It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number muſt be reſolvable into ſome Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from (2) Irenæus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was a diſciple of a diſciple of this apoſtle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name *Lateinos* or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St. John hath ſometimes made uſe of Hebrew names, it is no leſs remarkable that this number comprehends alſo the Hebrew name *Romiith* or the Roman empire. For more clearneſs and ſureneſs ſtill, a woman is ſhown (Chap. XVII.) riding upon this ſame beaſt, and her name is "Babylon the great;" but Babylon was deſtroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The ſeven heads of the beaſt are likewiſe explained to be "ſeven mountains on "which the woman ſitteth," which all the world know to be the ſituation of Rome. The woman herſelf is alſo declared "to be that "great

(2) Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

(3) See

" great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;" and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papiſts themſelves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be ſaid of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be ſaid of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be; becauſe it agrees not with ſeveral circumſtances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's ſitting upon the beaſt with " ten horns, " and upon his horns ten crowns," which muſt needs typify the Roman empire, after it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms till ſome years after it became Chriſtian. St. John with the eyes of prophecy ſaw this beaſt " riſe " up out of the ſea," and the angel in his expoſition ſaith that he " ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit;" but Heathen Rome had riſen and floriſhed many years before this time. This beaſt cannot repreſent Heathen Rome becauſe he is ſucceſſor to Heathen Rome, to " the great red dragon" in " his power, and his ſeat, and great au- " thority." This beaſt was to continue and proſper " forty two" prophetic " months," that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is repreſented " as the " mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabiters " of the earth;" but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and ſuperſtitions than an exporter to other nations. St. John " wondered with great admi- " ration," when " he ſaw the woman drunken with the blood of the " ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus;" but wherefore ſhould he, who had ſeen and ſuffered the perſecutions under Nero, wonder ſo much that Heathens ſhould perſecute Chriſtians; but that Chriſtians ſhould delight in ſhedding the blood of Chriſtians, was indeed of all wonders the greateſt. The woman rideth upon the beaſt under " his ſeventh head" or laſt form of government; but " the ſixth head," which was the imperial form of government, is ſaid to be ſubſiſting in St. John's time, and " the ſixth" was not deſtroyed, and the " ſeventh" or laſt form did not take place, till after Rome was become Chriſtian. The ten kings " with one mind give their power and ſtrength unto the " beaſt," and afterwards " hate the whore and make her deſolate, and " burn her with fire;" but never did any ten kings unanimouſly and voluntarily ſubmit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire.

fire. Rome according to the prophecies is to be "utterly burnt with "fire," and to be made "a deſolation for ever and ever:" but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and conſequently Heathen Rome cannot be the ſubject of theſe prophecies. In ſhort from theſe and all other characters and circumſtances, ſome whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Chriſtian Rome, it may and muſt be concluded, that not Heathen but Chriſtian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended in theſe viſions.

III. Beſides the place and the perſons, the "time" alſo is ſignified of this tyrannical power, when it ſhould prevail, and how long it ſhould prevail. Daniel mentions theſe things as being at a very great diſtance, and indeed they were at a very great diſtance in his time. It is ſaid (VIII. 26. X. 14.) "the viſion is yet for many days;" that it comprehends (VIII. 29.) "what ſhall be in the laſt end of the indignation;" that it extends (XI. 35, 40. XII. 4, 9.) "even to the time of the end;" that "when" God (XII. 7.) "ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the "power of the holy people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed:" all which and other paſſages to the ſame purpoſe conſidered, it appears as unaccountable as ſtrange, that ever any men ſhould imagin, as ſome both ancients and modern have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath deſcribed four great empires, not contemporary, but ſucceſſive one to another. The fourth and laſt is repreſented as the greateſt of all, both in extent and in duration. "It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, "and breaketh it in pieces." After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and "the little horn" groweth not up till after this diviſion. So that this tyrannical power was to ariſe in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it ſhould be divided into ten kingdoms. From St. Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of "the man of ſin;" but when that power ſhould be diminiſhed and "taken out of the way," then ſhould "the man of ſin be revealed in his time." St. John alſo refers theſe events to the ſame æra. Not only the general order and the whole ſeries of his prophecies point to this time, but there are beſides particular intimations of it. He deſcribes "the beaſt" as ſucceſſor to "the great red dragon," in "his power, and his ſeat, and great au-

"thority:"

" thority :" but if " the great red dragon be," as he is generally underſtood to be, the perſecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the perſecuting power of Heathen Rome muſt be removed, before " the beaſt" can take his place. The beaſt hath alſo " ten horns, and upon his " horns ten crowns ;" ſo that ten complete kingdoms muſt ariſe out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beaſt. Of his " ſeven " heads" it is ſaid, " Five are fallen," that is in St. John's time five forms of government were paſt, " one is and the other is not yet come," and the ſixth which was then preſent being the imperial, it neceſſarily follows that the ſeventh or laſt muſt be ſome form of government which muſt ariſe after the imperial ; and as St. John ſaw the one, we ſee the other.

It appears then that this Antichriſtian power was to ariſe in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end ſhould be put to the imperial power, and after the empire ſhould be divided into ten kingdoms : and it is not only foretold *when* it ſhould prevail, but moreover *how long* it ſhould prevail. Here we cannot but obſerve, that the very ſame period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St. John. Wonderful is the conſent and harmony between theſe inſpired writers, as in other circumſtances of the prophecy, ſo particularly in this. In Daniel (VII. 25.) " the little horn" was to " wear out " the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change times and laws ;" and it is ſaid expreſly, that they " ſhould be given into his hand, until " a time, and times, and the dividing of time ;" or as the ſame thing is expreſſed in another place, (XII. 7.) " for a time, times, and a half." In the Revelation it is ſaid of " the beaſt," (XIII. 5.) to whom in like manner " it was given to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome " them," that " power" alſo " was given unto him to continue forty " and two months :" And " the holy city" (XI. 2.) " the Gentiles " ſhould tread under foot forty and two months :" And " the two " witneſſes" (ver. 3.) " ſhould propheſy a thouſand two hundred and " threeſcore days cloathed in ſackcloth :" And the woman the true church of Chriſt, who fled into the wilderneſs from perſecution, (XII. 6, 14.) ſhould be fed and nouriſhed there " a thouſand two " hundred and threeſcore days," or as it is otherwiſe expreſſed in the ſame chapter, " for a time, and times, and half a time." Now all

theſe numbers you will find upon computation to be the ſame, and each of them to ſignify 1260 years. For *a time is a year*, and *a time and times and the dividing of time* or *half a time* are *three years and a half*, and *three years and a half* are 42 *months*, and 42 *months* are 1260 *days*, and 1260 *days* in the prophetic ſtile are 1260 *years*. From all theſe dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the churches great affliction and of the reign of Antichriſt will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when theſe 1260 years begin, and conſequently when they will end, is a matter of ſome niceneſs and difficulty; and perhaps we muſt ſee their concluſion, before we can preciſely aſcertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great miſtake of ſome very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's ſcheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into ſubſequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichriſt had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, theſe 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of theſe corruptions, from the *riſe* of this tyranny, for "the myſtery of iniquity began to work" even in the days of the apoſtles; but from their full growth and eſtabliſhment in the world. Of "the little horn," who was "to wear out "the ſaints of the moſt High, and to change times and laws," it is ſaid that "they ſhould be given into his hand," which can imply no leſs than the moſt abſolute power and authority over them, "until a time, "and times, and the dividing of time." In like manner "the holy "city," the true church of Chriſt, was to be "trodden under foot," which is the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection; "the two witneſſes" were not only to "propheſy," but to "propheſy in ſackcloth," that is in mourning and affliction; "the woman," the church, was to abide in "the "wilderneſs," that is in a forlorn and deſolate condition; and "power "was given to the beaſt" ποιησαι, not merely *to continue* as it is tranſlated, but *to practiſe* and *proſper*, and *to do* according to his will; and all for this ſame period of 1260 years. Theſe 1260 years therefore

(3) See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c, &c.

(4) Ita

therefore of the reign of Antichriſt are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed conſiſtent with the truth of hiſtory either ſooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the (3) year 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and ſhook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himſelf, and thenceforwards acted as an abſolute temporal prince. In the year 774 the pope by the aſſiſtance of Charles the great became poſſeſſed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worſhip of images was fully eſtabliſhed, and the ſupremacy of the pope acknowleged by the ſecond council of Nice. From one or other of theſe tranſactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated. What appears to be moſt probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as (4) Sigonius ſays) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.* Hereby he became in ſome meaſure a "horn" or temporal prince, though his power was not fully eſtabliſhed till ſome years afterwards: and before he was a "horn" at all, he could not anſwer the character of "the little horn." If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Chriſt; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Chriſtians, and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and "there remaineth," according to the words of the apoſtle, (Hebr. IV. 9.) "a ſabbatiſm" or "holy reſt to the people of "God."

IV. What Daniel hath deſcribed under the character of "the little "horn," and "the blaſphemous king;" what St. Paul hath deſcribed under the character of "the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition;" what St. John hath deſcribed under the character of "the beaſt," and "the "falſe prophet;" that ſame tyrannical, idolatrous, and blaſphemous

(4) Ita Roma, Romanuſque Ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontificem—pervenit. Sigon. Hiſt. de Regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ad Ann. 727.

(5) See

theſe numbers you will find upon computation to be the ſame, and each of them to ſignify 1260 years. For *a time is a year*, and *a time and times and the dividing of time* or *half a time* are *three years and a half*, and *three years and a half* are 42 *months*, and 42 *months* are 1260 *days*, and 1260 *days* in the prophetic ſtile are 1260 *years*. From all theſe dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the churches great affliction and of the reign of Antichriſt will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when theſe 1260 years begin, and conſequently when they will end, is a matter of ſome niceneſs and difficulty; and perhaps we muſt ſee their concluſion, before we can preciſely aſcertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great miſtake of ſome very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's ſcheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into ſubſequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichriſt had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, theſe 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of theſe corruptions, from the *riſe* of this tyranny, for "the myſtery of iniquity began to work" even in the days of the apoſtles; but from their full growth and eſtabliſhment in the world. Of "the little horn," who was "to wear out "the ſaints of the moſt High, and to change times and laws," it is ſaid that "they ſhould be given into his hand," which can imply no leſs than the moſt abſolute power and authority over them, "until a time, "and times, and the dividing of time." In like manner "the holy "city," the true church of Chriſt, was to be "trodden under foot," which is the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection; "the two witneſſes" were not only to "propheſy," but to "propheſy in ſackcloth," that is in mourning and affliction; "the woman," the church, was to abide in "the "wilderneſs," that is in a forlorn and deſolate condition; and "power "was given to the beaſt" ποιησαι, not merely *to continue* as it is tranſlated, but *to practiſe* and *proſper*, and *to do* according to his will; and all for this ſame period of 1260 years. Theſe 1260 years therefore

(3) See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c, &c.

(4) Ita

therefore of the reign of Antichriſt are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed conſiſtent with the truth of hiſtory either ſooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the (3) year 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and ſhook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himſelf, and thenceforwards acted as an abſolute temporal prince. In the year 774 the pope by the aſſiſtance of Charles the great became poſſeſſed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worſhip of images was fully eſtabliſhed, and the ſupremacy of the pope acknowleged by the ſecond council of Nice. From one or other of theſe tranſactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated. What appears to be moſt probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as (4) Sigonius ſays) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.* Hereby he became in ſome meaſure a "horn" or temporal prince, though his power was not fully eſtabliſhed till ſome years afterwards: and before he was a "horn" at all, he could not anſwer the character of "the little horn." If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Chriſt; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Chriſtians, and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and "there remaineth," according to the words of the apoſtle, (Hebr. IV. 9.) "a ſabbatiſm" or "holy reſt to the people of "God."

IV. What Daniel hath deſcribed under the character of "the little "horn," and "the blaſphemous king;" what St. Paul hath deſcribed under the character of "the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition;" what St. John hath deſcribed under the character of "the beaſt," and "the "falſe prophet;" that ſame tyrannical, idolatrous, and blaſphemous

(4) Ita Roma, Romanuſque Ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontificem—pervenit. Sigon. Hiſt. de Regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ad Ann. 727.

(5) See

power, eccleſiaſtical writers uſually denominate "Antichriſt:" and having thus far traced his character and deſcription, his riſe, progreſs, and continuance, let us now proceed to conſider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years his kingdom ſhall be deſtroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expreſſive of his elevation, than they are of his deſtruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but alſo deſcribe the manner and circumſtances of it: and St. John's account being larger, and more circumſtantial and particular, will be the beſt comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to propheſy, which is the common vanity of expoſitors of the Revelation; I can only repreſent events in the order wherein according to my apprehenſion the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modeſty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and eſpecially in the explication of things yet future. Only thus much it may be proper to premiſe, that having ſeen ſo many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the leſs reaſon to doubt of the completion of thoſe which are to follow.

At this preſent time we are living under "the ſixth trumpet," and "the ſecond woe;" (Rev. XI.) the Othman empire is ſtill ſubſiſting, the beaſt is ſtill reigning, and there are proteſtant witneſſes ſtill propheſying in ſackcloth: and this "ſixth trumpet" and "ſecond woe" muſt end, before the "ſeventh trumpet" can ſound, or "the third woe" be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beaſt. But before the end of "the ſecond woe," it ſhould ſeem that the papiſts will make a great and ſucceſsful effort againſt the proteſtant religion. When the witneſſes "ſhall have near finiſhed their teſtimony," that is towards the concluſion of their 1260 years, "the beaſt ſhall make war againſt them, and "ſhall overcome them." They ſhall lie oppreſſed and "dead" as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they ſhall "riſe "again after three years and a half," and the proteſtant religion ſhall become more glorious than ever, with a conſiderable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St. John hath arranged theſe events, they muſt happen before the end of "the "ſecond woe," or the fall of the Othman empire. Ezekiel (XXXVIII. XXXIX.) and Daniel (XI. 44, 45.) have given ſome intimations, that the Othman empire ſhall be overthrown in oppoſing the ſettlement of Iſrael

in

in their own land in the latter days. In the concluſion of the book of Daniel there are alſo ſome intimations, that the religion of Mohammed ſhall prevail in the eaſt for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the weſt. Very remarkable too it is, that (5) Mohammed firſt contrived his impoſture in the year 606, the very ſame year wherein the tyrant Phocas made a grant of the ſupremacy to the pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichriſt are to be dated from this time. But tho' they might riſe together, yet they were not fully eſtabliſhed together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully eſtabliſhed in the ſeventh century, but that of the pope was not ſo till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was eſtabliſhed ſomewhat ſooner, ſo it may alſo be ſubverted ſomewhat ſooner, than the other. The pope indeed was eſtabliſhed *ſupreme* in ſpirituals in the ſeventh century, but he became not a temporal "horn" or "beaſt" till the eighth century.

When the Othman empire is overthrown, and "the ſecond woe is "paſt," then according to St. John (XI. 14.) "the third woe cometh "quickly," which comprehends all the ſevere and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beaſt. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of "the king of the north" or of the Othman empire, he ſubjoins immediately (XII. 1.) that "there ſhall be a time "of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there was a nation, even to that "ſame time; and at that time thy people ſhall be delivered, every "one that ſhall be found written in the book;" agreeably to which St. John alſo ſaith (XX. 15.) "that whoſoever was not found written "in the book of life, was caſt into the lake of fire." The 1260 years of the reign of the beaſt, I ſuppoſe, end with the 1260 years of the witneſſes propheſying in ſackcloth; and now the deſtined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exiſt before the 1260 years began, ſo he may exiſt likewiſe after they are finiſhed, in order to be made an eminent example of divine juſtice. For the greater confirmation and illuſtration of this ſubject, and to make the ſtronger impreſſion upon the minds of the readers, theſe judgments are diſplayed under variety of figures and repreſentations. Firſt they are

(5) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

(6) See

are deſcribed in a more general manner (Rev. XIV.) as "the harveſt "and reaping of the earth," and as "the vintage and wine-preſs of "the wrath of God." Then they are repreſented in a more particular manner (Rev. XV. XVI.) as "the ſeven vials," or "the ſeven laſt plagues, "for in them is filled up the wrath of God;" which are ſo many ſignal judgments upon the kingdom of the beaſt, and ſo many ſteps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated (Rev. XVII. XVIII.) as of another Babylon; and it is declared that ſhe ſhall be deſtroyed by fire, and her deſtruction ſhall be a complete and total deſtruction, ſuch as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her communion, "ſhall hate" her as much as they loved her, "and burn her with fire." It is farther intimated that ſhe ſhall be ſwallowed up by a ſubterraneous fire, ſhall ſink "like "a great milſtone in the ſea," and "her ſmoke ſhall riſe up for ever "and ever:" and the ſoil and ſituation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favor ſuch a ſuppoſition. As St. John ſaith, (XI. 8.) ſhe "ſpiritually is called Sodom;" and ſhe ſhall reſemble "Sodom" in her puniſhment as well as in her crimes. After the ſubverſion of the capital city, (Rev. XIX.) "the beaſt and the falſe prophet," the powers civil and eccleſiaſtical, with thoſe who ſtill adhere to their party, ſhall make one effort more; but it ſhall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious; they "ſhall both be taken, and caſt alive into a lake of fire "burning with brimſtone." The deſtruction of Antichriſt therefore, of himſelf as well as of his ſeat, ſhall be in a terrible manner "by fire." Daniel aſſerts the ſame thing, (VII. 11.) "I beheld then becauſe of the "voice of the great words which the horn ſpake, I beheld even till the "beaſt was ſlain, and his body deſtroyed, and given to the burning "flame." So likewiſe ſaith St. Paul, (2 Theſ. I. 7, 8.) "The Lord "Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming "fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey "not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:" and more particularly (II. 8.) "The Lord ſhall conſume the wicked one," the man of ſin, "with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him with the bright-"neſs of his coming."

About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Chriſtian Antichriſt, the Jews ſhall turn to the Lord, and be reſtored to their

their own land. Innumerable are the prophecies concerning the converſion and reſtoration of this people. Hear only what Hoſea ſaith, who propheſied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Iſrael, (III. 4, 5.) "The children of Iſrael ſhall abide many days without a king, and "without a prince, and without a ſacrifice, and without an image" or altar, "and without an ephod, and without teraphim" or divine manifeſtations: "Afterward ſhall the children of Iſrael return, and ſeek "the Lord their God, and David their king, and ſhall fear the Lord "and his goodneſs in the latter days." Hear alſo what Ezekiel ſaith, who propheſied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (XXXVII. 21, 25.) "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I "will take the children of Iſrael from among the heathen, whither "they be gone, and will gather them on every ſide, and bring them "into their own land: And they ſhall dwell in the land that I have "given unto Jacob my ſervant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and "they ſhall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their chil-"drens children for ever, and my ſervant David ſhall be their prince "for ever. (XXXIX. 28, 29.) "Then ſhall they know that I am the "Lord their God, who cauſed them to be led into captivity among the "heathen, but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have "left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any "more from them; for I have poured out my ſpirit upon the houſe of "Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God." Ye cannot but remember what St. Paul ſaith upon the ſame occaſion, (Rom. XI. 25.) "I would not, "brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, that blindneſs "in part is happened to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be "come, and ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved." Now theſe and the like predictions, we ſuppoſe, will take effect, and this great revolution be accompliſhed, about the time of the fall of the Othman empire, and of the Chriſtian Antichriſt. Ezekiel's "Gog and Magog" (XXXVIII. XXXIX.) we believe to be the Turks or Othmans, and "they ſhall "come up againſt the children of Iſrael in the latter days" to oppoſe their reſettlement in their own land, "and they ſhall fall" in ſome extraordinary manner "upon the mountains of Iſrael, they and the people "that is with them: ſo the houſe of Iſrael ſhall know that I am the "Lord their God, from that day and forward." Daniel too (XI. 45.

XII. 1.) predicts the fall of the king of the north "upon the glorious "holy mountain: And at that time ſhall Michael ſtand up, the great "prince who ſtandeth for the children of Iſrael." The reſtoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichriſt ſhall alſo happen about the ſame time. If "the ſixth vial" (Rev. XVI. 12.) which "is poured out "upon the great river Euphrates, whoſe waters are dried up to prepare "a paſſage for the kings of the eaſt," is to be underſtood, as Mr. Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the ſeven laſt plagues of Antichriſt. But this notion is expreſſed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people. (XI. 36.) "He ſhall proſper till the indignation," that is God's indignation againſt the Jews, "be accompliſhed:" and again afterwards (XII. 7.) "When God ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy "people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed." In conſequence and conformity to this doctrin a tradition hath prevailed (6) among the Jews, that the deſtruction of Rome and the redemption of Iſrael ſhall fall out about the ſame time.

When theſe great events ſhall come to paſs, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the proteſtant witneſſes ſhall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their propheſying in ſackcloth and of the tyranny of the beaſt ſhall end together; the converſion and reſtoration of the Jews ſucceed; then follows the ruin of the Othman empire, and then the total deſtruction of Rome and of Antichriſt. When theſe great events, I ſay, ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall the kingdom of Chriſt commence, or the reign of the ſaints upon earth. So Daniel expreſly informs us, that the kingdom of Chriſt and the ſaints will be raiſed upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichriſt; (VII. 26, 27.) "But the judgment ſhall ſit, and they ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume, and to deſtroy it unto the end: And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High, whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him." So likewiſe St. John ſaith, that upon the

(6) See Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Babylonis ſeu Romæ excidio in Mede's works. B. 5. Cap. 8. p. 902.

(7) See

the final deſtruction of " the beaſt and the falſe prophet," (Rev. XX.) " Satan is bound for a thouſand years; And I ſaw thrones, and they ſat " upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I ſaw the ſouls " of them that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus and for the " word of God, and which had not worſhipped the beaſt, neither " his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or " in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand " years: But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand " years were finiſhed. This is the firſt reſurrection." It is, I conceive, to theſe great events, the fall of Antichriſt, the reeſtabliſhment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel ſaith, (XII. 12.) " Bleſſed is he that " waiteth and cometh to the 1335 years;" ſo St. John ſaith, (XX. 6.) " Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection." Bleſſed and happy indeed will be this period; and it is very obſervable, that the martyrs and confeſſors of Jeſus, in popiſh as well as in pagan times, will be raiſed to partake of this felicity. Then ſhall all thoſe gracious promiſes in the old Teſtament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and proſperity, of the glory and happineſs of the church in the latter days. Then in the full ſenſe of the words (Rev. XI. 15.) " ſhall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord " and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever." According to (7) tradition theſe thouſand years of the reign of Chriſt and the ſaints will be the ſeventh millennary of the world; for as God created the world in ſix days, and reſted on the ſeventh, ſo the world, it is argued, will continue ſix thouſand years, and the ſeventh thouſand will be the great " ſabbatiſm" or holy reſt to the people of God; " one day" (2 Pet. III. 8.) " being with the Lord as a thouſand years, and a thou- " ſand years as one day." According to (8) tradition too theſe thouſand years of the reign of Chriſt and the ſaints are " the great day of judg- " ment;" in the morning or beginning whereof ſhall be the coming of Chriſt in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichriſt, and

(7) See Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6.

(8) See Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Magno die Judicii in Mede. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. p. 892.

(1) Clarke's

the firſt reſurrection; and in the evening or concluſion whereof ſhall be the general reſurrection of the dead, " ſmall and great," and " they " ſhall be judged every man according to their works."

Prudence as well as modeſty requires, that we ſhould forbear all curious inquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan ſhould be bound for a thouſand years, and afterwards looſed again; how the raiſed ſaints ſhall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Chriſt ſhall manifeſt himſelf to them, and reign among them; how the new Jeruſalem, the city and church of the living God, ſhall deſcend from heaven to earth; how Satan ſhall at laſt deceive the nations, and what nations they ſhall be. Theſe are points which the holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may eaſily aſk more queſtions about them, than wiſdom can anſwer. Wiſdom, in the myſterious things of God, and eſpecially in the myſterious things of futurity, will ſtill adhere to the words of ſcripture; and having ſeen the completion of ſo many particulars, will reſt contented with believing that theſe alſo ſhall be, without knowing *how* they ſhall be. It is of the nature of moſt prophecies not to be fully underſtood, till they are fully accompliſhed, and eſpecially prophecies relating to a ſtate ſo different from the preſent as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend theſe and all other prophecies may conſtitute a part of the happineſs of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and " the myſtery of God ſhall be finiſhed." This however is very evident, that wickedneſs would ſoon overrun the world, if not reſtrained by an overruling providence; for no ſooner is Satan looſed again, than " the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth" come up againſt the holy city, " the number of whom is as the ſand " of the ſea:" And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world ſhall be deſtroyed, (2 Pet. III. 10.) " the heavens " ſhall paſs away with a great noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with " fervent heat, the earth alſo, and the works that are therein ſhall be " burnt up." Thus (Rev. XXI. 1.) " the firſt heaven and the firſt earth " ſhall paſs away," and " a new heaven" and " a new earth" ſhall ſucceed, (2 Pet. III. 13.) " wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs;" (Rev. XXI. 3, 4.) " God himſelf ſhall be with men, and be their God; and there " ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow nor pain, for the former things

" are

" are paſſed away. (1 Cor. XV. 24. &c.) " Then cometh the end, " when Chriſt ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the " Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority, " and power. For he muſt reign till he hath put all enemies under " his feet; The laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is death. And when " all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf " be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be " all in all."

Since then the corruptions of popery are ſo particularly foretold in ſcripture, and make ſo conſiderable a part of the ancient prophecies, we have the leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed and offended at them. While the papiſts endevor to corrupt and adulterate the doctrins of the prophets and apoſtles, they ſtill accompliſh their predictions; while they labor to deſtroy Chriſtianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and eſtabliſh it in another. And ſince a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himſelf on theſe idolaters, and require the blood of his ſervants at their hands, let us wait with " the faith and the patience " of ſaints," till it be accompliſhed. We have ſeen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their ſucceſs, and we ſhall ſee them as remarkably fulfilled too in their deſtruction. The power of the pope is nothing near ſo great now as it was ſome ages ago: It received its death-wound at the Reformation, of which it may languiſh for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its laſt ſtruggles and efforts, like thoſe of a dying monſter, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the goſpel will prevail over all enemies and oppoſers: (Matt. XXI. 44.) " Whoſoever ſhall fall on this ſtone, ſhall be broken; but on " whomſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder." We will conclude our diſcourſe with the words of Ezra, ſo very applicable to us of the reformed religion: (IX. 13, 14.) " After all that is come " upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great treſpaſs, ſeeing that " thou our God haſt puniſhed us leſs than our iniquities deſerve, and " haſt given us ſuch deliverance as this," a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; " ſhould we again break thy com- " mandments, and join in affinity with the people of theſe abomina- " tions, wouldeſt thou not be angry with us till thou hadſt conſumed " us, ſo that there ſhould be no remnant nor eſcaping?"

CONCLUSION.

FROM theſe inſtances, which have been produced, of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this concluſion may fairly be drawn in the words of St. Peter, (2 Pet. I. 20, 21.) that "no "prophecy of the ſcripture is of any private interpretation," or the ſuggeſtion of any man's own ſpirit or fancy; "for the prophecy came "not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God ſpake as "they were moved by the holy Ghoſt." Other inſtances might have been alleged to the ſame purpoſe: but thoſe prophecies which received their full accompliſhment in ancient times, and even thoſe which were accompliſhed in the perſon and actions of our bleſſed Saviour, are not here conſidered; ſuch only as relate to theſe latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the ſubjects of theſe diſſertations. This is proving our religion in ſome meaſure by ocular demonſtration, is not "walking by faith" only, but alſo "by ſight." For you can have no reaſon to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and conſequently of the truth of revelation, when you ſee inſtances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greateſt clearneſs, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greateſt exactneſs. Nay you ſee prophecies, the lateſt whereof were delivered about 1700 years ago, and ſome of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very ſame condition, and all brought about in the very ſame manner, and with the very ſame circumſtances, as the prophets had foretold.

You ſee the deſcendents of Shem and Japheth "ruling" and "inlarg-"ed" in Aſia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and "the curſe of "ſervitude" ſtill attending the wretched deſcendents of Ham in Africa. You ſee the poſterity of Iſhmael "multiplied exceedingly," and become "a great nation" in the Arabians; yet living like "wild men," and ſhifting from place to place in the wilderneſs; "their hand againſt "every man, and every man's hand againſt them;" and ſtill "dwel-

"ling"

" ling" an independent and free people, " in the preſence of all " their brethren," and in the preſence of all their enemies. You ſee the family of Eſau totally extinct, and that of Jacob ſubſiſting at this day; " the ſcepter departed from Judah," and the people living no where in authority, every where in ſubjection; the Jews ſtill " dwelling alone among the nations," while " the remem- " brance of Amalek" is " utterly put out from under heaven." You ſee the Jews ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to their great prophet like unto Moſes; " plucked from off " their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; " oppreſſed and ſpoiled evermore," and made " a proverb and a " by-word among all nations." You ſee " Ephraim ſo broken as to " be no more a people," while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah; the Jews wonderfully preſerved as a diſtinct people, while their great conquerors are every where deſtroyed; their land lying deſolate, and themſelves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You ſee Nineveh ſo completely deſtroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Babylon made " a deſolation for ever, a poſſeſſion for the " bittern, and pools of water;" Tyre become " like the top of a " rock, a place for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon;" and Egypt " a " baſe kingdom, the baſeſt of the kingdoms," and ſtill tributary and ſubject to ſtrangers. You ſee of the four great empires of the world the fourth and laſt, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the weſtern part thereof into ten leſſer kingdoms; and among them a power " with a triple crown divers from " the firſt," with " a mouth ſpeaking very great things," and with " a look more ſtout than his fellows, ſpeaking great words againſt the " moſt High, wearing out the ſaints of the moſt High, and changing " times and laws." You ſee a power " caſt down the truth to the " ground, and proſper and practiſe, and deſtroy the holy people, not " regarding the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of wives, but honor- " ing Mahuzzim," Gods-protectors or ſaints-protectors, " and cauſing" the prieſts of Mahuzzim " to rule over many, and to divide the land " for gain." You ſee the Turks " ſtretching forth their hand over " the countries," and particularly " over the land of Egypt, the Liby-

" ans

" ans at their ſteps," and the Arabians ſtill " eſcaping out of their " hand." You ſee the Jews " led away captive into all nations, and " Jeruſalem troden down of the Gentiles," and likely to continue ſo " until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," as the Jews are by a conſtant miracle preſerved a diſtinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You ſee one " who oppoſeth and exalteth " himſelf" above all laws divine and human, " ſitting as God in the " church of God, and ſhowing himſelf that he is God, whoſe com- " ing is after the working of Satan with all power, and ſigns, and ly- " ing wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs." You ſee a great " apoſtaſy" in the Chriſtian church, which conſiſts chiefly in the worſhip of " demons," angels or departed ſaints, and is pro- moted " thro' the hypocriſy of liers, forbidding to marry, and com- " manding to abſtain from meats." You ſee the ſeven churches of Aſia lying in the ſame forlorn and deſolate condition that the angel had ſignified to St. John, their " candleſtick removed out of its place," their churches turned into moſques, their worſhip into ſuperſtition. In ſhort you ſee the characters of " the beaſt and the falſe prophet," and " the whore of Babylon," now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is ſeated " upon ſeven mountains;" ſo that if the biſhop of Rome had ſat for his picture, a greater reſemblance and likeneſs could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr. Clarke (1) hath ſaid in the concluſion of his diſcourſe of prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illuſtrate the argument with ſo great an authority: and indeed theſe things are of ſuch importance, and ſo deſerving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor ſhown in too many lights.

" I ſhall conclude this head with pointing at ſome particular extra- " ordinary prophecies, which deſerve to be carefully conſidered and " compared with the events, whether they could poſſibly have pro- " ceeded from chance or from enthuſiaſm. Some of them are of ſuch " a nature, as that they can only be judged of by perſons learned in " hiſtory;

(1) Clarke's Works Vol. 2. The Evidences of natural and revealed religion. p. 720, &c.

(2) " The

" hiſtory; and theſe I ſhall but juſt mention. Others are obvious to " the conſideration of the whole world; and with thoſe I ſhall finiſh " what I think proper at this time to offer upon this ſubject.

" Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold, that *it ſhould be* " *ſhut up and beſieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Armenians*; that " *the river ſhould be dried up*; that *the city ſhould be taken in the time of* " *a feaſt, while her mighty men were drunken*; Which accordingly came " to paſs, when Belſhazzar and all his thouſand princes, who were " drunk with him at the feaſt, were ſlain by Cyrus's ſoldiers. Alſo " it was particularly foretold, that *God would make the country of Ba-* " *bylon a poſſeſſion for the bittern and pools of water*; Which was ac- " cordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the " breaking down of the great damm in order to take the city. Could " the correſpondence of theſe events with the predictions, be the re- " ſult of chance? But ſuppoſe theſe predictions were forged after " the event, can the following ones alſo have been written after the " event? or with any reaſon be aſcribed to chance? *The wild beaſts of the* " *deſert ſhall dwell there, and the owls ſhall dwell therein: and it ſhall be* " *no more inhabited for ever, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation* " *to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. They* " *ſhall not take of thee a ſtone for a corner,—but thou ſhalt be deſolate* " *for ever, ſaith the Lord:—Babylon ſhall become heaps, a dwelling-* " *place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment and an hiſſing without an inhabi-* " *tant:—It ſhall ſink, and ſhall not riſe from the evil that I will bring* " *upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,—ſhall be as when God over-* " *threw Sodom and Gomorrah: It ſhall never be inhabited, neither* " *ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: Neither ſhall the* " *Arabian pitch tent there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold* " *there; But wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and their houſes* " *ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there.*

" Concerning Egypt was the following prediction forged after the " event? or can it, with any reaſon, be aſcribed to chance? *Egypt* " *ſhall be a baſe kingdom: It ſhall be the baſeſt of kingdoms, neither ſhall* " *it exalt itſelf any more above the nations: For I will diminiſh them, that* " *they ſhall no more rule over the nations.*

" Concerning

" Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no leſs remarkable: *I will* " *make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhall be a place to ſpread nets* " *upon; thou ſhalt be built no more.—Thou ſhalt be no more; the mer-* " *chants among the people ſhall hiſs at thee, thou ſhalt be a terror, and* " *never ſhalt be any more. All they that know thee among the people,* " *ſhall be aſtoniſhed at thee.*

" The deſcription of the extent of the dominion of that people, who " were to poſſeſs Judea in the latter days; was it forged after the event? " or can it reaſonably be aſcribed to chance? *He ſhall come with horſe-* " *men, and with many ſhips, and ſhall overflow and paſs over: He* " *ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land,* [*and ſhall plant the tabernacles* " *of his palace between the ſeas in the glorious holy mountain*] *and many* " *countries ſhall be overthrown: But Theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand,* " *even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He* " *ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of* " *Egypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have power over the treaſures* " *of gold and ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and* " *the Libyans and Ethiopians ſhall be at his ſteps.*

" When Daniel, in the (2) viſion of Nebuchadnezzar's image, fore-" told four great ſucceſſive monarchies; was this written after the " event? or can the congruity of his deſcription with the things " themſelves, reaſonably be aſcribed to mere chance?

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

" When the ſame Daniel foretels a tyrannical power, which ſhould " *wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and they ſhall be given into his* " *hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time*; and again " *for* (3) *a time, times, and a half:* (Which can be no way applied to " the *ſhort* perſecution of Antiochus, becauſe theſe prophecies are ex-" preſly declared to be *for many days*; concerning *what ſhall befall*

" *thy*

(2) " The fame of which was ſo nearly ſpread; " that Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, " plainly alludes to it, when he ſays of the prince " of Tyre, Chap. XXVIII. 3. *Thou art wiſer than* " *Daniel; there is no ſecret, that they can hide from* " *thee.*"

(3) " Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, " according to the analogy of all the forementioned " numbers, 1260 years."

(4) " There has prevailed among learned men a " very important error, as if the 1260 days (or " years) here ſpoken of, took their beginning from " the *riſe* of the tyranny here deſcribed. Whereas " on the contrary, the words of Daniel are expreſs, " that, not from the time of his *riſe*, but *after* his " having made war with the ſaints, and from the " time of *their being given into his hand*, ſhould be *a* " *time and times, and the dividing of time*, Chap. VII.

" 24,

" *thy people in the latter days*; *for yet the viſion is for many days*;
" concerning *the time of the end*; *what ſhall be in the laſt end of the*
" *indignation*; concerning thoſe who *ſhall fall by the ſword and by*
" *flame, by captivity and by ſpoil, many days*; *to try them, even to the*
" *time of the end, becauſe it is yet for a time appointed*; concerning
" *a time of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there was a nation*; the
" time *when God ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the*
" *holy people*; *the time of the end, till which the words are cloſed up*
" *and ſealed*; *to which* the prophet is commanded to *ſhut up* his *words*
" *and ſeal the book*, for *many ſhall run to and fro, and knowlege ſhall*
" *be increaſed*; even *the end, till which Daniel was to reſt, and* then
" *ſtand in his lot at the end of the days*.) When Daniel, I ſay, foretels
" ſuch a tyrannical power, to continue ſuch a determined period of
" time: And St. John propheſies, that the *Gentiles ſhould tread the*
" *holy city under foot, forty and two months*; which is exactly the ſame
" period of time with that of Daniel: And again, that *two witneſſes,*
" *cloathed in ſackcloth, ſhould propheſy a thouſand two hundred and*
" *threeſcore days*; which is again exactly the very ſame period of
" time: And again, that *the woman* which *fled into the wilderneſs*
" from perſecution, ſhould continue there *a thouſand two hundred and*
" *threeſcore days*: And again that ſhe ſhould *fly into the wilderneſs, for*
" *a time, and times, and half a time*; which is ſtill the very ſame
" period: And again, that *a wild beaſt*, a tyrannical power, *to whom*
" *it was given to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them*, was
" *to* (4) *continue forty and two months*, (ſtill the very ſame period of
" time) and to have *power over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations*,
" ſo that *all that dwell upon the earth* ſhould *worſhip him*: Is it credi-
" ble or poſſible that ignorant and enthuſiaſtical writers ſhould by
" mere chance hit upon ſuch coincidencies of [occult] numbers? eſ-

 " pecially

" 24, 25. And St. John no leſs expreſly ſays, that
" the time, not of *the two witneſſes propheſying*, (for
" in part of that time they had *great power*) but of
" *their propheſying in ſackcloth*, ſhould be *a thouſand*
" *two hundred and threeſcore days*, Rev. XI. 3. And
" the *perſecuted woman*, after her flight, was to be
" actually *in the wilderneſs a thouſand two hundred and*
" *threeſcore days*. Chap. XII. 6. Wherefore alſo *the*
" *forty and two months*, (the very ſame period) during
" which time *power was given unto the wild beaſt to*
" *continue*, (in the original it is ποιησαι to do what
" he pleaſed, Rev. XIII. 3.) evidently ought not to
" be reckoned from his *riſe*, or from the time when
" *the ten kings* (Chap. XVII. 12.) *received power*
" *with him*; but from the time of his having totally
" *overcome the ſaints*, and of his *being worſhipped by*
" *all that dwell upon the earth*, Chap. XIII. 7, 8."

(5) " *The*

" pecially ſince St. John could not poſſibly take the numbers from " Daniel, if he underſtood Daniel to mean nothing more than the " *ſhort* perſecution of Antiochus. And if he did underſtand Daniel " to mean a *much longer* and *greater* and *more remote* tyranny, which " John himſelf propheſied as in *his time* ſtill future; then the wonder " is ſtill infinitely greater, that in thoſe early times, when there was not " the leaſt footſtep in the world of any ſuch power as St. John diſtinctly " deſcribes, (but which now is very conſpicuous, as I ſhall preſently " obſerve more particularly) it ſhould ever enter into the heart of man " to conceive ſo much as the poſſibility of ſuch a power, ſitting not " upon the pavilion of heathen perſecutors, but expreſly (2 Theſ. II. 4.) " *in the temple*, and upon the ſeat of God himſelf.

" But theſe prophecies, which either relate to particular places, or " depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are " (as I ſaid) of ſuch a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by " perſons ſkilled in hiſtory. There are ſome others more general, " running thro' the whole ſcripture, and obvious to the conſideration " of the whole world.

" For inſtance: It was foretold by Moſes, that when the Jews for- " ſook the true God, they ſhould be *removed into all the kingdoms of* " *the earth*; ſhould be *ſcattered among the Heathen, among the na-* " *tions, among all people from the one end of the earth even unto the* " *other*; ſhould *there be left few in number among the Heathen*, and " *pine away in their iniquity in their enemies lands*; and ſhould *become* " *an aſtoniſhment, a proverb, and a by-word, among all nations*; " and that *among theſe nations* they ſhould *find no eaſe, neither* ſhould " *the ſole of their foot have reſt*; *but the Lord ſhould give them a* " *trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and ſorrow of mind*; and *ſend* " *a faintneſs into their hearts in the lands of their enemies*; ſo that " *the ſound of a ſhaken leaf* ſhould *chaſe them*. Had any thing like " this, in Moſes's time, ever happened to any nation? Or was there in " nature any probability, that any ſuch thing ſhould ever happen to " any people? that, when they were conquered by their enemies, " and led into captivity, they ſhould neither continue in the place of " their captivity, nor be ſwallowed up and loſt among their conquerors, " but be ſcattered among all the nations of the world, and hated by

" all

" all nations for many ages, and yet *continue* a people? Or could any " deſcription of the Jews, written at this day poſſibly be a more exact " and lively picture of the ſtate they have *now* been in for many ages; " than this prophetic deſcription given by Moſes, more than 3000 " years ago?

" The very ſame thing is in like manner continually predicted " through all the following prophets; that God would *ſcatter them* " *among the Heathen*; that he would *cauſe them to be removed into all* " *the kingdoms of the earth*; that he would *ſcatter them into all the* " *winds*, and *diſperſe them through the countries of the Heathen*; that " he would *ſift them among all nations*, *like as corn is ſifted in a ſieve*; " that *in all the kingdoms of the earth*, *whither* they ſhould be *driven*, " they ſhould be *a reproach and a proverb*, *a taunt and a curſe*, and " *an aſtoniſhment and a hiſſing*; and that they ſhould *abide many days* " *without a king*, *and without a prince*, *and without a ſacrifice*, *and* " *without an image*, *and without an ephod*, *and without teraphim*. " And here concerning the predictions of Ezekiel 'tis remarkable in " particular, that they being ſpoken in the very time of the Babylonian " captivity, 'tis therefore evident from the time of his propheſying, as " well as from the nature and deſcription of the thing itſelf, that he " muſt needs be underſtood of that latter *captivity into all places*, which " was to happen after the *fulfilling the time of that age*, wherein God " was firſt to *bring them again* (out of the Babylonian captivity) *into* " *the land where they ſhould build a temple*, but *not like to* that which " *afterwards* (after their final return) ſhould *be built for ever with a* " *glorious building*. The forecited prophecies (I ſay) muſt of neceſ- " ſity be underſtood of that wide and long diſperſion, which in the " New Teſtament alſo is expreſly mentioned by our Saviour and by " St. Paul.

" 'Tis alſo farther, both *largely* and *diſtinctly* predicted, as well by " Moſes himſelf, as by all the following prophets, that notwithſtand- " ing this unexampled diſperſion of God's people, *yet for all that*, *when* " *they be in the land of their enemies*, *God will not deſtroy them utterly*; " but *when they ſhall call to mind among all the nations*, *whither God has* " *driven them*, *and ſhall return unto the Lord*, *he will turn their cap-* " *tivity*, *and gather them from all nations*, *from the outmoſt parts of*

" *heaven, even in the latter days:* That *though he makes a full end of*
" *all* other *nations, yet he will not make a full end of them*; but *a rem-*
" *nant of them* ſhall be preſerved, and *return out of all countries whither*
" *God has driven them:* That *he will ſift the houſe of Iſrael among all*
" *nations, like as corn is ſifted in a ſieve; yet ſhall not the leaſt grain fall*
" *upon the earth:* That *the Lord ſhall ſet his hand again the ſecond*
" *time, to recover the remnant of his people, and ſhall ſet up an enſign*
" *for the nations, and ſhall aſſemble the out-caſts of Iſrael, and gather to-*
" *gether the diſperſed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth:* For
" *I will bring thy ſeed from the eaſt,* ſaith the Lord, *and gather thee*
" *from the weſt; I will ſay to the north, Give up; and to the ſouth,*
" *Keep not back; Bring my ſons from far, and my daughters from the*
" *ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and*
" *ſet up my ſtandard to the people, and they ſhall bring thy ſons in their*
" *arms, and thy daughters ſhall be carried upon their ſhoulders: For a*
" *ſmall moment have I forſaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather*
" *thee: In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but*
" *with everlaſting kindneſs will I have mercy on thee.* And that theſe
" prophecies might not be applied to the return from the 70 years
" captivity in Babylon, (which moreover was not a diſperſion into *all*
" *nations*) they are expreſly referred to the *latter days*, not only by
" Moſes, but by Hoſea, who lived long after, (*For the children of*
" *Iſrael ſhall abide* MANY DAYS *without a king, and without a*
" *prince, and without a ſacrifice*; AFTERWARD *they ſhall return,*
" *and ſeek the Lord their God, and David their king, and ſhall fear*
" *the Lord and his goodneſs in the* LATTER DAYS) and by Ezekiel,
" who lived in the captivity itſelf; *After* MANY DAYS [ſpeaking
" of thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the return of the Iſraelites] *thou ſhalt be*
" *viſited, in the* LATTER YEARS *thou ſhalt come into the land;—*
" *upon the people that are gathered out of the nations;—In that day,*
" *when my people of Iſrael dwelleth ſafely,—thou ſhalt come up againſt*
" *them, it ſhall be in the* LATTER DAYS. Theſe predictions there-
" fore neceſſarily belong to that age, when *the times of the Gentiles* ſhall
" be *fulfilled*, and *the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in.* And that,
" through

(5) " *The God of Gods*, as in the foregoing " verſe."

(6) " *Forbidding to marry*, 1 Tim. IV. 3."

(7) " *God's*

" through all the changes which have happened in the kingdoms of " the earth, from the days of Moſes to the preſent time, which is more " than 3000 years; nothing ſhould have happened, to prevent the " *poſſibility* of the accompliſhment of theſe prophecies; but on the " contrary, the ſtate of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian nations at this day, " ſhould be ſuch as renders them eaſily *capable*, not only of a figurative, " but even of a litteral completion in every particular, if the will of " God be ſo; this (I ſay) is a *miracle*, which hath nothing parallel to " it in the phænomena of nature.

" Another inſtance, no leſs extraordinary, is as follows. Daniel fore- " tels *a kingdom upon the earth, which ſhall be divers from all kingdoms,* " *divers from all that were before it, exceeding dreadful, and ſhall devour* " *the whole earth:* That, among the powers into which this kingdom " ſhall be divided, there ſhall ariſe one power *divers from the reſt*, who " ſhall *ſubdue* unto himſelf *three* of *the firſt* powers, and he ſhall have " *a mouth ſpeaking very great things*, and *a look more ſtout than his fel-* " *lows.* He ſhall *make war with the ſaints, and prevail againſt them.* " *And he ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear* " *out the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change times and laws*; " *and they ſhall be given into his hand*, for a long ſeaſon; even till *the* " *judgment ſhall ſit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven ſhall be given* " *to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High. He ſhall exalt himſelf and* " *magnify himſelf above every God, and ſhall ſpeak marvelous things* " *againſt the God of Gods;—Neither ſhall he regard* (5) *the God of his* " *fathers, nor* (6) *the deſire of women, nor regard any God; for he ſhall* " *magnify himſelf above all. And in his eſtate ſhall he honor* (7) *the* " *God of forces, and* (8) *a God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he* " *honor.—Thus ſhall he do in the moſt ſtrong holds with a ſtrange God,* " *whom he ſhall acknowlege and increaſe with glory; and he ſhall cauſe* " *them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain.* Suppoſe now " all this to be ſpoken by Daniel, of nothing more than the ſhort per- " ſecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I " have ſhown above. But ſuppoſe it were, and that it was all forged " after

(7) " *God's protectors*, as 'tis in the margin of the " Bible, or *ſaints-protectors*."

(8) " *Changing times and laws*, Ch. VII. 25; ſet- " ting up new religions."

(9) " 'Tis

" after the event: Yet this cannot be the caſe of St. Paul and St. " John, who deſcribe exactly a *like* power, and in *like words*; ſpeaking " of things to come in the *latter days*, of things ſtill *future* in *their* " time, and of which there were *then* no footſteps, no appearance in " the world. *The day of Chriſt*, ſaith St. Paul, *ſhall not come, ex-* " *cept there come a falling away firſt, and that man of ſin be revealed,* " *the ſon of perdition: Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that* " *is called God, or that is worſhipped; ſo that he, as God, ſitteth* (9) *in* " *the temple of God, ſhowing himſelf that he is God:—Whoſe coming is* " *after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying won-* " *ders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs.* Again: *The ſpirit* " *ſpeaketh expreſly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the* " *faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and* (1) *doctrins of devils;—* " *Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, &c.* " St. John in like manner propheſies of *a wild beaſt*, or tyrannical " power, to whom was given *great authority*, and *a mouth ſpeaking* " *great things and blaſphemies: And he opened his mouth in blaſphemy* " *againſt God: And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints,* " *and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and* " *tongues and nations; and all that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip* " *him.*—And he that *exerciſeth his power before him—doeth great* " *wonders,—and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means* " *of thoſe miracles which he had power to do.—And he cauſeth that* " *no man might buy or ſell, ſave he that had the mark or the name of* " *the beaſt*;—And the kings of the earth *have one mind, and ſhall* " *give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt*;—*even peoples, and mul-* " *titudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their hearts* " [in the hearts of the kings] *to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give* " *their kingdom unto the beaſt, until the words of God ſhall be fulfilled.* " The name of the perſon, in whoſe hands the reins or principal di- " rection of the exerciſe of this power is lodged, is *Myſtery, Babylon* " *the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth: with*

" *whom*

(9) " 'Tis therefore a *Chriſtian* (not an *Infidel*) " power, that he here ſpeaks of."

(1) " Doctrins concerning *Demons*, that is, " ghoſts or ſouls of (good or bad) men departed. " Epiphanius, citing this text, alleges the follow- " ing words, as part of the text itſelf; εσονται, γαρ, " φησι, νεκροις λαλρ[illegible]λες, ὡς και εν τῳ Ισραελ εσεβασθησαν, " *For they ſhall be, ſays the apoſtle, worſhippers of*

" *the*

" *whom the kings of the earth* (2) *have committed fornication, and the* " *inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her* " *fornication.* And ſhe herſelf *is drunken with the blood of the ſaints,* " *and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus:* And *by her* (3) *ſorceries* " *are all nations deceived: And in her is found the blood of prophets,* " *and of ſaints, and of all that are ſlain upon the earth.* And this " perſon, [the political perſon] to whom theſe titles and characters " belong, *is that great city* (ſtanding *upon ſeven mountains*) *which* " *reigneth over the kings of the earth.*

" If in the days of St. Paul and St. John, there was any footſtep of " ſuch a ſort of power as this in the world; Or, if there ever had been " any ſuch power in the world; Or, if there was then any appearance " of probability, that could make it enter into the heart of man to " imagin, that there ever could be any ſuch kind of power in the " world, much leſs in *the temple* or church *of God*; And, if there be " not now ſuch a power actually and conſpicuouſly exerciſed in the " world; And if any picture of this power, drawn after the event, " can now deſcribe it more plainly and exactly than it was originally de- " ſcribed in the words of the prophecy: Then may it with ſome degree " of plauſibleneſs be ſuggeſted, that the prophecies are nothing more " than enthuſiaſtic imaginations."

For theſe things you have the atteſtation of paſt, and the experience of preſent times; and you cannot well be deceived, if you will only believe your own eyes and obſervation. You actually ſee the completion of many of the prophecies in the ſtate of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themſelves recorded in books, which books have been read in public aſſemblies theſe 1700 or 2000 years, have been diſperſed into ſeveral countries, have been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, ſo that there is no room to ſuſpect ſo much as a poſſibility of forgery or illuſion.

The prophecies too, tho' written by different men in different ages, have yet a viſible connexion and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the ſame time that there is ſuch perfect

" *the dead, even as the dead were anciently worſhipped* " *in Iſrael.* And he applies the whole to the wor- " ſhippers of the bleſſed virgin. Hæreſ. 78. Sect. " 22."

(2) " Have been led into idolatrous practices."

(3) " φαρμακειᾳ [σοφοις φαρμακοις] methods of mak- " ing men religious without virtue."

fect harmony, there is alſo great variety; and the ſame things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumſtances; and the latter uſually improve upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds; and you may obſerve the beauty and ſublimity of the ſtile and diction of the prophets even from thoſe quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your ſerious peruſal and meditation, not only conſidered as prophets, but conſidered even as authors, for their noble images and deſcriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their inſtructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obſcurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reaſons may be aſſigned, and this particularly, becauſe prophecies are the only ſpecies of writing, which is deſigned more for the inſtruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, ſome perſons might be for haſtening their accompliſhment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actings would not appear ſo free, nor God's providence ſo conſpicuous in their completion. But though ſome parts are obſcure enough to exerciſe the church, yet others are ſufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the obſcure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are underſtood. In this reſpect as the world groweth older, it groweth wiſer. Time that detracts ſomething from the evidence of other writers, is ſtill adding ſomething to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the preſent, as the preſent underſtands more than the paſt: and the perfect accompliſhment will produce a perfect knowlege of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but obſerve the ſubſerviency of human learning to the ſtudy of divinity. One thing is particularly requiſite, a competent knowlege of hiſtory ſacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may ſay, hiſtory anticipated and contracted; hiſtory is prophecy accompliſhed and dilated: and the prophecies of ſcripture contain, as you ſee, the fate of the moſt conſiderable nations, and the ſubſtance of the moſt memorable tranſactions in the world from the earlieſt to the lateſt times. Daniel and St. John, with regard to theſe later times, are more copious and

particular

particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a ſeries and ſucceſſion of the moſt important events from the firſt of the four great empires to the conſummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be ſaid to be a ſummary of the hiſtory of the world, and the hiſtory of the world is the beſt comment upon their prophecies. I muſt confeſs it was my application to hiſtory, that firſt ſtruck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing juſtneſs of the ſcripture-prophecies. I obſerved the predictions all along to be verified in the courſe of events: and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you ſearch into the truth of hiſtory, the more you will be ſatisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowlege, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in theſe diſcourſes, of the two greateſt men, whom this country, or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Iſaac Newton, the one wiſhing for a hiſtory of the ſeveral prophecies of ſcripture compared with the events, the other writing Obſervations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalyps of St. John: and the teſtimony of two ſuch (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You ſee what ſtanding monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, leſt the like puniſhment ſhould follow; "for (Rom. XI. 21.) if God "ſpared not the natural branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not "thee." Our infidelity would be worſe even than that of the Jews, for they receive and own the prophecies, but do not ſee and acknowlege their completion in Jeſus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what ſtrange diſingenuity muſt it be, when there is all the evidence that hiſtory can afford for the prophecy, and in many caſes even ocular demonſtration for the completion, to be ſtill obſtinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly beſtow upon ſuch perſons that juſt reproach of our Saviour, (Luke XXIV. 25.) "O fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the pro-"phets have ſpoken?" But I have good hope and confidence in God, that (Hebr. X. 39.) "we are not of them who draw back unto perdi-"tion, but of them who believe to the ſaving of the ſoul."

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had ſucceeded and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we ſhould not ſo much wonder, we ſhould not lay ſuch a ſtreſs upon it; it might be aſcribed to a lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture: but that ſo many things, ſo very unlikely ever to happen, ſhould be ſo particularly foretold, and ſo many ages afterwards ſo punctually fulfilled, tranſcends without doubt all the ſkill and power of man, and muſt be reſolved into the omniſcience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a ſtronger proof of a perſon's acting by divine commiſſion, and ſpeaking by divine inſpiration; and it is aſſigned in ſcripture as the teſt and criterion between a true and falſe prophet; (Deut. XVIII. 22.) "When a prophet ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing fol-"low not nor come to paſs, that is the thing which the Lord hath not "ſpoken, but the prophet hath ſpoken it preſumptuouſly;" and in another place, (Jer. XXVIII. 9.) "The prophet who propheſieth of "peace, when the word of the prophet ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall "the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly ſent him." It is ſo much the peculiar prerogative of God, or of thoſe who are commiſſioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the falſe gods, (Iſ. XLI. 21, 28.) "Produce your cauſe, "ſaith the Lord; bring forth your ſtrong reaſons, ſaith the king of "Jacob; Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may "know that ye are gods." Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any ſuch prophecies as are recorded in ſcripture: and what ſtronger atteſtations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrin? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you ſhall conſider and underſtand them, the more you will be convinced, that (Rev. XIX. 10.) "the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit "of prophecy."

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, ſo ſalutary and beneficial, ſo publicly wrought and ſo credibly atteſted, above any other matters of fact whatever, by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of them, and ſealed the truth of their teſtimony with their blood; if to theſe external confirmations you add likewiſe the internal excellence of Chriſtianity,

the

the goodneſs of the doctrin itſelf, ſo moral, ſo perfect, ſo divine, and the purity and perfection of its motives and ſanctions, above any other ſyſtem of morality or religion in the world; if you ſeriouſly conſider and compare all theſe things together, it is almoſt impoſſible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, (John XX. 28.) "My Lord and my God!" This is only one argument out of many, that there muſt be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there muſt be truth in prophecy, as we have ſhown in ſeveral inſtances and might ſhow in ſeveral more, if there is any dependence upon the teſtimony of others or upon our own ſenſes, upon what we read in books or upon what we ſee in the world.

Men are ſometimes apt to think, that if they could but ſee a miracle wrought in favor of religion, they would readily reſign all their ſcruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reſerve. The very thing that you deſire, you have. You have the greateſt and moſt ſtriking of miracles in the ſeries of ſcripture-prophecies accompliſhed; accompliſhed, as we ſee, in the preſent ſtate of almoſt all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papiſts, the Proteſtants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the ſeven churches of Aſia, Jeruſalem, and Rome. And this is not a tranſient miracle, ceaſing almoſt as ſoon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted thro' the courſe of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is ſubject to your own inſpection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witneſſes, but is open to the obſervation and contemplation of all mankind; and after ſo many ages is ſtill growing, ſtill improving to future ages. What ſtronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail, if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be perſuaded though one ſhould riſe from the dead. What can be plainer? You ſee or may ſee with your own eyes the ſcripture-prophecies accompliſhed: and if the ſcripture-prophecies are accompliſhed, the ſcripture muſt be the word of God; and if the ſcripture is the word of God, the Chriſtian religion muſt be true.

It is hoped therefore that the ſame addreſs may be applied to you, which St. Paul made to king Agrippa, (Acts XXVI. 27, 28.) "Believeſt

"thou

" thou the prophets? I know that thou believeſt:" and God diſpoſe your heart to anſwer again, Not only "almoſt," but "altogether thou "perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian!" For your encouragement remember, that (Matt. X. 41.) "He who receiveth a prophet in the name of a "prophet, ſhall receive a prophet's reward." Wherefore (1 Theſ. V. 19, &c.) "quench not the ſpirit; deſpiſe not propheſyings; prove all "things, hold faſt that which is good. The grace of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt be with you. Amen."

A

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

ABOMINATION *of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place*, the meaning of that expreſſion, p. 415, &c. why the Roman army is called *the abomination*, p. 415, 16.

Abraham, the patriarch of the greateſt renown, p. 28. favored with ſeveral revelations, p. 28. thoſe concerning Iſhmael, conſidered, p. 28. 29. the prophecies about Iſhmael and his poſterity, how fulfilled, p. 29, &c. thoſe about the Iſraelites, how accompliſhed, p. 42, 43, &c.

Abſtinence from meats, a note and character of the apoſtaſy, p. 526.

Acilius, the Roman conſul, routs Antiochus, and expels him out of Greece, p. 340.

Aelius Adrian, the Roman emperor, builds Ælia inſtead of Jeruſalem, p. 443, 44, 45, &c. deſtroys and diſperſes the Jews, p. 564.

Agag, *his king ſhall be higher than Agag*, that part of *Balaam*'s prophecy explained, p. 75, 76.

Agathocles, diſſolute and proud in the exerciſe of his power, p. 334. the people of Alexandria riſe againſt him, p. 334. cauſe him, his relations and aſſociates to be put to death, p. 334.

Alaric and the Goths invade Italy and beſiege Rome, p. 581, 82.

Alexander the great, his deſigns againſt the Arabs prevented by his death, p. 34. the rapidity of his conqueſts, p. 292, 93. the three chief battles he had with the king of Perſia, p. 293, 94. is met by the high-prieſt in his way to Jeruſalem, p. 294. enters the temple, and the prophecies of Daniel are ſhown him, p. 295. characterized in that book, p. 322. his death and the miſerable end of his family, p. 300, 323. is ſucceeded by four of his captains, p. 300, 324.

Alexander Severus, a juſt and provident emperor, p. 566, 67.

Alexandria, after a long ſiege, taken by the Saracens, p. 212. the famous library there, when founded and when deſtroyed, p. 212.

Alfric in England in the tenth century writes againſt tranſubſtantiation, p. 621, 22.

Amalekites, Balaam's prophecy againſt them, how fulfilled, p. 82, 83, 84.

Ambroſe, his affirmation about Antichriſt, p. 497.

Angel, flying in the midſt of heaven and preaching the everlaſting goſpel, p. 673. what meant by ſaying, *The hour of his judgment is come*, p. 673, 74.

Angels, ſeven, having the ſeven laſt plagues, p. 682. pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth, p. 685, &c.

Antichriſt, what miſtaken notions the fathers had in this matter, and how, p. 255, 56. how long he is to continue, p. 264, 65. he and the man of ſin, one and the ſame perſon, p. 495. the opinion of Juſtin Martyr, Origen, the reformers and others about him, p. 495—498. how the true notion was ſuppreſſed and revived again with the reformation, p. 498, 99. how afterwards it became unfaſhionable, and now grows into repute again, p. 500, 501. the blindneſs of the papiſts in this point, p. 502. infamous for idolatry and deteſtable cruelty, p. 697. all his power ſhall be completely ſubdued, and Rome itſelf deſtroyed, p. 715. deſcribed by Daniel and the prophets, p. 755, 56. the prophets deſcribe his downfall, manner and circumſtances of it, p. 756.

Antigonus, his attempts againſt the Arabs not ſucceſsful, p. 34.

Antiochus Epiphanes, ſucceeds his brother Seleucus Philopater, p. 343. obtains the kingdom by flatteries, p. 343. the epithet of vile or deſpicable given him by the prophet Daniel, p. 343. though frantic and extravagant, yet ſucceſsful and victorious, p. 344. prefers Jaſon to the high prieſthood, p. 344, 45. afterwards advances Menelaus in his room, p. 345. extravagant in various inſtances, p. 346. comes to Joppa and Jeruſalem, p. 347. his great ſucceſs againſt Egypt, p. 348. pretends to take care of the intereſt of his nephew Philometor, p. 349. determins to be revenged on the people of Jeruſalem for rejoicing at the report of his death, p. 350. takes that city and acts with great cruelty, p. 351. ſends Apollonius afterwards to Jeruſalem, who defiles the city and ſets up the heathen worſhip, p. 353, 54. the various opinions about the prophecies of Daniel being accompliſhed in Antiochus, p. 356. aſſigns two cities for maintaining his favorite concubine Antiochis, p. 367. the awful manner of his death, p. 124.

Antiochus Magnus, ſucceeds his brother in the throne of Syria, p. 330. his army being defeated by Ptolemy, is forced to ſolicit a peace, p. 331. kills the rebel Achæus and reduces the eaſtern parts, p. 333. acquires great riches, p. 333. riſes up againſt young Ptolemy, p. 334. takes poſſeſſion of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, p. 335. defeats Scopas, Ptolemy's general, p. 336. aſpires after more conqueſt and dominion, p. 338. marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy, p. 338, 39. engages in a war with the Romans, p. 339. is routed at the Straits of Thermopylæ, p. 340. the latter end of his life very mean, p. 340, 41. attempting to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus is ſlain, p. 341.

Apocalyps. See Revelation.

Apoſtaſy of the latter times, St. Paul's propheſy about this, p. 501, 502. the nature of that apoſtaſy, p. 503. it was general, 504, 505. ſome particulars of this apoſtaſy about demons and worſhipping of the dead, 517, 18. was to prevail in the latter times, 519. propheſied of by Daniel, p. 521. by what means to be propagated, p. 521, 22. the notes and characters of this apoſtaſy, p. 502, 506, 518, 519, 521, 523, 525, 740.

Arabians, diſdain to acknowledge Alexander the great, p. 34. his deſigns prevented againſt them by his death, p. 34. beautiful ſpots and fruitful valleys in their country, p. 32. have always maintained their independency againſt the nations, p. 33, 34, 35. againſt the Egyptians and Aſſyrians, p. 33. againſt the Perſians, p. 33, 34. againſt Alexander

Alexander and his ſucceſſors, p. 34, 35. againſt the Romans, p. 35, 36. their ſtate under their prophet Mohammed and afterwards, and now under the Turks, p. 36, 37. what is ſaid of them by late travellers, p. 37, 38, 39. their retaining the ſame diſpoſition and manners for ſo many ages, wonderful, p. 40. the prophecies concerning this people ſignally fulfilled in their being preſerved and not conquered, p. 39, 40, 41. the Arabs in ſome reſpects reſemble the Jews, p. 41. never yet ſubdued by the Turks, p. 378. rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travellers, p. 378, 79. compared to locuſts, p. 588, 595. the kingdoms and dominions acquired by them, p. 591, 92. The time aſſigned for their hurting and tormenting men, p. 593, 94, 95.

Arnold of Breſcia, in the twelfth century, burnt for preaching againſt the temporal power of the pope and clergy, p. 626, 27.

Aſhur. *And ſhall afflict Aſhur*, what meant by theſe words in Balaam's prophecy, p. 88.

Aſia, the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches there, p. 544—550. why theſe ſeven addreſſed particularly, p. 549. the excellent form and ſtructure of theſe epiſtles, p. 549. in what ſenſe prophetical, p. 549. the preſent ſtate of theſe once flouriſhing churches, p. 550—556. the churches lay in a circular form, p. 555. the method and order obſerved in addreſſing them, p. 555. their preſent ſtate a very ſtrong proof of the truth of prophecy, p. 556.

Aſſyrians, terrible enemies both to Iſrael and Judah, p. 138, 39. Iſaiah's prophecy againſt them, p. 139, 40. See Nineveh.

Attila, with his Huns lay waſte Macedon and Greece, Gaul and Italy, p. 583. the ſcourge of God and terror of men, p. 584.

Auſtin, his opinion about Antichriſt, p. 498.

B.

BABYLON, prophecies concerning it, p. 153—173. as well as Nineveh, an enemy to the people of God, p. 153. a great and ancient city, p. 153. conſiderably improved by Nebuchadnezzar, p. 154. one of the wonders of the world, p. 154. its deſtruction foretold by Iſaiah and Jeremiah, p. 155. prophecies about Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon, fulfilled, p. 156. the time of its reduction foretold, p. 156. beſieged by the Medes and Perſians, p. 157. Armenians and other nations united againſt it, p. 158. the Babylonians hide themſelves within their walls, p. 158. the river dried up, p. 159. the city taken during a feaſt, p. 159, 60. the facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore no room for ſcepticiſm, p. 160. the prophets foretold its total deſolation, p. 160, 61, 62. theſe prophecies fulfilled by degrees, p. 162. its ſtate under Cyrus, p. 162. under Darius, p. 163, 64. under Xerxes, p. 164, 65. the accounts of it ſince that time by Diodorus, p. 166. by Strabo, p. 166. by Pliny, p. 166. by Pauſanius, p. 166. by Maximus Tyrius and Lucian, p. 166. by Jerome, p. 167. accounts by later authors, p. 167. by Benjamin of Tudela, p. 167. by Texeira, p. 167. by Rauwolf, p. 168. by Peter della Vallé, p. 168. by Tavernier, p. 169. by Mr. Salmon, p. 169, 70. by Mr. Hanway, p. 170. by theſe accounts it appears how punctually the prophecies were fulfilled, p. 170, 71.

Babylon, the fall and deſtruction of ſpiritual Babylon, p. 675, 706. after her fall becomes a ſcene of deſolation, p. 707, &c. the fall of Roman Babylon and her ſudden

deſtruction, p. 675, 708, 709. the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome and the rejoicings of others, p. 708, 709. her irrecoverable and utter deſolation, p. 708, 709. the church join in praiſes and thankſgivings to God for his truth and righteouſneſs in judging this idolatrous city, p. 711, &c. a prophecy about Babylon particularly fulfilled, p. 767.

Babylonian, the firſt of the four empires, compared to a lion, p. 241. with eagles wings, p. 241, 42. with a man's heart, p. 242.

Bacon (Lord) wiſhed for a hiſtory of the prophecies compared with the events, p. 9. How he would have it written, p. 536.

Badby, convicted of hereſy and burnt in Smithfield, p. 636. refuſes an offered pardon, and chooſes to die with a good conſcience, p. 637.

Balaam, the prophet, a heathen and an immoral man, p. 69, 70. the ſtory of Balaam's aſs conſidered, p. 70, 71, 72. the ſtile of his prophecies beautiful, p. 72. his prophecy of the ſingular character of the Jewiſh nation, how fulfilled to this day, p. 73, 74. his prophecy of their victories much the ſame as Iſaac's and Jacob's, p. 74, 75. that of the king higher than Agag, how fulfilled, p. 75, 76. his preface to his later prophecies explained, p. 76, 77. his prophecy of a ſtar and ſcepter to ſmite the prince of Moab, how fulfilled, p. 77. who meant by the ſons of Sheth, p. 77, 78, 79. ſome parts of this prophecy underſtood of the Meſſiah and of David, p. 77---82. his prophecy againſt the Amalekites how fulfilled, p. 82, 83, 84. againſt the Kenites, and who the Kenites were, p. 84. his prophecies of the coaſt of Chittim, of Aſhur and Eber, p. 85---89. what concluſions to be drawn from the prophecies of this wicked man, p. 90.

Baronius, his character of the tenth century, p. 620.

Baſnage, a remarkable paſſage in his hiſtory about the Jews, p. 112. His reaſons for the Jews not dwelling at Jeruſalem, p. 453.

Beaſt, with ſeven heads and ten horns deſcribed, p. 655. denotes a tyrannical idolatrous empire, p. 699. marks whereby the beaſt was diſtinguiſhed, p. 656, 57. his words and actions wonderful, p. 659. his blaſphemies, p. 659, 60. his making war with the ſaints, p. 660, 61. the myſtery of the beaſt that carrieth the woman, p. 698, &c. the myſtery of the beaſt with the ſeven heads and ten horns, p. 700—703. the beaſt with two horns, deſcribed, p. 663. his power and authority, p. 663, 64. pretends to ſupport it by great ſigns and wonders, p. 664. what meant by the image of the beaſt, p. 665, 66. what by his mark or character, p. 667. thoſe without his mark not ſuffered to buy or ſell, p. 667, &c. the number of the beaſt explained, p. 668, &c. the ſtruggles of the true church with the beaſt, p. 671. the ruin and deſtruction of them who worſhip the beaſt, p. 674, 75. denunciation of judgments againſt the followers of the beaſt, p. 680, 81. the threefold ſtate of the beaſt, p. 699. the explication of its ſeven heads and ten horns, p. 700---703. the power and ſtrength given to the beaſt, p. 704, 705.

Benjamin, this tribe became an appendage to Judah, p. 63, 65. the prophecy of Jacob concerning them fulfilled, p. 56, 67, 68.

Benjamin of Tudela his travels to Jeruſalem, p. 108. his account of its deſolate ſtate, p. 108.

Berengarius, writes againſt tranſubſtantiation, p. 624. compelled to burn his writings, p. 624. his numerous followers, p. 624.

INDEX.

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, married to Antiochus Theus, p. 326. her father called the dowry-giver, p. 326. is murdered by order of Laodice, p. 327.
Bernard, inveighs againſt the corruption of the clergy and tyranny of the popes, p. 625.
Bertram, inſcribes his book to the Emperor, p. 618. his opinion againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, p. 618.
Bohemians, their opinions in religion, p. 637, 38, 39. fight for their religion, and are victorious at firſt, p. 639. are defeated and retire to the mountains and caves, p. 639, 40.
Bolingbroke, Lord, cenſured for his indecent reflections on Noah's prophecy, p. 25. his ignorance about the Codex Alexandrinus, p. 25, 26. his blunder about the Roman hiſtorians, p. 26. his ſneer about believers, refuted, p. 26. condemned by himſelf, p. 26, 27. had great talents, but miſapplied them, p. 27.
Book, viſion of the angel with the little book, p. 603, &c. the contents of it, p. 607, 608.
Boyle, Mr. the lecture founded by him, p. 265. the author appointed to preach that lecture, p. 265. the ſubject agreeable to the deſign of the founder, p. 284. His merits and excellence, p. 284, 85.
Britain, Chriſtianity planted in it before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 412.
Burden of Egypt, that phraſe explained, p. 195, 96.
Burnet (Bp.) his account of Biſhop Lloyd's ſtudying the Revelation, p. 535.
Burnet (Dr.) his ſtrange notion of Gog and Magog, p. 726.

C.

CALVIN reputed wiſe for writing no comment upon the Revelation, p. 534.
Canaan, the prophetical curſe upon him and his poſterity conſidered, p. 15, &c. his curſe properly a curſe upon the Canaanites, p. 16. their wickedneſs very great, p. 16, 17. the curſe includes the ſubjection of his deſcendents to thoſe of Shem and Japhet, p. 17, 18. the completion of it from Joſhua's time to this day, p. 18, 19, 182. a different reading propoſed about this propheſy, p. 19, 20. his curſe purſued his poſterity to the utmoſt parts of the earth, p. 182.
Carolin books, by whom written, p. 616, 674. prove the worſhip of images to be contrary to ſcripture, p. 674.
Century, *tenth*, wicked and ignorant, p. 620. the principles and ſtate of the church in that period, p. 620, &c. the *eleventh* much of the ſame complexion with the *tenth*, p. 622. the *ſixteenth* the age of reformation, p. 640.
Charlemain, contributes to the eſtabliſhment of the power of the pope, p. 261, 62. oppoſes the worſhip of images, p. 616, 674.
Chittim, the prophecy of ſhips from that coaſt, p. 85. what to be underſtood by the land and ſhips of Chittim, p. 86, 87, 88, 352.
Chriſt, ſome of his prophecies and of his apoſtles recorded, p. 392. a ſummary of our Saviour's prophecies, p. 392, 93, 94. none more remarkable than thoſe about the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which were publiſhed ſeveral years before that event, p. 394, 95, 96. our Saviour's tenderneſs in weeping over Jeruſalem, p. 396. denounceth perſecution to be the lot of his diſciples, p. 413. his name *the word of God*, p. 714.

p. 714. confirms the authority of the book of Revelation, p. 737. his ſecond coming one principal topic of that book, p. 727, 28.
Chriſtians, greatly perſecuted, p. 49. apoſtaſy and other evils follow, p. 410. he who endures to the end ſhall be ſaved, p. 411.
Church, perſecuted by the great red dragon, p. 646—649. repreſented as a mother bearing children to Chriſt, p. 646. in time brought ſuch as were promoted to the empire, p. 653. her flight afterwards into the wilderneſs, p. 653. barbarous nations excited to overwhelm her, but afterwards ſubmit to the Chriſtian church, p. 654. the ſtate of the true church in oppoſition to that of the beaſt, p. 671, 72, 73.
Chryſoſtome, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, p. 235, 36. his deſcription of antichriſt, p. 498.
Clarke (Dr.) his account of ſome extraordinary prophecies, p. 766, &c.
Claude Biſhop of Turin ſows the ſeeds of reformation in his dioceſe in the ninth century, p. 619.
Clergy, ſecond marriage at firſt forbidden them, p. 368. afterwards reſtrained from marrying at all, p. 368.
Collins, his eleven objections againſt Daniel's prophecies, conſidered and refuted, p. 276—283.
Conſtantine the great, the chriſtian religion eſtabliſhed by him, p. 573.
Conſtantinople, beſieged in vain by the Saracens, p. 590. beſieged by Mohammed the ſecond, p. 600. the city then taken, and an end put to the Grecian empire, p. 601.
Conſtitutions of Clarendon, p. 625.
Creatures, to be received with thankſgiving, p. 527. the ungrateful in this matter rebuked, p. 527.
Croiſades or expeditions of the weſtern Chriſtians to the holy land, p. 450. How many periſhed in theſe expeditions, p. 452.
Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, foretold by Iſaiah, p. 23. the ſtate of it under him, p. 162. united the kingdoms of Media and Perſia, p. 289.

D.

DANIEL, the genuinneſs of his prophecies vindicated, p. 218. his credit as a prophet eſtabliſhed by prophecies fulfilled at this time, p. 219. his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, his firſt prophecy, p. 219, 20, 21. his viſion of the four firſt empires of the world, p. 240. the form of Nebuchadnezzar's great image how repreſented to Daniel, p. 240. his viſion of four beaſts, p. 240. what kingdoms they repreſent, p. 241—246. what repreſented by the fourth beaſt with ten horns, p. 248. the opinions of ſeveral writers, p. 249—252. what meant by the little horn, p. 256, &c. the opinion of ſome great men in this matter, p. 258, 59. all thoſe kingdoms to be ſucceeded by that of the Meſſiah, p. 265, 66, 67. Daniel's viſion and Nebuchadnezzar's compared together, p. 267, &c. their viſions extend to the conſummation of all things, p. 268, 69. will caſt light upon ſubſequent prophecies, and theſe reflect light upon them again, p. 269. See Nebuchadnezzar.
Daniel, the languages in which his prophecies were written, p. 286. his viſions, p. 286. that of a Ram and a He goat, p. 287. much concerned for the afflictions that were to befall the people of God, p. 317. the revelation made to him when advanced in years,

years, p. 319. the prophecy about the Perſian empire and four of their kings, p. 320, 21. that about a mighty king in Greece, p. 322. his prophecies about the king of the South and the king of the North, p. 319, 324, &c. a concluſion from the exactneſs and particularity of the prophecy, p. 354, 55. other parts of the prophecy, to whom applicable, p. 356, 57. ſome parts agree better with Antichriſt than Antiochus, p. 366, 369. a part of his prophecies yet to be fulfilled, p. 382. ſome expreſſions of the laſt chapter to be applied to the reſurrection of the juſt and the unjuſt, p. 385, 86, 87. remarks on the time of the accompliſhment of Daniel's prophecies, p. 387—390. his prophecies amazing, and extended to many ages, p. 390. his prophecies reach beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, p. 752. ſome very particularly fulfilled, p. 751, &c.

Daniel, his prophecies vindicated againſt eleven objections of unbelievers, p. 276. the firſt relating to his age refuted, p. 276, 77. the ſecond relating to the miſtake of the king's names and to Nebuchadnezzar's madneſs, p. 377, 78. the third relating to Greek words, p. 378. the fourth about the verſion of the Seventy, p. 278, 79. the fifth about the clearneſs of his prophecies, p. 279. the ſixth from his being omitted in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, p. 279, 80. the ſeventh relating to Jonathan's making no Targum on Daniel, p. 280. the eighth from the ſtile of his Chaldee, p. 280, 81. the ninth from the forgeries of the Jews, p. 281. the tenth from his uncommon punctuality in fixing the times, p. 281, 82. the eleventh about ſetting forth facts imperfectly, and contrary to other hiſtories, p. 282, 83. the external and internal evidence for the genuinneſs of his book, p. 283.

Daubuz, one of the beſt interpreters of the Revelation, p. 537. his hard fate in the world, p. 537.

David, ſome of Balaam's prophecies fulfilled by him, p. 77—82.

Dead, thoſe bleſſed who die in the Lord, p. 677. what meant by being bleſſed from henceforth, p. 678.

Demons, the apoſtaſy to conſiſt in worſhipping of Demons, p. 507, 508. were ſuppoſed to be middle Beings in the theology of the Gentiles, p. 508, 509. two kinds of demons, p. 509, 510.

Diocletian, the tenth perſecution begun by him, p. 571. more ſharp and bloody than any, p. 571. from thence a memorable æra to the Chriſtians, p. 572.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, his account of the ſuperiority of the Roman empire, p. 247, 48.

Dragon, the church perſecuted by the great red dragon, p. 646—649. the heathen Roman empire repreſented by it, p. 647, 48. his jealouſy of the church from the beginning, p. 648. the dragon depoſed perſecutes the church, p. 652—654. attempts to reſtore the pagan and ruin the Chriſtian religion, p. 654. takes another method of perſecuting the church, p. 654.

E.

EBER, who meant by Eber, p. 88. and ſhall afflict Eber, the meaning of that prophecy, p. 88, 89.

Edomites, conquered by David, p. 47, 79. defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and obliged to embrace the Jewiſh religion, p. 47, 48. the prophecies of their utter deſtruction fulfilled, p. 52, 53.

Egypt, prophecies concerning it, p. 193—217. famous for its antiquity, p. 193, 94. no leſs celebrated for its wiſdom, p. 194. the parent of ſuperſtition as well as the miſtreſs of learning, p. 194. had ſuch connexions with the Jews that it is the ſubject of ſeveral prophecies, p. 194, 95. the phraſe of the burden of Egypt explained, p. 195, 96. its conqueſt by Nebuchadnezzar foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, p. 196, 97. how fulfilled, p. 197—199. its conqueſt by the Perſians foretold by Iſaiah, and how fulfilled, p. 199—202. and its conqueſt by Alexander, and the ſpreading of the true religion in the land, p. 202, 203. how fulfilled, p. 204—207. the propheſy of Ezekiel that it ſhould be a baſe tributary kingdom, p. 207. the truth of it ſhewn from that time to this, p. 208—216. its ſtate under the Babylonians, p. 208. under the Perſians, p. 209, 10, 11. under the Macedonians, p. 211. under the Romans, p. 211, 12. under the Saracens with the burning of the Alexandrian library, p. 212, 13. under the Mamalucs, p. 213, 14. under the Turks, p. 214, 15. reflections upon the character of the Egyptians, p. 215, 16, 17. a prophecy of its being ſubdued by the Othman emperor, p. 380. a particular prophecy about it, fulfilled, p. 767.

Engliſh kings, not willing to pay homage to the pope, p. 623.

Epheſus, that church admoniſhed to repent, p. 549, 50. her candleſtick now removed, and the ſeven churches ruined, p. 550. the firſt epiſtle to the ſeven churches addreſſed to Epheſus, p. 550. its former magnificence, but preſent ruinous condition, p. 550. the denunciation againſt it ſtrikingly fulfilled, p. 551.

Ephraim, no more a people, p. 115, &c. 765. now comprehended under the name of Judah, p. 765.

Epiphanius, zealous againſt the worſhip of ſaints and images, p. 513. an illuſtrious paſſage of his about the doctrin of demons, p. 513, 14.

Euphrates, what meant by drying up that river, and by the kings of the eaſt, p. 688, 89. a prophecy of the Euphratéan horſemen, p. 595—603.

Euſebius, his compariſon of Chriſt and Moſes, p. 95, 96. the ſame inlarged by a modern author, p. 96, &c.

Ezekiel, his prophecies concerning Tyre, p. 173, &c. concerning Egypt, p. 196, 726, &c. Gog and Magog, p. 385.

F.

FLUENTIUS, biſhop of Florence, in the twelfth century, preaches that Antichriſt was come, p. 625.

Fornication, in ſcripture often put for idolatry, p. 693. what meant by drinking the wine of her fornication, p. 693.

Franks or Latin Chriſtians march to the holy land, and take Jeruſalem, p. 450.

G.

GALLIENUS, thirty uſurpers in his reign, p. 568. they come to miſerable ends, p. 568. ſword and famine in his reign, p. 568.

Gallus and Voluſian, peſtilence and diſeaſes in their reigns, p. 569, 70.

Gathering of the people, the different conſtructions of that prophecy, p. 62, 63. the full completion of this prophecy, p. 63. this an invincible argument that Jeſus is the Meſſiah, p. 68.

Gauls and other nations, their families not diſtinguiſhed as thoſe of the Jews, p. 122.
Genſeric, king of the Vandals in Africa, takes and plunders Rome, p. 584, 85.
Gentiles, promiſes of their calling and obedience, p. 131—134. this effect by inconſiderable perſons and in a ſhort time, p. 133, 34. what meant by their times being fulfilled, p. 400, 401.
Gog and Magog, in Ezekiel, the ſame as the Turks, p. 385. the enemies of the Chriſtian church, p. 726. who they ſhall be, not eaſily determined, p. 726.
Goat. See Ram and He-goat.
Godfrey of Boulogne, choſen king of Jeruſalem, p. 450.
Goſpel publiſhed before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 411. the propagation of it northward and ſouthward, eaſtward and weſtward, p. 411, 12. its ſudden and amazing progreſs, p. 413. at what time the four goſpels were written, p. 394, 95. will finally prevail over all enemies and oppoſers, p. 763.
Greek church, its miſerable condition among the Turks, p. 602, 603. chaſtiſed by the Saracens, ruined by the Turks, p. 602. not quite ſo corrupt as the Latin church, p. 749.
Greeks and Romans, conquered the Canaanites, p. 19.
Gregory the great, what he ſaid about Antichriſt, p. 499.
Gregory VII. denominated Hell-brand, p. 622. forbids the marriage of the clergy, p. 624. their expoſtulations againſt this prohibition, p. 624.
Groſthead, or Greathed Robert, biſhop of Lincoln, for his free ſentiments excommunicated by the pope, and appeals to the tribunal of Chriſt, p. 633.
Grotius and Collins, their notion refuted, p. 249, 250, 252, 253.
Grotius cenſured, for his contracted explanation of the prophecies, p. 226, 475. his explanation of the *Man of Sin*, refuted, p. 475, 76, 77.

H.

HAM, his bad behaviour towards his father, p. 13. the curſe upon him and his poſterity, p. 15, &c.
Hammond, his hypotheſis of the *Man of Sin*, refuted, p. 477.
Hanway, his account of the Arabians, p. 38, 39.
Heathen, a ceremony among them to curſe their enemies, p. 70.
Heaven opened, and our Saviour cometh riding upon a white horſe, p. 714. a new heaven and a new earth ſucceed the firſt, p. 729, &c.
Herodotus, relates that the Arabs were never reduced by the Perſians, p. 33, 34. his account and others about the highth of Babylon's walls, p. 164.
Homer and other ancients, their opinion of the ſoul being prophetic near death, p. 53, 54. what gave riſe to that opinion, p. 54.
Horns in prophetic language kingdoms, p. 248, 288.
Horſe, white, an account of that viſion, p. 561, 62. viſion of the red horſe, p. 563, 64, 65. of a black horſe, p. 565, 66, 67. a pale horſe, p. 567—570.
Hoſea his propheſy of the Jews return in the latter days, p. 772.
Huetius his account of Tyre, p. 190.
Huns, Goths, and other Barbarians, invade the empire after the death of Theodoſius, p. 581.

Huſs, John, and Jerome of Prague, two faithful witneſſes, p. 611. ſuffer death with fortitude, p. 637. their ſentence contrary to faith and engagement, p. 637. the opinions of their followers, p. 637, 38, 39.

I.

JACOB and Eſau, the prophecies concerning them, not verified in themſelves, but in their poſterity, p. 43, 44, 45. the families of Eſau and Jacob two different nations, p. 45, 46. the family of the elder ſubject to that of the younger, p. 46, 47, 48. in ſituation and other temporal advantages much alike, p. 48, 49. the elder ſhould delight in war, yet be ſubdued by the younger, p. 49, 50. but afterwards ſhould ſhake off the dominion of the younger, p. 50, 51. the younger ſuperior in all ſpiritual gifts, p. 51, 52. the happy inſtrument of conveying theſe ſpiritual bleſſings to all nations, p. 51, 52. the poſterity of Eſau utterly deſtroyed according to the prophecies, p. 52, 53.

Jacob his prophecies concerning his ſons, particularly Judah, p. 53—68. foretold his ſons what ſhould befall them in the latter days, p. 54, 55. bequeaths the temporal inheritance to all his ſons, p. 55. limits the deſcent of the bleſſed ſeed to Judah, p. 55. adopts the two ſons of Joſeph, Manaſſeh, and Ephraim, p. 55.

Jaſon, made high-prieſt by Antiochus Epiphanes, p. 344. is depoſed, and Menelaus is advanced in his room, p. 345. marches to Jeruſalem, and exerciſes great cruelties on the citizens, p. 350.

Jeremiah, his prophecies concerning the preſervation of the Jews, and deſtruction of their enemies, p. 121. concerning Babylon, p. 155, &c. concerning Egypt, p. 196, &c.

Jerome, vindicates the genuinneſs of Daniel's prophecies againſt Porphyry, p. 218. interprets the fourth kingdom of the Romans, p. 229. his notion of the little horn, p. 255. what he ſays of Antichriſt, p. 497.

Jeruſalem, the high-prieſt meets Alexander going thither, p. 294. that account rejected by ſome, but ſufficiently vindicated by others, p. 295. the great objections to the credibility of this ſtory anſwered, p. 296—299. our Saviour's prophecies relating to its deſtruction, p. 394—397. the magnificence of the temple, p. 396, 97. the prophecies exactly fulfilled by the utter deſtruction of the city and temple, p. 398, 99, 402, 415. the phraſes of the coming of Chriſt and the end of the world ſignify the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 399, 400, 401. the ſigns of his coming, and of its deſtruction, p. 401. the perſecutions before its deſtruction, p. 408, 409. the great diſtreſs and famine at the ſiege and after it, p. 415, &c. a horrid ſtory of a woman devouring her own child, p. 418. the calamities and miſeries without a parallel, p. 421. what to be underſtood by the days being ſhortened, p. 422, 23. its deſtruction and the diſſolution of the Jewiſh policy, p. 436. the great numbers that periſhed during the ſiege, p. 440, 41. the number of the captives, p. 441, 42. never ſince in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, p. 442. firſt ſubject to the Romans, afterwards to others, p. 443. the deſolation of it complete, p. 443. its condition under Adrian, p. 443, 44, 45. the attempt of Julian to rebuild it miraculouſly defeated, p. 446, 47. State of Jeruſalem under the ſucceeding emperors, p. 447, 48. taken and plundered by the Perſians, p. 448. ſurrendered to the Saracens, p. 448, 49. paſſes from the Saracens to the Turks, then to the Franks, and afterwards to the Egyptians and others,

others, p. 440—452. at preſent in the hands of the Turks of the Othman race, p. 453. prophecies of what was to follow upon its deſtruction, p. 455. ſome paſſages relating to its deſtruction in the goſpel explained, p. 455—459. particularly about the angels and even the Son not knowing the time, p. 458, 59. its deſtruction typical of the end of the world, p. 459. the exact completion of theſe prophecies a ſtrong proof of revelation, p. 460, 61. See Jews.

Jeruſalem, a deſcription of the new Jeruſalem, p. 725, 733, 34. a continuation of the deſcription, p. 734, 35. the particulars confirmed by the angel, p. 735, 36.

Jews and Arabs reſemble each other, p. 41. the Jews at preſent very numerous, p. 43. the xxviiith of Deuteronomy a picture of their preſent ſtate, p. 101, 102. a prophecy of their enemies coming from far, how fulfilled, p. 102. and of the cruelty of their enemies, how fulfilled, p. 102, 103. the ſieges of their cities, p. 103, 104. their diſtreſs and famin in the ſieges, p. 104. the women eating their own children, p. 104, 105, 106. their great calamities and ſlaughters, p. 106. their being carried into Egypt, and ſold for ſlaves at a low price, p. 106, 107. their being plucked from off their own land, p. 107, 108. their being diſperſed into all nations, p. 108, 109. their ſtill ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people, p. 109. their finding no reſt, p. 109, 110. their being oppreſſed and ſpoiled, p. 110. their children taken from them, p. 110, 111. their madneſs and deſperation, p. 111. their ſerving other gods, p. 111, 12. their becoming a proverb and by-word, p. 112, 13. the long continuance of their plagues, p. 113. the fulfilment of theſe ancient prophecies very affecting and convincing, p. 113. prophecies relative to their preſent ſtate, p. 114. and about the reſtoration of the two tribes, and the diſſolution of the ten, p. 114—121. the time of the reſtoration of the two tribes foretold, p. 114. fulfilled at three periods, p. 115. the prophecy about the ten tribes, how fulfilled, p. 115, 16, 17. where are they at preſent, p. 117. vain conjectures of the Jews thereupon, p. 117, 18. not all returned with the two tribes, p. 118, 19. nor ſwallowed up among the heathen nations, p. 119. the reaſon of the diſtinction between the two tribes and the ten tribes, p. 121. the prophecy of the Jews wonderful preſervation, and the deſtruction of their enemies, p. 121—124. their preſervation one of the moſt illuſtrious acts of divine Providence, p. 122, 23. providence no leſs ſignal in the deſtruction of their enemies, p. 123. and that not only of nations, but of ſingle perſons, p. 123, 24. the deſolation of Judea another inſtance of the truth of divine prophecy, p. 124—129. foretold by the prophets, 124, 25. the preſent ſtate of Judea anſwerable to the prophecies, p. 125. no objection from hence of its being a land flowing with milk and honey, p. 125. the ancients, heathens as well as Jews, teſtify it to have been a good land, p. 126. an account of it by two modern travellers, p. 126—129. the prophecies of the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, how fulfilled, p. 131. the prophecies concerning the Jews and Gentiles, have not had their entire completion, p. 134. what hath been accompliſhed, a ſufficient pledge of what is to come, p. 134. a diſſuaſive from the perſecution of the Jews, and humanity and charity recommended, p. 135—137. prophecies relating to other nations in connection with the Jews, p. 137.

Jews, their calamities and miſeries without a parallel, p 421. the cauſe of their heavy judgments, p. 464. ſome correſpondence between their crime and their puniſhment, p. 464. on this occaſion, a ſerious application made to Chriſtians, p. 464, 65, 66.

are ſucceſsful in taking their city from the Romans, p. 444. are afterwards ſubdued with moſt terrible ſlaughter, p. 444. are ſold like horſes, 445. a ſtanding monument of the truth of Chriſt's predictions, p. 453. their great ſin and their puniſhment, p. 464. many prophecies of their converſion and reſtoration, p. 758, 59, 60. See Jeruſalem.

Impoſtors and falſe Chriſts, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, p. 425, 26. an argument of a true Chriſt, p. 428, 29. the difference between thoſe deceivers and Jeſus Chriſt, p. 431, 32. they were of debauched lives and vicious principles, p. 431, 32. thoſe deluded by impoſtors a melancholy inſtance of the weakneſs of mankind, p. 432, 33.

Infidelity, its patrons only pretenders to learning, p. 777. modern worſe than that of the Jews, p. 777.

Infidels, their objection that prophecies were written after the events, groundleſs and abſurd, p. 10. muſt either renounce their ſenſes, or admit the truth of revelation, p. 12.

Joachim, abbat of Calabria, in the twelfth century diſcourſes of Antichriſt, p. 626.

Jonah preaches repentance to Nineveh, p. 143. the king and people repent at his preaching, p. 143. the moſt ancient of all prophets, p. 143. at what time he prophefied, p. 143.

Jortin (Dr.) his compariſon of Moſes and Chriſt, p. 96—99. his remark upon the prodigies preceding the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 407.

Joſephus, his account of the great ſlaughter at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, p. 106. his relation of the ſigns and prodigies before its deſtruction, p. 406, 407. wonderfully preſerved for the illuſtration of the completion of the prophecies, p. 462. the great uſe and advantage of his hiſtory in this reſpect. p. 462, 63.

Irenæus, his notion of Antichriſt, p. 253, 54, 496. his explication of the number of the beaſt, p. 669, 70.

Iſaac, more promiſes concerning his poſterity than of Iſhmael, p. 42. the promiſe of the bleſſed ſeed fulfilled in Iſaac's family, p. 42, 44, 45.

Iſaiah, his propheſy againſt the Aſſyrians, p. 139, 40. againſt Babylon, 155, &c. againſt Tyre, p. 173, &c. againſt Egypt, p. 195, &c.

Iſhmael, his poſterity very numerous, p. 29. the promiſes about him, how fulfilled, p. 28, &c.

Iſhmaelites. See Arabians.

Iſraelites, their poſſeſſion of Canaan according to the promiſe, p. 42.

Judah, Jacob's prophecies in bleſſing this tribe, p. 56, 57. the ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah, that prophecy explained, p. 58—63. its completion, p. 63—68. continued a tribe till the coming of the Meſſiah and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 63, 64, 65. became the general name of the whole nation, p. 66. this prophecy an invincible argument that Jeſus is the Meſſiah, p. 68.

Julian his hypocriſy, p. 363. his attempt to rebuild the temple miraculouſly defeated, p. 446, 47.

Jurieu (Peter) his notion of the reſurrection of the witneſſes, p. 613, 14.

Juſtin Martyr, his notion of the *Man of Sin*, p. 495, 96. his account of the millennium, p. 720.

K.

KENNICOT, his critical remark upon Noah's prophecy, p. 21.
Kingdom, the Babylonian, p. 222, 241. the Medo-Perſian, p. 224, 243. the Macedonian or Grecian, p. 225, 244. the four kingdoms into which this was divided, p. 245. the Roman, p. 227, 246. the ten kingdoms into which this was divided, p. 250, &c.

L.

LACTANTIUS, his notion of Antichriſt, p. 496. of the millennium, p. 723. and of the time ſucceeding, p. 731.
Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theus, put away, but afterwards recalled, p. 326, 27. poiſons her huſband, and cauſes Berenice to be murdered, p. 327. fixes her eldeſt ſon Seleucus Callinicus on the throne, p. 327. her wickedneſs did not paſs unpuniſhed, p. 327, 28, 29.
Laodicea, the terrible doom of that church, p. 555. now an habitation for wild beaſts, p. 555. its condition a warning to all impenitent and careleſs ſinners, p. 555. its former ſplendid condition, p. 556.
Laſt times, what denoted thereby, p. 519, 20.
Lateinos, that word contains the number of the beaſt, p. 670, &c. how it agrees with the church of Rome, p. 670, 71.
Latin church not reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek church, p. 602, 603.
Lawgiver from between his feet, that expreſſion explained, p. 59, 60.
Le Clerc, an able commentator, but apt to indulge ſtrange fancies, p. 61. his ſingular interpretation of Jacob's propheſy rejected, p. 61. his hypotheſis of the *Man of Sin*, refuted, p. 479.
Little book, the contents of it, p. 604, &c. deſcribes the calamities of the weſtern church, and their period, p. 605, 606. the contents to be publiſhed, p. 605. what meant by the meaſuring of the temple, p. 607, 608. ſome true witneſſes againſt the corruptions of religion, p. 608, 609.
Little horn, among the ten horns of the weſtern Roman empire, p. 252, &c. among the four horns of the Grecian empire, p. 300. whether to be underſtood of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Romans, p. 301—309. the reaſon of its appellation, p. 303, 312.
Lloyd, Biſhop, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, p. 250, 51. a memorable thing of his about the Revelation, p. 535. his notion of the reſurrection of the witneſſes, p. 614.
Locuſts, the Arabians compared to them, p. 589, 595. their commiſſion, and how fulfilled, p. 589. not real, but figurative locuſts, p. 591. likened unto horſes, p. 591. a deſcription of their heads, faces, and teeth, p. 591, 92. like unto ſcorpions, p. 593. their king called the deſtroyer, p. 593. their hurting men five months, how to be underſtood, and how exactly fulfilled, p. 593—595.
Lollards, preach againſt the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, p. 634. preſent a remonſtrance to the parliament againſt the doctrins and practices of that church, p. 635, 36.

Longinus reduces Rome to a poor dukedom, p. 586.
Loretto, the great riches of the image, houſe and treaſury, p. 695.
Luther, preaches againſt the pope's indulgencies, p. 641. that queſtion anſwered, Where was your religion before Luther, p. 641. proteſts againſt the corruptions of the church of Rome, p. 677.

M.

MACCABEES, their great ſucceſs againſt the enemies of the Jews, p. 361, 62.
Macedonian empire, why compared to a leopard, p. 244, 45. why deſcribed with four wings and four heads, and dominion given to it, p. 245. why likened to a goat, p. 290, 91.
Machiavel, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, p. 250. points out the little horn, p. 258. ſhows how the power of the church of Rome was raiſed upon the ruins of the empire, p. 490, 91, 92.
Mahuzzim, what it means, p. 368, 69, 373. the prophecy expounded, p. 373.
Mamalues, Jeruſalem long under their dominion, p. 452. all their dominions annexed to the Othman empire, p. 452.
Man of Sin, St. Paul's prophecy about him, p. 466. the ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage, p. 467. what meant by the coming of Chriſt and the day of Chriſt, p. 467—470. who is the *Man of Sin*, p. 471. what by ſitting in the temple of God, p. 472. what by he who letteth will let, p. 473, 492, 498. the deſtruction of the *Man of Sin* foretold, p. 474. the opinions of ſome learned men rejected, p. 476—483. other opinions about the *Man of Sin*, p. 483, 84. applicable to the great apoſtaſy of the church of Rome, p. 485, 86. the pope the *Man of Sin*, p. 493—495. what the fathers ſay of the *Man of Sin*, p. 495—498. the evidences that the pope is the *Man of Sin*, p. 501. the opinion of the ancient fathers about this point, p. 495, &c. this prophecy an antidote to popery, p. 501, 502.
Marriage, an account of its being forbid by the clergy, p. 424, 25, 26. the worſhipping of demons and prohibition of marriage went together, p. 525.
Maundrell, his account of the ſtate of Paleſtine, p. 126—128. his account of Tyre, p. 191.
Maximin the emperor, a barbarian in all reſpects, p. 568.
Mede, a moſt learned and excellent writer, p. 24. a miſtake of that author's corrected, p. 24. his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, p. 250. of the three kingdoms which the little horn ſubverted, p. 258, 59. his great pains in explaining the prophecies, and fixing the true idea of Antichriſt, p. 500. his excellent treatiſe of the apoſtaſy of the latter times, p. 503. One of the beſt interpreters of the Revelation, p. 537. his hard fate in the world, p. 422, 537. his conjectures concerning Gog and Magog, p. 726.
Meſſiah principally intended in Moſes prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf, p. 91—99. expected about the time of our Saviour, p. 289. and foretold that he ſhould work miracles, p. 290.
Mezeray, what that hiſtorian ſays of the Waldenſes, p. 631.
Millennium commences, and Satan bound and ſhut up a thouſand years, p. 716, 17. the prophecy not yet fulfilled, p. 717, 18. this period thought to be the ſeventh millennary of the world, p. 719. quotations in proof of this, p. 719, &c. the reaſons of

of this doctrin growing into disrepute, p. 724. curiosity into the nature of this future kingdom to be avoided, p. 762.

Miracles and prophecies, the great proofs of revelation, p. 7. how to judge of miracles, p. 443. what to think of the pagan and popish miracles, p. 433—436. those of the church of Rome, not real but pretended, p. 664, 65. their pretended miracles a proof of a false church and a distinguishing mark of Antichrist, p. 665. prophecies accomplished, the greatest of all miracles, p. 779.

Mohammed, the time when his new religion was propagated, p. 448. some contend that he was the *Man of Sin*, p. 483, 84. that opinion refuted, p. 484, 493. the star that opens the bottomless pit, p. 588, 89.

Monks, great promoters of celibacy and worshipping of the dead, p. 524, 25.

Moses, a faithful historian in recording the failings of the patriarchs, p. 13, 14. his prophecy of a prophet like himself, p. 90—100. many proofs that the Messiah was principally intended in that prophecy, p. 92, 93. the great likeness between Moses and Christ, p. 95—99. the comparison between them as drawn by one author and enlarged by another, p. 95, 96. the punishment of the people for their disobedience to this prophet, p. 99, 100. the prophecies of Moses concerning the Jews, p. 101, &c. his prophecy of their dispersion exactly fulfilled, p. 470, 71.

N.

NAHUM, the time of his prophesying uncertain, p. 144. foretold the utter destruction of Nineveh, p. 144—150. his prophecies of the manner of its destruction exactly fulfilled, p. 147, 48.

Nebuchadnezzar, his dream of the great empires, p. 217, 239. the interpretation of it by Daniel with the occasion of it, p. 219, 20, 21. the emblems of that dream considered and explained, p. 221—239.

Newton, Sir Isaac, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, p. 251. of the three kingdoms, which the little horn subverted, p. 259. penetrates into scripture as well as into nature, p. 302. his account of the little horn in the Grecian empire, p. 307, &c. his the best interpretation of Dan. XI. 302, &c. 358, &c. his observations about the interpreters of the Revelation, p. 536.

Nineveh, prophesies concerning this metropolis of the Assyrian empire, p. 137—152. an ancient and great city, p. 140, 41. the scripture account of it confirmed by heathen authors, p. 141, 42. abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt, p. 143. the king and people repented at the preaching of Jonah, p. 143. their repentance of short continuance, p. 144. their destruction foretold by Nahum, p. 144, 45. this city taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, p. 145. the prophecies of the manner of its destruction exactly fulfilled, p. 147, 48. its great compass, walls and towers, p. 149, 50. authors not agreed about its situation, p. 150. the predictions about it fulfilled, according to the accounts of ancients and moderns, p. 150—152. the ruins of this city may strongly affect us in this kingdom, p. 152.

Noah, very few prophecies before his time, p. 13. his excellent character, p. 13. was notwithstanding guilty of drunkenness, p. 13. the behaviour of his sons at that time, p. 13. foretels the different conditions of their families, p. 14. his extraordinary prophecy wonderfully fulfilled to this day, p. 24.

INDEX.

O.

ODOACER, king of the Heruli, puts an end to the very name of the weſtern Roman empire, p. 585.
Omar propagates Mohammed's religion, p. 448. the many kingdoms he ſubdued, p. 448. inveſts Jeruſalem, and it ſurrenders, p. 448, 49.
Onias, removed by Antiochus Epiphanes from the high-prieſthood, p. 345.
Oldcaſtle, Sir John, proſecuted for being the principal patron of the Lollards, p. 637. examined before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, p. 637. his ſtrong declarations againſt tranſubſtantiation and other doctrins, p. 637. aſſerts the pope to be Antichriſt, p. 637. ſuffers death for the cauſe of religion, p. 637.
Origen, what that learned writer relates about Antichriſt, p. 496.
Oſtrogoths, their kingdom in Italy, p. 585, 86.
Othmans or Turks, ſubdue Egypt, p. 214, 15, 381. take Jeruſalem, p. 333, 34. their ſultanies or kingdoms, p. 597, 98. their conqueſts, p. 599. the Jews to be reſtored about the time of the fall of this empire, p. 758. See Turks.

P.

PARIS, the maſſacre of the proteſtants there, p. 613. the many thouſands ſlain in a few days there, p. 613.
Paris, Matthew, that hiſtory freely cenſures the great wickedneſs of the pope and clergy, p. 633.
Paſchaſius Radbertus in the ninth century firſt advances the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation, p. 617. oppoſed by many learned men, p. 618, &c.
Pergamus, its ſituation and preſent ſtate, p. 552. formerly the throne of Satan, and now in a wretched condition, p. 552.
Pella, the Chriſtians remove thither before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 416.
Perſecution, the ſpirit of popery, p. 135. the Jews greatly perſecuted in popiſh countries, p. 135. diſſuaſives from it, p. 136. the perſecutions of the Chriſtians before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 408—411.
Perſian empire, why compared to a bear, p. 242. its great cruelty, p. 243, 44. why likened to a ram, p. 288.
Philadelphia, its beautiful ſituation, p. 554. next to Smyrna hath the greateſt number of Chriſtians among the former ſeven churches, p. 554.
Pococke (Dr.) his account of the Arabians, p. 38. of Tyre, p. 189.
Pope of Rome, the marks of the *Man of Sin* juſtify the application of it to him, p. 486, 488, 89, 90. how his power was at firſt eſtabliſhed, p. 490, 91, 92, 498. the Reformers of opinion that the pope was Antichriſt, p. 499. he forbids to ſpeak of the coming of Antichriſt, p. 500. the evidences of the pope being Antichriſt, p. 501, 502. the apoſtaſy eſtabliſhed by the pope, p. 520. the pope the image and repreſentation of the beaſt, p. 666. is firſt elected and then worſhipped, p. 666. as great a tyrant in the Chriſtian world as the Roman emperors in the Heathen world, p. 666. popiſh excommunications like Heathen perſecutions, p. 668.

Popery, prevails in the ninth century, p. 617. the oppoſition it met with, p. 617—619. the great corruption of Chriſtianity, p. 740. many prophecies relating to the prevailing of popery, p. 740, 763. the predictions repreſented in one view, p. 740. its tyranny and idolatry foretold, p. 740. the blaſphemy of popery in the pope's making himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God, p. 741, 42. the power and riches of the popiſh clergy, p. 742. the pomp of their ceremonies and veſtments, p. 742, 43. their policy, lies and frauds, p. 743. their pretended viſions and miracles, p. 743. intimations of popery in the new Teſtament, p. 744, &c. not only foretold, but the place and perſons pointed out, p. 747. inſtances of this, p. 747—750. the time alſo ſignified, p. 752. when to ariſe and how long to prevail, p. 752—755. the tyrannical power often called Antichriſt, p. 755, 56. the corruptions of popery being foretold, we are not to be ſurpriſed or offended, p. 763.

Porphyry and Collins deny the genuinneſs of Daniel's prophecies, which are ſufficiently vindicated, p. 218. their notions refuted, p. 252, 53.

Prophecy, a diſſertation on Noah's prophecy, p. 13—27. the prophecies concerning Iſhmael, p. 28—41. concerning Jacob and Eſau, p. 42—53. Jacob's prophecies concerning his ſons, particularly Judah, p. 53—68. Balaam's prophecies, p. 68—90. Moſes's prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf, p. 90—100. prophecies of Moſes concerning the Jews, p. 101—113. prophecies of other prophets concerning the Jews, p. 114—137. the prophecies concerning Nineveh, p. 137—152. the prophecies concerning Babylon, p. 153—172. the prophecies concerning Tyre, p. 173—193. the prophecies concerning Egypt, p. 193—217. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great empires, p. 217—240. Daniel's viſion of the ſame, p. 240—269.

Prophecy, a diſſertation on Daniel's viſion of the Ram and He-goat, p. 286—319. Daniel's prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth, p. 319—355. the ſame ſubject continued, p. 356—391. our Saviour's prophecies relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 392—415. the ſame ſubject continued, p. 415—436. the ſame ſubject continued, p. 436—454. the ſame ſubject continued, p. 455--466. St. Paul's prophecy of the *Man of Sin*, p. 466--502. St. Paul's prophecy of the apoſtaſy of the latter times, p. 502—528.

Prophecy, a diſſertation on the prophecies of the Revelation, Part I. from p. 533--643. Part II. p. 643--739. Prophecies relating to popery recapitulated, p. 739--763.

Prophecies, one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of Revelation, p. 9. the conſequence from believing prophecies to believing revelation, p. 10. the prophecy of Noah not to be underſtood of particular perſons, but of whole nations, p. 15, 16. the gift of it not always confined to pious men, p. 68, 69. many prophecies have both a literal and myſtical meaning, p. 80.

Prophecies, why the Jewiſh church inſtructed by prophets, and not the Chriſtian, p. 392, 93. ſome prophecies of Chriſt concerning himſelf, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 393, 94. a view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world, p. 764—766. inſtances of prophecies fulfilled, atteſtations of divine revelation, p. 778.

Prophecies, the great difference between them and the pagan oracles, p. 389, 90.

Providence, confirmed by the completion of prophecies, p. 391. the many abſurdities of denying a providence, p. 391.

Ptolemy, the firſt of Egypt, a powerful king, p. 325.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, the ſecond king of Egypt, p. 326. called the dowry giver, p. 326. his care of his daughter, p. 327.
Ptolemy Philometor, the great calamities of his reign, p. 348. the Alexandrians revolt from him, and proclaim his brother king, p. 349.
Ptolemy Philopator, defeats Antiochus, p. 331. murders his neareſt relations, p. 332. conſumes his days in feaſting and lewdneſs, p. 332. his vicious conduct and cruelty to the Jews, p. 332, 33. dies of intemperance and debauchery, p. 333.
Pythius, the richeſt ſubject in the world, p. 321. entertains Xerxes and offers to defray the charges of the war, p. 321.

R.

RABANUS Maurus, in the ninth century, writes againſt tranſubſtantiation, p. 618.
Ram and He-goat, a diſſertation on that viſion, p. 286. why the Perſian empire is repreſented by a ram, p. 289. the exploits of the ram, p. 289. a goat properly a type of the Grecian empire, p. 290, 91. the goat invades the ram with great ſucceſs, p. 292, 93, 94. the empire of the goat broken to pieces, p. 299. what aroſe after it, p. 300.
Reuben, Jacob's prophecy concerning that tribe, how fulfilled, p. 55, 56.
Redemption, the firſt promiſe of that great bleſſing, p. 13. that promiſe may be called the firſt prophecy and opening of Chriſtianity, p. 13.
Reformation, the firſt effort towards it by emperors and biſhops, p. 673, 74. another by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, p. 627, 676. a third by Luther and his fellow-reformers, p. 677.
Reinerius, the Dominican, his remarkable character of the Waldenſes, p. 629, 30.
Revelation, the prophecies a ſtrong proof of it, p. 9, 10. the evidence drawn from prophecy a growing evidence, p. 11, 12. the objections made to the book of *Revelation* by ſome learned men, p. 534, 35. difficult to explain, yet not to be deſpiſed or neglected, p. 536. the right method of interpreting it, p. 536. what helps requiſite, p. 536, 37. the three chief interpreters of this book, p. 537. the ſcope and deſign of it given to St. John at Patmos in Nero's reign, p. 538--543. his firſt viſion and deſcription of Jeſus Chriſt, p. 540—544. the dedication to the ſeven churches of Aſia, p. 539. its ſolemn preface to ſhow the great authority of the divine revealer, p. 539. the place, the time, and manner of the firſt viſion, p. 539--544. the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches, p. 544--548. the viſion of the throne ſet in heaven, p. 556, 57, 58. of that of the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, p. 559, 561. that the Son of God was only found worthy to open the ſeals, p. 559, 60. the viſions of the ſixth ſeals conſidered, p. 561--575. the ſeventh ſeal opened, p. 579. it comprehends more events than the former ſeals, p. 580. the ſeven trumpets, p. 580--643. viſion of the great red dragon, p. 646--654. of the ten horned beaſt, p. 654--662. of the two horned beaſt, p. 662--671. the ſeven vials, p. 682--692. the fall of ſpiritual Babylon or Rome, p. 691--715. the millennium, p. 715--724. the general reſurrection and judgment, and new heaven and earth, p. 727, &c.

Roman empire, compared to a terrible beaſt without a name, p. 245, 46, 47. this beaſt had ten horns, p. 248. theſe ten horns or kingdoms where to be ſought, p. 250. the opinion of authors about them, p. 250, &c.

Rome, that church a ſurpriſing myſtery of iniquity, p. 533. its hereſies and ſchiſms of long continuance, p. 533. the power of the pope of Rome foretold in ſcripture, p. 534. when Rome was governed by the Exarch of Ravenna, p. 586. reſembles Egypt in her puniſhment as well as in her crimes, p. 685. her fall compared to Babylon, p. 691. her ſtate and condition, p. 691. the character of the great whore of Babylon, more proper to modern than ancient Rome, p. 692, 93. her ſitting upon a ſcarlet coloured beaſt with ſeven heads and ten horns, p. 693, 94. her ornament, p. 694, 95. her inchanting cup, p. 695. her inſcription upon her forehead, p. 695, 96, 97. her being drunk with the blood of the ſaints, p. 697, 98. what ſignified by the ſeven heads and ten horns, p. 699, 700, 702, 703. the prophecies relating to the church of Rome the moſt eſſential part of the Revelation, p. 739. its corruptions and innovations foretold, p. 740--744. her clergy like the ſcribes and phariſees in ſeveral inſtances, p. 745, 46, 47. their uſurped power foretold, and the place and perſons pointed out, p. 740, 747--752. the time of its power foretold, p. 752. its deſtruction will certainly come, p. 756--763.

S.

SALADIN, proclaimed ſultan in Egypt, p. 450. beſieges and takes Jeruſalem, p. 451, compels the Chriſtians there to redeem their lives, p. 451.

Saracens, deſcended from Iſhmael, p. 29, 36. as locuſts overſpread the earth, p. 588. when they made their greateſt conqueſts, p. 594. See Arabians.

Sardis, the capital of Lydia, p. 553. at preſent in ruins, p. 553. in a deplorable ſtate as to religion, p. 554.

Savonarola, his zealous preaching and writing againſt the vices of the Roman clergy, p. 640. endures impriſonment, tortures and death with conſtancy, p. 640.

Sawtree, a pariſh prieſt, firſt burnt for hereſy in England, p. 636.

Scopas, his great ſucceſs in Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, p. 335. is afterwards forced to ſurrender to Antiochus, p. 336.

Scotus Johannes, writes upon the Euchariſt by the command of the emperor, p. 619. his opinion againſt the doctrin of tranſubſtantiation, p. 619. invited to England by king Alfred, and preferred, p. 619.

Scriptures, the fulfilment of the prophecies a convincing argument of their divinity, p. 171. friendly to liberty, p. 172. and the love of our country, p. 318, 19.

Seals, the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, p. 560, 61. the Son of God only found worthy to open it, p. 561. the ſeven ſeals ſignify ſo many periods of prophecy, p. 560. the firſt memorable for conqueſt, p. 561. the ſecond its commencement and continuance, p. 563, 64, 65. the third ſeal for what characterized, p. 565. the fourth ſeal for what diſtinguiſhed, p. 567. the fifth ſeal remarkable for the tenth general perſecution, p. 571, 72. the ſixth ſeal for great changes and revolutions, p. 572, &c. its continuance from Conſtantine to Theodoſius, p. 579. the ſeventh ſeal diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of ſeven trumpets, p. 579, 80. ſeals foretold the ſtate of the Roman empire before it became Chriſtian, p. 581.

Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, not the fourth kingdom mentioned in Daniel, p. 227, 28, 246, 48.
Seleucia, renders Babylon deſolate, p. 165. is called Babylon by ſeveral authors, p. 165.
Seleucus, the firſt of Syria a moſt potent king, p. 325.
Seleucus Ceraunus, his ſhort and inglorious reign, p. 329.
Seleucus Callinicus, his ſons and their pompous appellations, p. 329, 30.
Seleucus Philopator, ſucceeds his father Antiochus, p. 341. a raiſer of taxes all his days, p. 341. ſends his treaſurer to commit ſacrilege in the temple of Jeruſalem, p. 342. is deſtroyed by him, p. 342.
Septimius Severus, a juſt and provident emperor, p. 566, &c.
Shalmaneſer, carried the ten tribes into captivity, p. 138.
Shaw (Dr.) his account of the Arabians, p. 37. of Paleſtine, p. 128, 29. of Tyre, p. 190, 91.
Shem and Japheth, their good behaviour upon their father's drunkenneſs, p. 13. the bleſſings promiſed upon them and their poſterity, p. 21, 22. how fulfilled both in former and latter times, p. 22, 23, 764. the promiſes of Japheth's dwelling in the tents of Shem explained, and fulfilled, p. 23, 24.
Sherlock (Bp.) his expoſition of Jacob's prophecy chiefly followed, p. 58, &c.
Shiloh, ſhown to be the Meſſiah in the various ſenſes of the word, p. 60, 61.
Sidon, an ancient city, celebrated by Homer and other poets, p. 175.
Simeon and Levi, Jacob's prophecy about theſe two tribes, and how fulfilled, p. 55, &c.
Smyrna, the ſecond epiſtle to the ſeven churches addreſſed to them, p. 551. its ſituation and commerce, p. 551. its preſent ſtate as to religion, p. 551, 52.
Soul, that it grew prophetic near death, an opinion of great antiquity, p. 53, 54.
South and North, kings of, who to be underſtood by them, p. 325, 375, 76.
Star out of Jacob, and a ſcepter out of Iſrael, that prophecy explained, p. 77—81.
Spirit, the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit often deſcribed by ſprings of water, p. 287.
Spon (Dr.) his remark about the church of Philadelphia, p. 555.
States or nations, ſeldom ruined without preceding ſigns, p. 414, 15. many awful ſigns from the ſins of this nation, p. 414, 15.
Sulpicius Severus, his expoſition of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, p. 236, 37.

T.

TACITUS, his account of the prodigies before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 407.
Tamerlane, his great conqueſts, p. 452. viſits Jeruſalem, p. 452.
Tertullian, his opinion of the *Man of Sin*, p. 496. of the millennium, p. 722.
Theodoret, too much promotes the worſhip of ſaints, p. 517, 18, 19.
Thuanus, his character of the Waldenſes, p. 630, 31. his account of their ſufferings and diſperſion, p. 631, 32.

Thyatira, a Chriſtian church formerly there, this denied by ſome heretics, p. 552, 53. its preſent condition an effect of the divine judgments for their ſins, p. 553.
Titus, ſurrounds Jeruſalem with a wall, p. 420. commands the city and temple to be deſtroyed, p. 443. his wonderful preſervation at the ſiege, p. 462.
Toledo, that council ordered the children of the Jews to be taken from them, p. 110.
Trajan and Severus, their attempts againſt Arabia repelled in an extraordinary manner, p. 35, 36. the wars and ſlaughters in the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors, p. 563. the Jews ſubdued by him, p. 563, 64.
Troſly, that council's good regulations, p. 620. differs from the ſpirit and principles of the council of Trent, p. 621.
Trumpets, the ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſound of ſeven trumpets, p. 580. ſilence of half an hour previous to their ſounding, p. 580. foreſhow the condition of the Roman empire after it became Chriſtian, p. 581. the deſign of the trumpets, p. 581. the events at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, p. 581, 82. at the ſounding of the ſecond, p. 582, 83, 84. at the ſounding of the third, p. 584, 85. at the ſounding of the fourth, p. 585, 86. the three following diſtinguiſhed by the name of the woe-trumpets, p. 587. the events at the ſounding of the fifth, p. 588—596. at the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet, p. 596. an account of the ſeventh trumpet, p. 642, &c.
Turks, a part of Daniel's prophecy ſuppoſed to refer to the deſtruction of their empire, p. 382—385. their four kingdoms on the river Euphrates, p. 596, 97. their numerous armies, eſpecially their cavalry, p. 600. their delight in ſcarlet, blue and yellow, p. 600, 601. the uſe of great guns and gun-powder among them, p. 601. their power to do hurt by their tails, p. 601, 602. See Othmans.
Tyre, prophecies concerning it, p. 173—193. Its fall predicted by Iſaiah and Ezekiel, p. 173. the prophecies relate to both old and new Tyre, p. 173, 74. a very ancient city, p. 174, 75. the daughter of Sidon, but in time excelled the mother, p. 175, 76. in a flouriſhing condition when the prophet foretels her deſtruction for her wickedneſs, p. 176, 77, 78. the particulars included in the prophecies about it, p. 178. the city taken and deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans, p. 178, 79, 80. the inhabitants to paſs over the Mediterranean, but to find no reſt, p. 180, 81, 82. the city to be reſtored after ſeventy years, p. 182, 83, 84. to be taken and deſtroyed again, p. 184, 85, 86. the people to forſake idolatry and become converts to the true religion, p. 186, 87, 88. the city at laſt to be totally deſtroyed and become a place for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon, p. 188. theſe prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees, p. 189. a ſhort account from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the preſent time, p. 189, 90. the accounts given by three writers, p. 190, 91. this account concluded with reflections upon trade, p. 192.

V.

VIALS, ſeven, a preparatory viſion to their being poured out, p. 682, 685. theſe ſeven plagues or vials belong to the laſt trumpet, and not yet fulfilled, p. 682, 83, 84. ſeven angels appointed to pour out the ſeven vials, p. 684, 85.

the

the commiſſion to pour them out, p. 685. the firſt vial or plague, p. 685. the ſecond and third, p. 686, 87. the fourth, p. 687. the fifth, p. 688. the ſixth, p. 688, 89. the ſeventh and laſt, p. 689, 90, 91.
Vitringa, his opinion about a paſſage in Balaam's prophecy, p. 78. a moſt excellent commentator upon Iſaiah, p. 186. one of the beſt interpreters of the Revelation, p. 537.
Voltaire, his account of the preſent ſtate of Paleſtine, p. 125. an agreeable yet a ſuperficial writer, p. 535.

W.

WALDENSES and Albigenſes, witneſſes for the truth in the twelfth century, p. 627. their riſe and opinions, p. 127, 28, 29. teſtimonies concerning them, p. 629, 30, 31. are very much perſecuted, and fly into other countries, p. 631, 32. pronounce the church of Rome to be apocalyptic Babylon, p. 676.
Warburton, his expoſition of the ſtar out of Jacob, and ſcepter out of Iſrael, p. 81, 82. his account of the figurative language uſed in foretelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 438, &c.
Wetſtein, his explication of the *Man of Sin* refuted, p. 482. complimented his underſtanding to cardinal Quirini, p. 483.
Wheeler, his account of Smyrna, p. 551, 52. he eſteems an Engliſh prieſt an evangeliſt, p. 552. his obſervation about the judgments on the ſeven churches of Aſia, p. 556.
Whitby, his ſcheme about the *Man of Sin* perplexed and confuſed, p. 480. and refuted, p. 480, 81. profeſſes not to underſtand the Revelation, p. 534.
White Horſe, our Saviour cometh forth riding on one, p. 713. a token of victory over his enemies, p. 714.
White Throne, the general reſurrection and judgment repreſented by it, p. 727.
Wickliff, preaches againſt the doctrins and lives of the clergy, p. 634. his books read in the colleges at Oxford, p. 635. after his death his doctrins condemned, books burnt, and body dug up and burnt, p. 635, 36. his followers however not diſcouraged, p. 636.
Witneſſes, proteſt againſt the corruptions of religion, p. 608, 609. why ſaid to be two witneſſes, p. 608, 609. to propheſy in ſackcloth during the grand corruption, p. 608. the character of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effect of their preaching, p. 609. their paſſion, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, p. 610, 11, 12. the prophecy about the witneſſes applied by ſome to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, p. 611. and by others to the Proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, p. 612. alſo to the maſſacre of the Proteſtants in France, p. 613. others to later events, to the Proteſtants in the valleys of Piedmont, p. 613, 14. an hiſtorical deduction ſhewing true witneſſes againſt the church of Rome from the ſeventh century to the Reformation, p. 615, &c. witneſſes in the eighth century, p. 616, 17. in the ninth, p. 617, 18, 19. in the tenth, p. 620, 21, 22. in the eleventh, p. 622—625. in the twelfth, p. 625—631. in the thirteenth, p. 631, 32, 33. in the fourteenth, p. 633—636. in the fifteenth, p. 636—640. in the ſixteenth, p. 640, 41. hence an anſwer to the popiſh queſtion, Where was your religion before Luther? p. 641.

Woman, clothed with the ſun and moon under her feet, p. 646. what this repreſentation of the church denotes, p. 646, 47.
Woman, full of names of blaſphemy, ſitting on a beaſt, having ſeven heads and ten horns, p. 692. the name written on her forehead, p. 692. the judgment of the great whore, p. 692, 93. is arrayed in purple and ſcarlet color, p. 694. hath a golden cup in her hand full of abominations, p. 695. the inſcription upon her forehead, p. 695. infamous for idolatry and cruelty, p. 697. the myſtery of the woman, p. 698---705.
World, what meant by the phraſe of the end of the world, p. 399, 400. its reference to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, p. 400, 401.

X.

XERXES, the richeſt king of Perſia, p. 321. his memorable expedition into Greece, p. 321, 22. raiſes the greateſt army that was ever brought into the field, p. 321.

Z.

ZEBULUN, Jacob's prophecy concerning that tribe, and how fulfilled, p. 56.
Zephaniah, that prophet foretels the total deſtruction of Nineveh, p. 149, 50. the prophecy contrary to all probability, p. 149, 50.

FINIS.